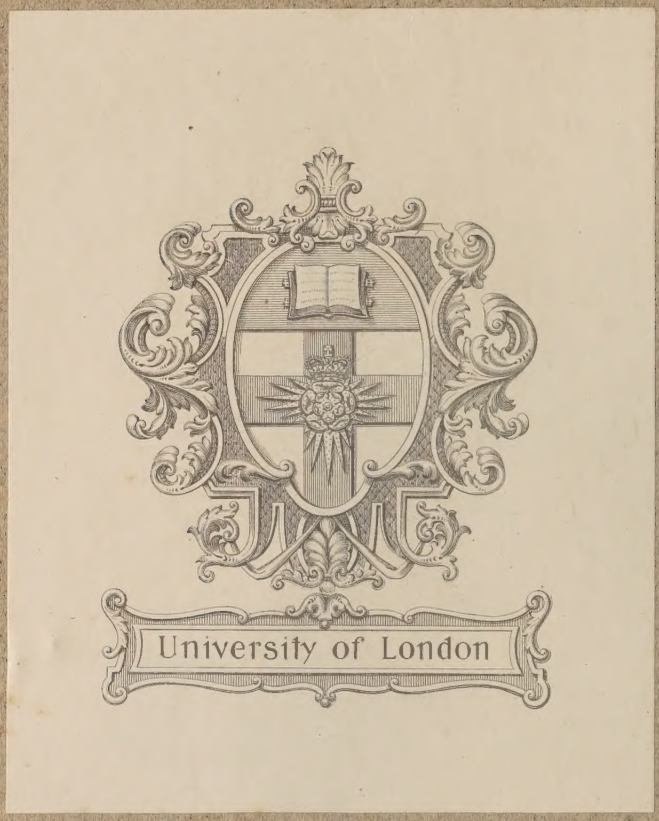
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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

THIRTY-EIGHT VOLUMES.

—*(13.)*—

EAST INDIA.

BENGAL AND ORISSA FAMINE.

Session

5 February —— 21 *August* 1867.

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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

1867.

THIRTY-EIGHT VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE

THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

N.B.—*THE* Figures *at the* beginning of the line, *correspond with the* N° *at the foot of each* Paper; *and the* Figures *at the* end of the line, *refer to the* MS. Paging *of the Volumes arranged for The House of Commons.*

EAST INDIA:

Bengal and Orissa Famine:

335. Papers and Correspondence relative to the Famine in Bengal and Orissa, including the Report of the Famine Commission and the Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the Governor General of India (Part I.) - - - - - - - - p. 1

335–I. Ditto - - (Part II.) - - - - - - - - 403

335–II. Ditto - - (Part III.) - - - - - - - - 641

481. Despatch of the Secretary of State to the Government of India, and Enclosures, relative to the Bengal and Orissa Famine - - 793

EAST INDIA (BENGAL AND ORISSA FAMINE).

PAPERS and CORRESPONDENCE relative to the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa*, including the REPORT of the FAMINE COMMISSION and the MINUTES of the Lieutenant Governor of *Bengal* and the Governor General of *India*.

(PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMAND.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
31 *May* 1867.

CONTENTS.

From	To	Date.	Page.
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	3 Jan. 1866	1
Government of Bengal - - -	Board of Revenue - - -	11 Dec. 1865	1
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	25 Nov. „	2
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	16 July 1866	6
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	16 June „	7
Proceedings of Government of India	- - - - - -	14 „ „	8
Government of India, forwarding an Extract from the "Englishman" newspaper.	Government of Bengal - -	10 May „	9
Message from the Government of India	Lieutenant Governor of Bengal	14 „ „	10
Message from Lieutenant Governor.	Government of India - -	16 „ „	10
Government of India - - -	Comptroller General of Accounts.	17 „ „	10
Message from Lieutenant Governor	Government of India - -	18 „ „	10
Ditto - Government of India	Lieutenant Governor - -	19 „ „	10
Bengal Chamber of Commerce -	Government of India - -	16 „ „	11
Government of India - - -	Bengal Chamber of Commerce -	23 „ „	11
Ditto - ditto - - -	Government of Bengal - -	23 „ „	11
Message from Comptroller General of Accounts.	Government of India - -	23 „ „	11
Government of Bengal - - -	Board of Revenue - - -	21 „ „	11
Message from Government of India.	Government of Bengal - -	28 „ „	12
Message from Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.	Government of India - -	29 „ „	12
Bengal Chamber of Commerce -	- ditto - - - -	30 „ „	13
Message from Chamber of Commerce.	- ditto - - - -	8 June „	13
Message from Government of India	Lieutenant Governor - -	9 „ „	13
Ditto - - ditto - -	Chamber of Commerce - -	9 „ „	13
Ditto - Government of Bengal	Government of India - -	9 „ „	14
Ditto - Government of India	Lieutenant Governor - -	10 „ „	14
Ditto - - ditto - -	Comptroller General of Accounts.	10 „ „	14
Ditto - - ditto - -	Chamber of Commerce - -	10 „ „	14
Ditto - - Lieutenant Governor	Government of India - -	10 „ „	14
Ditto - - ditto - -	- ditto - - - -	11 „ „	15
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	16 Aug. „	15
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	27 June „	15
Government of Bengal, forwarding a Narrative of Proceedings.	Government of India - -	10 „ „	17
Resolution of the Government of India thereon.	- - - - -	20 „ „	19
Government of Bengal, with a further Narrative.	Government of India - -	20 „ „	20
Chamber of Commerce - - -	- ditto - - - -	16 „ „	21
Government of Bengal - - -	- ditto - - - -	12 May „	21
Commissioner for the Burdwan Division.	Government of Bengal - -	15 April „	22 to 29

From	To	Date.	Page.
Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.	Government of Bengal - -	27 April 1866	29
Magistrate of Midnapore - -	Commissioner of Burdwan -	25 „ „	29
Deputy Accountant General, Bengal.	Government of India - -	23 May „	30
Ditto - - ditto - - -	Government of Bengal - -	23 „ „	30
Government of India - - -	- ditto - - - -	20 June „	31
Message from Government of Bengal.	Government of India - -	21 „ „	31
Message from Government of India.	Government of Bengal - -	23 „ „	32
Government of India - - -	- ditto - - - -	23 „ „	32
Ditto - Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	20 „ „	32
Message from Lieutenant Governor	Government of India - -	20 „ „	34
Ditto - Government of India	Lieutenant Governor - -	21 „ „	34
Resolution of the Government of India thereon.	- - - - - -	21 June 1866	35
Message from Mr. Harrison - -	Government of India - -	15 „ „	36
Ditto - Government of India	Government of Madras - -	20 „ „	36
Ditto - - ditto - -	- ditto - - - -	25 „ „	36
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	11 July „	36
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	26 June „	37
Ditto - ditto - - -	Board of Revenue - - -	26 „ „	37
Ditto - ditto, forwarding Narrative of Proceedings.	Government of India - -	2 July „	38
Government of Madras - -	Government of India - -	15 June „	40
Message from Government of India.	Lieutenant Governor - -	30 „ „	41
Ditto - - ditto - -	Government of Madras - -	30 „ „	41
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	30 „ „	41
Ditto - ditto - - -	Government of Madras - -	30 „ „	41
Ditto - Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	2 July „	41
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	26 „ „	41
Government of Bengal, with 4th Narrative.	Government of India - -	10 „ „	42
Ditto - ditto, with 5th ditto -	- ditto - - - -	18 „ „	43
Government of Bengal - -	- ditto - - - -	7 „ „	44
Commissioner of Chota Nagpore -	Government of Bengal - -	14 May „	44
Ditto - - ditto - -	- ditto - - - -	14 June „	44
Commissioner of Maunbhoom -	Commissioner of Chota Nagpore.	12 „ „	46
Government of Bengal - -	- ditto - - - -	22 „ „	48
Commissioner Cuttack Division -	Government of Bengal - -	30 May „	48
Ditto - - ditto - -	- ditto - - - -	9 June „	49
Magistrate of Pooree - - -	Commissioner of Cuttack -	2 „ „	49
Ditto - ditto - - -	- ditto - - - -	8 „ „	50
Government of Bengal - - -	- ditto - - - -	20 „ „	53
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	9 August „	53
Government of Bengal, with 6th Narrative.	Government of India - -	24 July „	54
Government of India - - -	Government of Madras - -	27 „ „	54
Extract from the Supplement of the "Calcutta Gazette."	- - - - - -	3 August „	55
Extract from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Cuttack.	- - - - - -	16 July „	58
Disbursements made by the Board of Revenue up to 3rd August 1866.	- - - - - -	- - -	60
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	9 Oct. „	60
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	27 August „	64
Government of Bengal, with 7th Narrative.	Government of India - -	8 „ „	64
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - - -	26 July „	67
Government of Bengal, with 8th Narrative.	Government of India - -	13 August „	68

From	To	Date.	Page.
Government of Bengal, with 9th Narrative.	Government of India - -	20 Aug. 1866	68
Memorandum of Mr. McNeile -	- - - - - - -	27 „ „	70
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	9 „ „	71
Telegram from Board of Revenue -	Lieutenant Governor - -	8 „ „	71
Ditto from Bengal Government -	Board of Revenue - - -	8 „ „	71
Government of Bengal - - -	- ditto - - - -	9 „ „	71
Ditto - ditto - - -	Government of India - -	8 „ „	73
Board of Revenue, with Narrative of Proceedings.	Government of Bengal - -	4 „ „	73
Government of Bengal - - -	Government of India - -	16 „ „	75
Narrative of Board of Revenue -	- - - - - -	10 „ „	75
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	18 Sept. „	77
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	3 „ „	78
Government of Bengal, with 10th Narrative.	Government of India - -	27 August „	79
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	17 „ „	79
Ditto - - ditto - - -	- - - - -	25 „ „	83
Government of Bengal, with 11th Narrative.	Government of India - -	3 Sept. „	84
Government of Bengal - -	- ditto - - - -	30 Aug. 1866	85
Commissioner of Police at Calcutta	Government of Bengal - -	23 „ „	85
Government of India - - -	ditto - - ditto - -	8 „ „	87
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	24 „ „	87
Commissioner of Cuttack - -	Board of Revenue - - -	30 July „	87
Collector on Special Duty, Cuttack	Collectors of Cuttack, Balasore, and Pooree.	26 „ „	87
Ditto - - ditto - - -	- ditto - - - -	27 „ „	88
Board of Revenue - - -	Commissioner of Cuttack -	14 Aug. „	89
Rules for Officers in charge of Government depôts.	- - - - - -	- - -	89
Rules for Management of Government Grain Trade.	- - - - - -	- - -	89
Government of Bengal - - -	Government of India - -	30 Aug. 1866	95
Commissioner of Cuttack - -	Government of Bengal - -	18 „ „	95
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	30 „ „	95
Ditto - - ditto - - -	Commissioner of Patna Division.	13 „ „	95
Magistrate of Chumparun - -	Commissioner of Patna - -	20 „ „	95
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	21 Sept. „	96
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - - -	31 Aug. „	96
Government of Bengal, with 12th Narrative.	Government of India - -	10 Sept. „	99
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - - -	7 „ „	101
Government of Bengal - - -	Government of India - -	5 „ „	104
Secretary of State for India - - -	- ditto - - - -	9 Nov. „	104
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	4 Oct. „	105
13th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - - -	17 Sept. „	105
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - - -	14 „ „	105
14th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - - -	25 „ „	107
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - - -	22 „ „	108
Government of Bengal - - -	Government of India - -	18 „ „	108
Commissioner of Cuttack - -	Government of Bengal - -	5 „ „	109
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	12 Oct. „	109
15th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - - -	2 „ „	109
Board of Revenue - - - -	Government of Bengal - -	11 Sept. „	110
Government of Bengal - -	Chairman of Relief Committee	19 „ „	110

From	To	Date.	Page.
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	19 Oct. 1866	112
16th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	8 „ „	112
17th ditto - - ditto - -	- - - - -	13 „ „	113
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	27 „ „	113
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	13 „ „	115
18th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	18 „ „	115
Secretary of State for India - - -	Government of India - -	31 Dec. „	115
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State - - -	6 „ „	116
Government of Bengal - -	H. L. Dampier, Esq. - -	5 Nov. „	116
Minute by Governor General of India.	- - - - -	20 „ „	118
Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India.	- - - - -	4 Dec. „	120
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	„ „ „	121
Ditto - ditto - - -	- ditto - - - -	„ „ „	121
Ditto - ditto - - -	Hon. G. Campbell - - -	„ „ „	122
Ditto - ditto - - -	H. L. Dampier, Esq. - -	„ „ „	122
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	25 Jan. 1867	122
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State - - -	16 Nov. 1866	123
19th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	5 „ „	123
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	18 Oct. 1866	123
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State - - -	1 Dec. „	123
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	- - -	123
Ditto - - ditto - - -	- - - - -	27 Oct. 1866	125
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State - - -	5 Dec. „	126
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	- - -	126
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	5 Dec. 1866	127
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	18 Oct. „	127
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	7 Dec. „	129
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	17 Nov. „	129
Secretary of State for India - - -	Government of India - -	31 Jan. 1867	132
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	20 Dec. 1866	133
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	24 Nov. „	133
20th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	5 Dec. „	133
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	1 „ „	134
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	4 Jan. 1867	135
21st Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	13 Dec. 1866	135
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	8 „ „	136
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	8 „ „	136
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	7 Jan. 1867	136
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	5 Dec. 1866	137
Ditto - - ditto - - -	Board of Revenue - - -	5 Dec. „	138
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	31 Dec. „	139

From	To	Date.	Page.
Government of India - - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	8 Jan. 1867	139
Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.	- - - - -	5 Jan. „	140 to 167
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	28 Feb. „	167
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	11 Jan. „	167
22nd Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	20 Dec. 1866	167
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - -	15 Dec. „	168
Ditto - - ditto - - -	- - - - -	22 Dec. „	168
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	28 Feb. 1867	169
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	21 Jan. „	170
23rd Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	4 Jan. „	170
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	12 Jan. „	170
Ditto - - ditto - - -	Board of Revenue - - -	12 Jan. „	171
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	17 Jan. „	173
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	7 March „	173
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	6 Feb. „	174
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	18 Jan. „	174
Commissioner of Maunbhoom -	Commissioner of Chota Nagpore	22 Dec. 1866	174
Circular Notice to Zemindars -	- - - - -	- - -	175
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	4 Feb. 1867	176
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	13 „ „	176
24th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	31 Jan. „	176
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	4 Feb. „	176
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	8 April „	177
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	21 Feb. „	177
Government of Bengal - -	Commissioner of Police - -	5 „ „	177
Commissioner of Police - -	Government of Bengal - -	7 Jan. „	178
Proceedings of the Committee of the Foundling Asylum.	- - - - -	29 Dec. 1866	178
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	8 April 1867	179
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	19 Feb. „	179
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	13 „ „	179
Memorandum from Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	6 „ „	179
Commissioner of Cuttack Division	Board of Revenue - - -	1 Feb. „	179
Collector of Pooree - - -	Commissioner of Cuttack Division.	28 Jan. „	180
Telegram from the Government of Bengal.	- ditto - - - -	7 Feb. „	180
Board of Revenue - - -	- ditto - - - -	8 Feb. „	180
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	13 Feb. „	181
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	8 April „	181
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	21 Feb. „	181
25th Narrative of the Bengal Government.	- - - - -	15 Feb. „	181
Narrative of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.	- - - - -	22 Dec. 1866	181

From	To	Date.	Page.
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	8 April 1867	182
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	28 Feb. „	182
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	9 Feb. „	182
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	16 April „	183
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	1 March „	183
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	15 Feb. „	183
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	11 Feb. „	184
Ditto - - - - -	Commissioner of Cuttack -	19 Jan. „	184
Instructions regarding Importation, Sale, and Relief Operations in Orissa.	- - - - - -	19 Jan. „	185
Government of Bengal - -	Commissioner of Cuttack Division.	15 Feb. „	188
Ditto - - ditto - - -	Government of India - -	19 Feb. „	189
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	27 Feb. „	190
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	16 April „	191
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	2 March „	191
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	19 Feb. „	192
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	8 Feb. „	192
Commissioner of Chota Nagpore -	Board of Revenue - - -	21 Jan. „	192
Government of India - - -	Government of Bengal - -	27 Feb. „	193
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	7 March „	193
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	18 Feb. „	193
Government of Bengal - -	Board of Revenue - - -	22 Feb. „	195
Board of Revenue - - -	Government of Bengal - -	15 Feb. „	195
Commissioner of Cuttack Division	Board of Revenue - - -	1 Feb. „	195
Collector of Balasore - - -	Commissioner of Cuttack Division.	25 Jan. „	196
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	2 May „	196
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	5 April „	197
Secretary of State for India - -	Government of India - -	31 May „	197
Government of India - - - -	Secretary of State for India -	21 Mar. 1867	197
Commissioner of Patna Division.	Government of Bengal - -	2 „ „	198
Government of Bengal - -	Government of India - -	19 Feb. „	199
Secretary of State for India - -	- ditto - - - - -	31 May „	199
Government of India - - -	Secretary of State for India -	22 April „	199
REPORT OF THE FAMINE COMMISSION, IN THREE PARTS.	- - - - -	6 „ „ / 16 „ „ / 20 „ „	205 to 366
Minute by Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.	- - - - -	15 „ „	367
Minute by Governor General - -	- - - - -	20 „ „	385
Minute by Honourable H. M. Durand	- - - - -	23 „ „	391

PAPERS and CORRESPONDENCE relative to the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa*, including the REPORT of the FAMINE COMMISSION and the MINUTES of the Lieutenant Governor of *Bengal* and the Governor General of *India*.

(Home Department.—Revenue.—No. 2 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Charles Wood*, Bart., G.C.B., Secretary of State for India.

Sir, Fort William, 3 January 1866.

WE have the honour to transmit for your information copy of a communication from the Government of Bengal, No. 4206, dated the 11th ultimo, regarding the present state and prospects of the crops in the Lower Provinces.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 4204.)

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L.P.

Sir, Fort William, 11 December 1865.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, Nos. 372 A. and 373 A., dated, respectively, the 23rd and 25th ultimo, and in reply to convey to the Board the thanks of this Government for the very complete report which they have submitted on the present state and prospects of the crops in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. His Honor quite approves of what the Board have done, and concurs generally in the opinions they have expressed.

2. A copy of your second letter will be forwarded to the Public Works Department of this Government, for consideration as to what may be done in the way of economically extending useful expenditure on the public works in the Cuttack and Behar divisions, with reference to the remarks in paragraphs 23 to 26. It is to be hoped, the Lieutenant-Governor observes, that in the latter division the advances on account of the opium cultivation, and in the former the operations of the Irrigation Company, will tend materially to diminish the prevailing distress.

3. The measures proposed by the Board in paragraphs 27 to 29 are entirely approved. Where circumstances require it, the Collectors may be authorised, with the sanction of the Commissioner, to expend in Khas Mehals, and in wards and attached estates, a moderate sum, in proportion to the rental, for the relief of the helpless poor on the estate, and in providing useful employment on subsistence wages for those who are able and willing to work, but cannot otherwise obtain it. This may be done according to circumstances, either by directly expending the money on the estate itself, or by contributing to any general relief fund that may be formed in the district. But, in any case, care should be taken that money or provisions are distributed in a systematic way, and that none are relieved but those who are proper objects of charity.

4. Every endeavour should be made to induce the landholders and other wealthy residents to adopt a similar course, and unite in averting distress from the people on whose labour they depend. The formation of relief committees under the direction of the Collector, in every district where distress prevails, should be encouraged. This appears

to have been done in several districts, and the example should, the Lieutenant Governor thinks, be followed in others. It is upon the exercise of private liberality, his Honor believes, that, in an emergency of this kind, the chief dependence must be placed.

5. The original papers received with your first letter under acknowledgment, are herewith returned as requested.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 4206.)

COPY of the above letter and of the Board's letter, No. 373 A., dated the 25th ultimo, forwarded to the Government of India, in the Home Department, for information.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 11 December 1865.

From *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 373 A.); dated 25th November 1865.

Sir,

THE Board of Revenue have purposely deferred making the report upon the state of the crops and markets and the prospects of the country throughout the Lower Provinces, called for in Government order, No. 6227, dated 31st October 1865, until they could obtain such authentic information and statistics from the interior as the local officers could supply.

2. The rainfall in the Lower Provinces this year has been generally capricious, irregular, and scanty. The Board have before them only the figures* in regard to Calcutta. Up to the present moment there is, as compared with the average of the last five years, a deficiency of no less than 10·46 inches (61·58 against 72·04). This does not represent the whole of the evil, for, in the first five months of the year, there was an *excess* fall of 15·27 inches; so that the deficiency in the months of June to October (the rice season) has been very serious. In fact, since the beginning of June to date, there has fallen only 37·06 inches instead of an average of 62·79, being a deficiency of, as nearly as possible, 41 per cent. When it is added that, since the middle of September, no rain whatever has fallen, this being the period of the existence of the staple rice crop of Bengal, when the seasonable supply of rain is peculiarly essential, there can be little wonder that the crop has failed to a serious extent.

* Fall of Rain as Registered at the Surveyor General's Office.

Month.	Monthly Average of 5 Years from 1860-64.	Monthly Fall in 1864.	Monthly Fall in 1865.
	Inches.	*Inches.*	*Inches.*
January	0·32	0·00	0·48
February	0·35	0·47	1·86
March	0·88	1·84	1·96
April	1·77	1·11	4·28
May	5·93	10·36	15·94
June	15·64	18·73	8·63
July	13·29	13·09	12·19
August	14·71	16·64	5·99
September	10·68	12·59	10·25
October	6·76	6·50	0·00
November	1·71	2·89	None to date.
December	0·09	0·00	—
TOTAL	72·13	84·22	61·58

3. It would be of great interest to obtain similar rainfall statistics for each district. The Board fear, however, that they are not forthcoming in a reliable form: at any rate it is not in *their* power to furnish them. Throughout the year the rainfall has been remarkably local and partial,† and it may be that the statistics for Calcutta are not much of a guide for the Provinces generally. In some parts of the country it is alleged that the crops were drowned‡ in the early rains; this may, however, probably refer to the early rice crop, which is of minor importance.

4. For the purpose of this report the crops of the Lower Provinces of Bengal may be divided into the early rice, the late rice, and the cold weather crops. The early rice is not a crop of any *great* general importance. The season was not generally unfavourable to it, and, so far as is known, the crop was an average one.

5. The most important crop of these Provinces is, undoubtedly, the late rice. It is *this*

† For instance, rain repeatedly fell in Chowringhee and not in town, and *vice versâ*.
‡ The Board have seen this stated in regard to Furreedpore, Pubna, Tipperah, and parts of the Hooghly District.

this crop, and the cold weather crops (which in these Provinces are much less important) which are affected by the drought of this year.

6. The Board are not yet in a position to speak decidedly in regard to the cold weather crops. In an ordinary season these crops would now be in the ground, and *something* might perhaps even yet be done in the way of sowing were rain to fall; as it is stated very generally that the seed sown has not germinated, or, if it has germinated, that the blade has withered from drought, or been destroyed by caterpillars. It is needless to speak of district details, for the same tale is told everywhere, varying only as the local officers are more or less sanguine. From no district, except, perhaps, in Eastern Bengal, is more than half a cold weather crop expected under the most favourable circumstances; and, in many, a total failure is anticipated.

7. It is impossible, however, at this stage to say, with certainty, what will be the actual out-turn. It may prove that the fears of those called upon to estimate the deficiency have exaggerated the evil, and that a larger area has been sown, and a larger portion of what has been sown will prove productive than is now supposed. At present, however, the Board are inclined to fear that the cold weather crops will fail very largely. As this report is being written, however, it is reported that second sowings are, in some districts, succeeding better than could have been hoped.

8. The failure of the cold weather crops would be of comparatively small importance if *the* crop of the country, the late rice, had prospered; it is the state of this crop that really governs the market prices of articles of food in the greater part of Bengal.

9. The Board have received now from each Commissioner a report, in more or less detail, regarding the state and prospects of this important crop. The harvest is commenced in some districts, and is rapidly coming on in all. So far as the estimate of experienced officers, assisted by local skilled advice and public opinion, is of value, the Board are in a position to place the facts as regards the late rice crop before the Government.

10. In a large part of the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions there has been no failure. Mymensingh, Sylhet, and North Dacca are said to be suffering to some extent from drought; and Tipperah has suffered, to some extent, from over-much rain; but, upon the whole, a fair average crop may, except perhaps in the northern parts of the Dacca Division, be expected from the eastern districts. When it is remembered that these districts are, perhaps, the *chief* rice-producing country, this will be regarded as a cause for great thankfulness.

11. But, excepting in those divisions, the failure of the late rice crops appears to have been universal throughout the Lower Provinces, as well as in the Benares Division to the west, in Nepaul to the north, and along the eastern coast of the whole of the Madras Presidency. Even the great rice districts of Dinagepore and Rungpore have in no way escaped; indeed, the reports from those districts and from Purneah are peculiarly discouraging. The Board think that, under these circumstance, it is quite useless to offer to the Government any detailed report of the state of each district, especially as they have already published each divisional or district report as they received it.

12. One Collector expects a three-quarter crop; another half a crop; others as little as a quarter, or even an eighth crop. But these expectations are avowedly quite hypothetical, and, not unfrequently, the Commissioner differs in his estimate from the Collector, or a Collector differs from a neighbouring Collector. The Board are not inclined to attach to these estimates any greater importance than is claimed for them by their authors; they are merely the opinions of intelligent gentlemen, framed upon such information as they could collect upon a subject with which they are more or less familiar.

13. It is a gratifying fact that, as the season has advanced, the expectation of the out-turn of the crop has everywhere *improved;* so that now it is doubful whether in any district there will be a less out-turn than one-half the average crop.

14. The districts which have suffered most are, undoubtedly, the Cuttack Division (especially Pooree) and Midnapore to the south, and Gya, Shahabad, and Chumparun to the west. At Gya the cheapest rice procurable was selling at one time at seven seers for the rupee, and the residents raised a large subscription to feed the helpless poor. But things are improved even there, and the latest estimate of the rice crop arrived at by an officer evidently not inclined to be sanguine, is that it will be half the average. The same out-turn is estimated for Cuttack by the Commissioner, but perhaps he, on the other hand, is rather too hopeful. It must be borne in mind that the province of Behar suffered much from drought last year, and that some of the most productive parts of Midnapore were devastated by the cyclone of the 5th October 1864.

15. Upon the whole, the Board of Revenue are of opinion that, throughout the tract of country spoken of, *i. e.*, in all the divisions of Bengal, except Dacca and Chittagong, the out-turn of the late rice crop will be at least half the average crop. In Dacca and Chittagong it will not be much under the average.

16. Instead of recapitulating the estimates made by the local officers in regard to the crops of each district, the Board prefer to lay before the Government the accompanying

table, which shows the retail prices of the usual articles of food in each district according to the latest accounts, compared with the ordinary prices at this season of the year. This table may, the Board think, be relied upon as a far safer test, both of the deficiency of the present crop, and of the stores of grain in stock, than any estimates founded upon mere opinion.

17. Speaking, generally, this table shows that the prices of food are throughout the country *double* the ordinary rates. It is interesting and satisfactory to observe that prices have risen very nearly as much in proportion in the Eastern districts as in the Western: a token this, that the supplies which those districts are well able to furnish, will be husbanded; and yet that they are being poured into those districts that need them. In accordance with this indication the Board hear everywhere of grain being in movement, and they have no doubt that the laws of demand and supply are everywhere in full and active operation.

18. Having thus laid before the Government briefly, but they trust with sufficient accuracy, the present state of the case—the Board proceed to consider the prospects of the country until next harvest.

19. It is quite impossible to form any estimate of the stock of grain now in hand from last harvest. Various motives combine to induce holders to conceal their stocks, and any attempt at inquiry is met, in eastern fashion, by evident evasion, or barefaced falsehood. It may, however, be assumed, from the high prices that have ruled of late years, that the stock of grain held in the country is *not* very large.

20. Even if this be so, the Board see no reason to doubt that the present crop will suffice to provide food for the actual necessities of the people. This is a very important point, for, if this opinion can be relied on, there will be no *famine*. The Board fully believe that it can; and they have some hopes that prices will not be very materially more unfavourable throughout the year than they now are.

21. The bulk of the population being agriculturists will obtain such high prices for their short produce that, as a rule, they will not, it is expected, suffer very materially. Still there are, undoubtedly, multitudes who will not be in a position to profit by that compensation; and, for them, *suffering*, though, the Board humbly trust, not generally *famine*, is in store this year.

22. To mitigate this evil, the Board of Revenue have already arranged for the early and regular publication of the retail prices current in each district. This will insure such remedy being applied to the case of each place as the ordinary laws of political economy can supply. The Board presume that it is quite unnecessary for them to discuss any suggestions or projects that are not entirely in accordance with those laws. They have already said, and they desire to repeat it, that, in a case of wide-spread scarcity, such as the present, those laws alone can supply any real relief, and all that the Government can do is to encourage and facilitate their operation. There can be no doubt that it is altogether beyond the power of Government to mend matters by any extraordinary operations in contravention of those laws. Even if it be true, as has been often asserted (though the Board are by no means prepared to admit that it is certainly the fact), that the operation of these natural laws is in this country slow and uncertain, it follows only that it is the more clearly the duty of Government to do nothing that can clog or impede their working, and that it must direct its efforts to the removal of obstacles and to the promotion of confidence among grain dealers.

23. All that the Government can really do,—certainly all that it is necessary for it to do at present,—is to encourage and assist in the employment of the labouring classes, especially in those districts where the distress is greatest. At present it may be said that the districts named in my 14th paragraph have in this respect the first claim to attention. The wants of the Southern Districts will probably be met by the operations of the Irrigation Company, who will no doubt gladly take the opportunity of a favourable state of the labour market to prosecute their operations with more than ordinary energy. The Board are glad to learn that they have already been able to supply some water for the present need from the Kendrapara Canal, the only one of the Irrigation Works that has progressed towards completion. This will, doubtless, encourage them to push on their works with earnestness.

24. The company should be carefully consulted before the Government undertake any extraordinary local public works of their own to meet the present distress.

25. In Gya, the road between Patna and Gya, which has been for so many years a standing reproach to the Government and the Public Works Department, furnishes a sphere for the employment of any number of labourers, and either on that work or on some other local work, it seems desirable that as much money as possible should be spent this year. It will probably be also a favourable time for pushing on the construction of the chord line of railway from Raneegunge to Lukhiseraie, which will employ labour very largely.

26. As to the other districts named, the Board are not in a position to suggest any particular work, but they think it desirable that the Government should make preparations to proceed with local public works there without delay, in case the distress should appear to be becoming aggravated. If relief is given at all, in such cases, in any shape, it is of the utmost consequence that it should be given promptly.

27. Independently

27. Independently altogether of this action in regard to public works (which, if it be judiciously managed, need involve little more than the expenditure *now* of money that must otherwise be spent, less economically, hereafter, when there is not the same command of the labour market), the Government has certainly other obligations. In almost every district it either owns estates or has (as in the case of wards, attached and such estates), all the responsibilities and obligations of ownership upon it.

28. The Board think that in such a season as this the Government, in its capacity of landowner, should be prepared to set, in such cases, a liberal example to all the great landowners of this country, who will undoubtedly watch to see what the Government is doing. Their interests are, indeed, closely involved in the prosperity of their ryots, but that alone would not perhaps always suffice to induce them to act with sufficient public spirit. This is a matter of great importance; the Board have already stated that it was the hope of their feeling bound to assist, and interested in assisting, the agricultural population at such a time as this, that was one considerable motive with the Government of 1793, for the creation of these powerful landowners. It must always be an important object of public policy in Bengal to encourage and, by every moral force, compel these gentlemen, who make, many of them, enormous profits, in ordinary years, to assume, when occasion arises, the obligations and responsibilities that undoubtedly lie upon them.

29. Wherever, therefore, the Government is itself landowner, it behoves it to act with the liberal public spirit that it would like to see in private landowners. In this view the Board have already informed the Collector of Tirhoot that he is at liberty to propose any measures for the relief of the tenantry of the immense estate of Durbhanga (in the way of useful public works for the benefit of the estate, &c.) that he would himself think incumbent, under the circumstances, upon a liberal landlord. The Board would be glad to be assured that the Government would approve of such measures being taken, in case of need, in all estates in which the Government has upon it the obligations of proprietor, especially in Government estates, and estates managed directly on account of the recusancy of the proprietors. There are many such in Midnapore, and the people there must be ill-prepared to meet the present pressure recurring so soon after the calamitous cyclone of last year.

30. The Collector of Tirhoot has reported demi-officially that he does not think anything necessary for the present, and probably other Collectors would report in the same manner, but it is well to be prepared.

31. At present the Board do not think any further measures called for; and, if their hopes are realised, nothing more will be called for. It is of the utmost consequence to wean the people of the country from the habit of relying upon Government for help, in circumstances in which no one but themselves can really materially help them. In this view, it is important that the Government should leave no expectation outstanding that it will be prepared to make an attempt at general assistance which, in the present case, it could certainly not render to any good purpose.

32. Even where famine actually supervenes, the chief, if not the only, reliance must be upon the efforts of local private liberality.

RETAIL PRICES of FOOD as reported to the Board of Revenue from the 20th to the 25th November 1865.
Procurable in Seers for One Rupee according to quality.

AT	Date.	Cleaned Rice in ordinary Use.			Pulses in ordinary Use.			Wheat.		Attah.		Janera Jowar, and such Grains.	
		Dearest sort.	Cheapest sort.		Dearest sort.	Cheapest sort.		Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price of cheapest kind.	Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price of cheapest kind.	Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price of cheapest kind.
			Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price.		Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price.						
owalparah - -	20 November	10	16	13	9	20	15	20	13	8	5	–	–
mroop - -	20 „	13¼	25½	16	9	18	20	25½	16	8	8	–	–
augulpore - -	20 „	10	20½	11¾	8¾	22¼	12½	15⅛	12⅝	12⅝	8¾	–	15
rjeeling - -	20 „	6⅛	11 11/16	8	6⅛	6⅝	6⅛	–	–	7½	5 3/16	20	13 7/16
onghyr - - -	20 „	9 7/16	23	12⅝	9 7/16	31	10½	22	12⅝	16	8⅜	40	15¾
rneah - - -	20 „	8	35½	14	5	33	14	25	8	18	6	25	6
oghur - - -	20 „	14	32	17	13	32	13	25	12	–	–	40	20
dda - - -	18 „	12½	31¼	15½	10	20	12	25	15	17	10	50	18
a Doomka - -	20 „	8	25	13	10	18	12	–	–	10	8	60	20
kour - - -	22 „	12	24	14	9	20	12	–	–	16	9	47	25
jmehal - - -	20 „	10	–	12	8	–	12	–	–	–	10	–	16
ncoorah - -	20 „	12½	26½	17½	10⅛	20	17½	16	11¼	11	8	30	12
erbhoom - -	20 „	10½	26	13½	–	–	14 7/16	20	10½	15	8¼	67½	18
rdwan - - -	19 „	11 11/16	20⅝	13 1/16	7 15/16	19¼	12	13 1/16	9⅝	9	7¼	–	–
oghly - - -	20 „	9	18½	13¼	8¾	21	18	13¼	11	9	7¼	–	–

At	Date.	Cleaned Rice in ordinary Use.			Pulses in ordinary Use.			Wheat.		Attah.		Janera Jowar, and such Grains.	
		Dearest Sort.	Cheapest Sort.		Dearest Sort.	Cheapest Sort.		Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price of cheapest kind.	Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price of cheapest kind.	Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price of cheapest kind.
			Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price.		Ordinary Price at this Season.	Present Price.						
Howrah	20 November	11 7/16	17	12 5/16	8 1/2	19 1/2	13 3/8	16	10	9 1/2	7 1/2	–	–
Midnapore	18 „	12	26	15	–	26	12	–	–	–	6 1/2	–	–
Bullooah	19 „	12	35 1/2	19	9 1/2	36	22	–	–	5	5	–	–
Chittagong	20 „	14	22	20	8	21	21	14	12 1/2	10	8 1/2	–	–
Tipperah	19 „	16	45	23 3/4	9 1/2	40	20	20	11 1/4	12	6	–	–
Hazareebaug	13 „	7 1/2	20	12 1/2	10	21	16	20	8	16	7	27	16
Lohardugga	18 „	10	32	16	6	20	16	24	9	16	6 1/2	40	20
Maunbhoom	20 „	13	32	18	10	25	16	14	9	9	6 3/8	40	25
Singbhoom	20 „	8	35	16	8	24	16	20	8	16	6	–	–
Balasore	20 „	10	32	16	8	20	15	16	11	12	8	–	–
Cuttack	20 „	9 1/2	32	11 1/2	10	30	12 1/2	26	7 1/2	18	6 1/2	42 3/8	18
Pooree	20 „	8 1/2	25	10 1/2	9	13 1/4	10	12 1/2	7 1/2	13	6 1/2	27 1/2	10 1/2
Backergunge	18 „	13	21	18	8	26	21	12	10	7 1/2	6 1/2	–	–
Dacca	19 „	13	25	15	7	12	8	13	10	9	7	–	–
Furreedpore	20 „	10	21	14	25 9/16	25 9/16	25 9/16	16	16	–	–	–	–
Mymensing	20 „	15	25	19	16	30	20	16	10	10	8	–	–
Sylhet	17 „	14 1/8	50	19	8	60	20	20	10	11	6 1/8	–	–
Jessore	20 „	8	17	12 11/13	8	32	21	20	11 1/4	10 3/4	8	–	–
Nuddea	20 „	10	30	13 6/16	8	32	21 1/4	16	12	10 5/8	8	–	–
Soonderbuns	20 „	16	22	17	16	32	21	–	–	–	–	–	–
24-Pergunnahs	20 „	–	16 7/8	12 3/4	–	22 7/8	18 3/4	14 9/16	11 7/16	8 6/8	8	20	21 3/4
Gya	20 „	10	27	11 1/2	8 1/2	19	9	28	10	22	8 1/2	50	13
Chumparun	13 „	7 1/2	24	10	7 1/2	24	8 1/2	28	7 1/2	17	6	56	15
Patna	19 „	12	21	13	8 1/2	32	12	16	12 1/2	13	10	32	16
Sarun	18 „	7 1/4	19 1/2	13	10	21	10 1/2	22	12	17 1/2	9 1/2	30	15 1/4
Shahabad	20 „	6 1/2	22	12 1/2	9	24	9 1/2	22	12 1/4	18	9 1/2	30	13
Tirhoot	20 „	8	32	9	12	30	13	28	10	18	8 1/2	45	14 1/2
Bograh	20 „	16	30	20	–	15 9/16	14 3/16	15	15	8	8	48	40
Dinagepore	16 „	–	30	17	–	21 1/3	18	12	16	6	9	–	–
Maldah	19 „	16	35	17	–	–	–	32	13	16	8	35	16
Moorshedabad	20 „	10 7/8	22	14	7 1/2	34	17	17	11 1/4	12	8 1/2	–	–
Pubna	19 „	14 1/4	24	17	6	32	21	19 1/2	17 1/4	9 3/4	8	–	–
Rajshahye	18 „	15 5/21	32	20	17	35 5/9	29 1/11	16 1/2	10 2/3	19	8	–	–
Rungpore	20 „	13	25	23	–	–	–	13 1/3	12 1/3	8	7 1/2	–	–
Bootan Dooars, Mynagoorie.	16 „	8	10	10	8	13	13	–	–	7 1/2	7 1/2	–	–

Board of Revenue, L. P.
Fort William,
25th November 1865.

R. B. Chapman, Secretary.

The receipt of this Despatch was acknowledged in the Revenue Department under date 25th April, No. 32 of 1866.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office,
London, 16 July (No. 61) 1866.

Sir,

Para. 1. STATEMENTS have appeared in the public newspapers as to the existence of a "famine," or at least a serious scarcity of food, in portions of the Presidency of Bengal.

2. As your Government have not made any special report on the subject, I trust that the state of things is not so serious as represented in the newspapers.

3. I have to request that a report may be furnished as to the state and prospects of the crops in Bengal and Orissa, and the adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency, and that Her Majesty's Government may be at the same time informed of the measures which may have been taken, or proposed to be taken, for mitigating the sufferings to which the people would be subjected by any serious deficiency in the supply of their ordinary food.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 32 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable the Earl *De Grey* and *Ripon*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 16 June 1866.

In continuation of our Revenue Despatch, No. 2, dated the 23rd January last, we have the honour to transmit, for your information, a copy of our resolution dated the 14th instant, and of the documents cited at the commencement thereof, relating to the distress now prevailing in the province of Orissa and in some of the districts of Bengal.

2. The Lieutenant Governor has intimated, in his telegram of the 11th instant, that an official summary of all that has been done towards the relief of the distress is now on its way to us, and we shall communicate to your Lordship a copy of this document when we receive it.

3. Meanwhile some account of the measures adopted under the orders of his Honor will be gathered from the papers which accompany this despatch. District Relief Committees* have been organised under the orders and guidance of the Commissioners of Divisions and the Board of Revenue; and the deputation of officers into the interior, and the employment of the services of respectable residents of the afflicted districts, have been authorised with a view to promote and give full effect to the objects for which the District Committees have been appointed. Shipments of grain, to some extent, have been forwarded to the suffering districts, and the employment of the people on useful works has been ordered, payment being made to them either in money or food.

*Cuttack, Pooree, Balasore, Midnapore, Bancoorah, Nuddea.

4. We have, as you will observe from the 4th paragraph of our Resolution of the 14th instant, urged on the Lieutenant Governor the expediency, if grain is still scarce in Orissa, of purchasing and importing further supplies from those places where it is more abundant.

5. A sum of two lacs of rupees out of the accumulated amount (rupees six lacs and 6,000) of the North-West Famine Fund of 1860-61, was at first placed by us at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor, and on the necessity for a further grant being represented we have directed that the entire balance of the fund shall be held at his Honor's disposal for the relief of the sufferers. You will observe we have particularly desired that no portion of this money shall be appropriated to any other than purely charitable purposes.

6. Your Lordship will perceive, from the 3rd paragraph of our Resolution of the 14th instant, that authority has been given to the Lieutenant Governor to expend on useful works, in the distressed districts, such sums, from month to month, as he may consider expedient, with the view of employing all the people who are willing and able to work. We had previously sanctioned, in the Public Works Department, an assignment of five lacs from Imperial funds as a general grant in aid to local funds for famine works.

Public Works Proceedings, April 1866, No. 105.

7. We shall not fail to keep your Lordship informed of further proceedings in relation to this matter.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(No. 1840.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department; dated Simla, 14th June 1866.

Read again the undermentioned Correspondence relating to the distress now prevailing in the Province of Orissa and in some of the Districts of Bengal:—

1. Letter to Government of Bengal, No. 706, dated 10th May.
2. Telegram to Lieutenant Governor, dated 14th May.
3. „ from „ dated 16th May.
4. Letter to Comptroller General of Accounts, Calcutta, No. 965, dated 17th May; and endorsement to Government of Bengal, No. 966, dated 17th May.
5. Telegram from Lieutenant Governor, dated 18th May.
6. „ to „ dated 19th May.
7. Letter from Secretary to Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dated 16th May.
8. Letter to ditto, No. 1188, dated 23rd May.
9. Letter to Government of Bengal, No. 1189, dated 23rd May.
10. Telegram from Comptroller General of Accounts, dated 23rd May.
11. Endorsement from Government of Bengal, No. 633 T., dated 21st May.
12. Telegram to Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated 28th May.
13. „ from Lieutenant Governor, dated 29th May.
14. Letter from Secretary to Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dated 30th May.
15. Telegram from Chamber of Commerce, dated 8th June.
16. „ to Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, dated 9th June.
17. „ to Chamber of Commerce, dated 9th June.
18. „ from Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th June.
19. „ to Lieutenant Governor, dated 10th June.
20. „ to Comptroller General of Accounts, dated 10th June.
21. „ to Chamber of Commerce, dated 10th June.
22. „ from Lieutenant Governor, dated 10th June.
23. „ from ditto, dated 11th June.

Resolution.—By all accounts the drought in Orissa still continues, while the distress among the poorer classes of the people has greatly increased. It is understood to be now admitted very generally by the local officers, although denied some time ago, that there has been an absolute scarcity of rice in the province.

2. Two out of the six lakhs of rupees, the balance in hand of the North-West Famine Fund, have already been appropriated towards relieving the distress, and the remainder has been placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in view to such further appropriations for the same object as may be necessary; and should additional aid still be necessary, endeavours will probably be made by his Honor to obtain subscriptions from the public to supplement the funds made available as above-mentioned.

3. The Governor General in Council further deems it right to give authority to the Lieutenant Governor to expend, on useful works in the distressed districts, such sums from month to month as he may consider expedient; with the view of employing all the people who are willing and able to work. This will admit of the balance of the North West Fund and of private subscriptions being reserved for the relief of those who are unable to work. And it is necessary that this object should be kept steadily in view, for the money belonging to the North-West Fund was entrusted to Government to be disbursed on such an occasion as this in charitable relief.

4. His Excellency in Council would also suggest that, if grain is still scarce in Orissa, supplies should be purchased and imported from those places where it is more abundant. Something has already been done in this way to mitigate the distress, but his Excellency in Council would urge on the Lieutenant Governor the necessity of doing still more.

Ordered—That a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Government of Bengal for information and guidance.

(Nos. 1841–42.)

Ordered—That a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Financial and Public Works Departments, for information with reference to paragraph 3.

CORRESPONDENCE relating to the Distress in *Orissa*, and in some of the Districts of *Bengal*, referred to in the Resolution of the Governor General in Council; dated 14th June 1866.

1.—From *A. P. Howell*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 706); dated Simla, 10th May 1866.

I AM directed to invite the attention of the Lieutenant Governor to the letter in the "Englishman" of the 2nd instant, headed "The Starving Poor of Orissa," and to inquire whether the distress in that province is as severe as represented therein, and if so, what steps his Honor has taken, or would suggest for its relief.

THE STARVING POOR OF ORISSA.

To the Editor of the "Englishman."

Sir,

IT is with the intensest pleasure that I have communicated to many of the starving poor of this place the joyful news of "subscriptions and donations" (set on foot by Messrs. Sykes & Co.) to alleviate their sufferings, to which you directed your readers' attention in your paper of the 14th instant.

I only hope that the hopes which have thus been excited in the breasts of the afflicted and famished ones of this land may speedily be fulfilled; and that your powerful appeal on their behalf may compel the *philanthropists, lacputties*, and millionaires of Bengal, Bombay, and North-West Provinces, to pour into expiring Orissa the breath of life.

I have humbly to suggest a few thoughts regarding the way in which the expected help should be devoted, so as best to help *those* for whom *it is essentially needed.* For unless and until a systematic course is pursued, it will be impossible *to do the practical good, to the desired extent, for those persons, in pity for whose sufferings the purses of the benevolent ones in happier circumstances will, I am sure, be opened.*

1st. There should be committees publicly appointed in each large station of this suffering province, who ought to receive the donations and stores to their peculiar care, whose respectability and wealth shall guarantee *them and their servants* against peculation, and whose well-known charitable dispositions shall form a channel of free and just communication between the donors, subscribers, &c., and the relieved sufferers.

One single example will suffice to enforce the motive of this motion. Baboo Mohes Chunder Bannerjee, one of the most respectable zemindars here lately, in pity to the poor, opened out his stores of rice, and sold it at 12 seers per rupee, when it was selling at six seers in the markets. But so great was the influx of applications from some of the well-off ones of the place to avail themselves of his generosity, that he has been obliged to shut up shop. Merely not to disoblige friends, he has been compelled to allow the poor ones to perish.

2nd. It is not only money that is wanted. A few thousands of rupees will suffice for the whole district. The real necessity is paddy and rice, and seeds to sow for the next season. Send us some thousands of maunds of good rice, and sell it at a proper or rather generous valuation, and all the people throughout the land shall lift up their hearts in blessings upon you and your young ones, ye rich millionaires of India. One single ship-load, landed at False Point, and conveyed through the kindness of our irrigation friends here to the heart of the province, will comfort for some time the dried-up stomachs and parched lips of thousands. There is many a one amongst you that can send forth five such ship-loads.

3rd. Let those that, having brought nothing into this world, have received of its goods to an extent which makes them but stewards for the poor, remember to do the good they would do, *as soon as possible.* Let their money fly out on the wings of mercy to the support of Orissa's expectant ones, ere their calculating hearts have fixed upon the exact amount they ought to give. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick. I say, therefore, give hope, but send supplies, and that quickly. While you meditate and ponder and calculate, hundreds are dying.

Cuttack, 25 April 1866. *Poor S.*

2.—Service Message.

From Simla, dated the 14th May 1866.
From Mr. Grey.
To Darjeeling.
To Lieutenant Governor.

The Governor General is anxious about the famine in Orissa, and wants to know what is being done? He will be ready to give, if needed, any portion of the "North-West Famine Fund" that may be still in hand. Is the distress in Nuddea also as great as is represented?

3.—Service Message.

From Darjeeling, dated the 16th May 1866.
From Lieutenant Governor.
To Simla.
To Mr. Grey.

District relief committees have been formed, and subscriptions raised for the relief of the distressed poor in all the districts of the Cuttack Division, in Midnapore, and in Nuddea. We are spending as much money as we can on roads in the Cuttack Division and in Midnapore, and the Irrigation Company's works afford employment to great numbers. I think the balance of the Famine Fund might well be employed in relieving the distress in Orissa and Midnapore through the agency of the district relief committees, and I beg that his Excellency will place it at my disposal for the purpose. The distress in Nuddea is partial. The Commissioner has asked for an additional allotment of 50,000 rupees to be expended on roads there. I have authorised the Board, if, on inquiry, they think it likely to answer, to arrange for the shipment of a cargo of rice from Akyab to Orissa.

4.—From *A. M. Monteath*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Comptroller General of Accounts, *Calcutta* (No. 965); dated Simla, 17th May 1866.

I am directed by the Governor General in Council to request that you will at once cause to be held at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, the sum of two lakhs of rupees out of the surplus remaining at credit of the fund formed for the relief of sufferers by the famine of 1860-61.

2. Should the money be with the Bank of Bengal, you will be good enough to convey the requisite instructions on the subject to the Bank.

(No. 966.)

Copy of the above forwarded to the Government of Bengal, with an intimation that the money to be placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor is intended for the relief of the distress in Orissa and Midnapore.

5.—Service Message.

From Darjeeling, dated the 18th May 1866.
From Lieutenant Governor.
To Simla.
To Mr. Grey.

Let me know by telegraph whether the balance of the "Famine Relief Fund" will be made available to relieve the distress in Orissa?

6.—Service Message.

From Simla, dated the 19th May 1866.
From Mr. Grey.
To Darjeeling.
To Lieutenant Governor.

Orders have been given to hold two lakhs at your disposal.

7.—From *H. W. I. Wood*, Esq., Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, *Simla*; dated Calcutta, 16th May 1866.

I AM directed by the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce to bring under the special notice of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, that a very grievous scarcity of food prevails in Orissa and other districts, amounting to positive famine in some places, which must be greatly aggravated before supplies of the new crop can relieve the distress.

The condition of the people is understood to be such as to require immediate assistance, and the Committee of the Chamber would urge upon the consideration of his Excellency the Viceroy, that the balance of the Indian Famine Relief Fund of 1860–61, which was specially held by the Government of India for emergencies like the present, be placed at the disposal of the Government of Bengal for relief of the distress referred to; and as the matter is of a very pressing urgency, they trust, if his Excellency approves of the proposed application of that balance, that the necessary directions may be given as early as possible.

8.—From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, *Calcutta* (No. 1188); dated Simla, 23rd May 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th instant, and in reply to state that the Governor General in Council has already directed that two lakhs of rupees from the surplus Famine Fund of 1860-61, shall be placed at the disposal of the Bengal Government for the relief of the distress in Orissa and Midnapore; and that the necessity of applying a further sum from the same source will be considered in communication with the Lieutenant Governor.

9.—From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 1189); dated Simla, 23rd May 1866.

I AM directed to forward a copy of the correspondence marginally noted, and to express a hope on the part of the Governor General in Council, that the Lieutenant Governor will furnish the Government of India with some authentic information as to the actual condition of the people in the districts of Orissa and Midnapore: the only information at present possessed by the Governor General being derived from the public prints, and some indirect communications from private persons.

From Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dated 16th May.
To Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dated 23rd May.

10.—SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Calcutta, dated the 23rd May 1866.
From Comptroller General of Accounts.
To Simla.
To Home Secretary.

Famine Relief Fund deposited in Bank of Bengal, Government Securities valued at five lakhs and twenty-three thousand; interest accrued, eighty-three thousand; total available, six lakhs six thousand.

11.—From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, *Lower Provinces* (No. 632 T.; dated Darjeeling, 21st May 1866.

THE Government of India having placed at the Lieutenant Governor's disposal a sum of money to be expended in the relief of the distressed poor in the districts which are now suffering from scarcity and high prices of food, I am desired to inform you that his Honor has assigned, as a first instalment, the following sums to the districts which seem at present more particularly to require aid:—

	Rs.
To Cuttack - - - - - - - - - -	10,000
„ Pooree - - - - - - - - - -	10,000
„ Balasore - - - - - - - - - -	10,000
„ Midnapore - - - - - - - - - -	5,000
„ Bancoorah - - - - - - - - - -	5,000
„ Nuddea - - - - - - - - - -	5,000

*Cuttack, Burdwan, Nuddea.

2. I am directed to request that the Board will instruct the Commissioners* at once to organise relief committees where this has not already been done, and that all operations connected with the administration of these funds may be carried out by these acting under the orders and guidance of the Commissioners and the Board. The relief committees should advertise their proceedings, and invite further assistance from the public.

3. The relief must not be limited to the Sudder stations. Trustworthy officers should be deputed by the committee to visit the interior and afford such relief as may be necessary; where officers in the service of Government cannot be spared for this duty, special agency must be employed, and the services of respectable residents of the district should be utilised in carrying into effect the objects of the committee.

4. Employment on useful works or manufactures should be found for those who are able and willing to labour: the people being paid only what is necessary for their subsistence, either in money or food; but for infirm and helpless persons and children the committees must distribute food gratuitously. Great care and caution are necessary, as any unusual expenditure of money, either in direct relief or in the local purchase of grain, will have a tendency to raise prices and to aggravate the evil. In this view, as well as to economise the means of relief as much as possible, the Board should consider whether they might not with advantage buy grain where it is comparatively cheap, and send it to the distressed districts either for gratuitous distribution, or to be retailed at something below prime cost to the poor. For any operation of this kind, a further sum of 45,000 rupees is available.

5. The Lieutenant Governor has already directed the despatch to the Commissioner of Cuttack of 4,000 maunds of attah, being the surplus stock of the Bootan force; this attah, the Commissioner has been told to sell at 15 seers for the rupee, as it is understood that there are many persons willing and able to pay for food, if only it could be obtained.

6. The Board will be so good as to report the arrangements they may make to carry out these instructions, and to keep the Government informed from time to time of the operations of the relief committees, and the condition of the distressed districts. The Lieutenant Governor will also be glad to receive from the Board any suggestions for the better utilization of the means at disposal, and to be informed whether there are any other districts to which the relief afforded by the liberality of the Government of India, may be beneficially extended.

7. The Board should require a weekly report of the proceedings of the district relief committees, and take means to inform the public of what is being done.

(No. 633 T.)

Copy forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, for information.

12.—Service Message.

From Simla, dated the 28th May 1866.
From Home Secretary.
To Darjeeling.
To Secretary, Government of Bengal.

The two lakhs put at Lieutenant Governor's disposal from the North-West Famine Fund, is intended for purely charitable relief, so far as relief of that kind may be necessary. No portion of this money should be expended on public works.

13.—Service Message.

From Darjeeling, dated the 29th May 1866.
From Lieutenant Governor.
To Simla.
To Mr. Grey.

Precedence.—No portion of the two lakhs will be spent on public works or otherwise than in charitable relief.

14.—From *H. W. I. Wood*, Esq., Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla; dated Calcutta, 30th May 1866.

I AM directed to request you will have the goodness to lay before the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, a resolution passed at a general meeting of the Chamber of Commerce held on the 28th instant, as per copy thereof hereto annexed.

RESOLUTION.

That the Government of India be requested to publish an account of the sums received by it as balances of funds raised for relief of the sufferers by the famine of 1860 in the North-West Provinces, and expended therefrom; and that, in the opinion of this meeting, the arrangements for disbursements of the remainder towards relief of the sufferers by the famine now existing in Orissa, and by the scarcity verging upon famine which prevails in several other districts, should be placed without delay in the hands of a special committee of gentlemen, official and non-official, including members of the native community.

15.—MESSAGE.

From Calcutta, dated the 8th June 1866.
From Chamber of Commerce.
To Simla.
To Secretary to the Government of India.

Accounts of famine in Orissa and other divisions most appalling. Committee of Chamber of Commerce entreat that the balance of Famine Fund in hands of Government may be immediately released for purchase of rice at present crisis. No appeal to public is likely to be successful. May I urge that orders be sent by telegram.

16.—SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Simla, dated the 9th June 1866.
From Mr. Grey.
To Darjeeling.
To Lieutenant Governor.

The Chamber of Commerce has sent the following message:—

"Accounts of famine in Orissa most appalling. Chamber entreat that the balance of Famine Fund may be immediately given for purchase of rice."

The Governor General begs for an immediate communication from you on this subject. Your latest advices have not led him to suppose matters at all so bad as the Chamber represents. His Excellency is ready to grant the fullest aid that the local Government reports to be required.

17.—SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Simla, dated the 9th June 1866.
From Home Secretary.
To Calcutta.
To Mr. Wood, Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber's message of the 8th received, and the following telegraphic communication has been made to the Lieutenant Governor:—

"The Chamber of Commerce report that the accounts of the famine in Orissa and neighbouring districts are appalling, and ask for the remainder of the Famine Fund to buy grain to send there. The Governor General begs for an immediate communication from you on this subject. Your latest advices have not led him to suppose matters at all so bad as the Chamber represent. His Excellency is ready to grant the fullest aid that the local Government reports to be required."

18.—Service Message.

From Darjeeling, dated the 9th June 1866.
From Secretary to Government of Bengal.
To Simla.
To Secretary, Home Department.

Precedence.—Collector of Cuttack reports that no rain has fallen, and the early crop is dried up. The two lakhs have been expended in assignments to relief committees in the purchase of rice, and the Chamber of Commerce urge that the balance of the Famine Fund may be immediately used for the purchase of further supplies.

Famine in Orissa is now very severe, and likely to increase in severity both there and in other districts. The Lieutenant Governor asks permission to expend the remainder of the Famine Funds as proposed; he has authorised the Board to make purchases in anticipation, as there can be no loss. No appeal to the public is likely to succeed, so long as any of the Famine Funds remain unexpended.

19.—Service Message.

From Simla, dated the 10th June 1866.
From Mr. Grey.
To Darjeeling.
To Lieutenant Governor.

The Governor General grants permission to expend remainder of Famine Fund.

Chamber of Commerce has urged appointment of a committee of gentlemen, official and non-official and including natives, to superintend disbursement.

His Excellency wishes to know what arrangements you adopt to ensure a prudent administration of the funds.

20.—Service Message.

From Simla, dated the 10th June 1866.
From Home Secretary.
To Calcutta.
To Comptroller General of Accounts.

Please hold the entire balance of the North-West Famine Fund available, under the orders of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, for the relief of the existing distress in Orissa and Bengal.

21.—Service Message.

From Simla, dated the 10th June 1866.
From Home Secretary.
To Calcutta.
To Chamber of Commerce.

The entire balance of the North-West Famine Fund has been placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for the relief of the existing distress in Orissa and Bengal.

22.—Service Message.

From Darjeeling, dated the 10th June 1866.
From Lieutenant Governor.
To Simla.
To Mr. Grey.

Precedence.—The Secretary telegraphed yesterday, asking India to sanction expenditure of other two lakhs in purchase of rice, and the Board were authorised to purchase to this extent in anticipation. The Board have replied as follows:—"The Board do not think it necessary to order more rice from Rangoon at present; they will wait to see the effect of what has been done already, and of the rains which may be expected daily. Another cargo of twenty thousand has been offered to them upon a guarantee, and they will accept it if prices do not fall at once. It is anxiety on account of the rains holding off that is keeping up prices which are still reported at five Bengal seers the rupee."

The accounts which I have received do not support the statements of the Chamber, but it will satisfy the public to know that the whole of the Famine Fund is available, and will be expended as required in relieving existing distress.

23.—Service Message.

From Darjeeling, dated the 11th June 1866.
From Lieutenant Governor.
To Simla.
To Mr. Grey.

Precedence.—I have already told the Chamber of Commerce that I see no necessity for appointing a Committee, unless it should be necessary to appeal to the public. The funds at the disposal of Government can be much better administered by the Board through agency of the Local Relief Committees, each of which is presided over by the district officer. An official summary of all that has been done was despatched from this on Saturday. For the prudent administration of the money placed at the disposal of the Relief Committees, every reliance can be placed upon them.

The rice ordered from Rangoon, when received at the Balasore Port and False Point, will be conveyed to its destination under arrangements made by the Commissioner.

A portion of it will be supplied to the Relief Committee for gratuitous distribution, but the bulk will be sold by retail at not less than prime cost.

This Despatch, with its accompaniments, was received by the Secretary of State on the 20th July 1866.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 16 August (No. 67) 1866.

Para 1. I have considered in Council your letter dated 16th June (No. 32) 1866, forwarding a Resolution recorded by you on the 14th idem, with the accompanying telegrams and documents, on the subject of the distress prevailing in Orissa and in some of the districts of Bengal, in consequence of the failure of the rice crops from want of rain.

2. The information thus placed before me, being derived almost entirely from telegrams, is insufficient to enable me to form an adequate opinion, either as to the extent of the prevailing distress, or as to the measures taken under the orders of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for relieving it. It is manifest, however, that a serious scarcity of food, if not absolute famine, exists in many of the districts affected by the drought; and Her Majesty's Government, deeply deploring the consequent sufferings of the people, are most anxious that the utmost liberality should be shown by your Government in extending relief to the sufferers.

3. The measures sanctioned by your resolution of the 14th June seem judicious, and have my approval, and I sanction the adoption of any further measures you may deem necessary.

4. I will, in the meantime, only express my satisfaction that Local Relief Committees have been constituted in the suffering districts, and my confidence that, should it be thought desirable to form a Central Committee for the collection of subscriptions at Calcutta, all classes of the community will cordially unite in carrying out the charitable work.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No 36 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable the Earl *De Grey and Ripon*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 27 June 1866.

In continuation of our Despatch (No. 32), dated the 16th instant, we have the honour to report further proceedings relating to the distress prevailing in Orissa and other parts.

2. The official summary of the proceedings* of the Government of Bengal, referred to in the 2nd paragraph of our Despatch, will be found among the documents herewith sent; and we beg to draw your attention to it in connection with the suggestions made in the Resolution† which we have recorded theron.

* Letter from Bengal, No. 1004 T., dated 10th June, and enclosures.

† Resolution, dated 20th June.

3. A second summary of proceedings,‡ since received, is also forwarded herewith. With reference to the allusion in paragraphs 2 and 4 of this narrative to the application of the Lieutenant Governor (on the 9th June) for the balance of the Famine Fund, and to the subsequent repetition of the request on the 10th June, we may state that our sanction to the appropriation of the entire balance of the fund was at once accorded on receipt of the Lieutenant Governor's first application.

‡ Letter from Bengal, No. 1877, dated 20th June, and enclosure.

4. A letter from the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, § relative to the placing of the balance of the Famine Fund at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor, will be found among the papers.

§ Letter from Secretary to Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dated 16th June.

5. The papers noted on the margin, relating to the increase of crime in the Midnapore District, in consequence of the existing scarcity, are forwarded, as they are alluded to in the summary of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal, mentioned in the 2nd paragraph of this Despatch.

From Bengal, No. 415 T., dated 12th May 1866, and enclosures.
From Financial Department, No. 879, dated 7th June 1866.
To Bengal, No. 2022, dated 20th June 1866.

6. In a telegraphic message dated the 21st instant, the Lieuenant Governor reported that convictions for dacoity and grain robbery in the distressed districts were numerous; that gaols were excessively over-crowded; and that in two districts extensive gaol breakage had taken place; and his Honor requested sanction to the immediate dispatch to Port Blair, without reference to term of sentence, of a large batch of prisoners sentenced to transportation. For the reasons assigned in our reply of the 23rd instant we have declined to sanction this proposition, and we have suggested the provision of temporary accomodation for the surplus convicts during the monsoon, and the entertainment of temporary guards. We have also suggested that, as soon as the dry weather sets in, gangs of prisoners might, under the special circumstances of the case, be employed on roads and other public works, and that a gang might even now be employed in the Calcutta Dockyard. A copy of this correspondence is also forwarded.

Telegram from Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated 21st June.
Telegram to Secretary to Government of Bengal, in reply, dated 23rd June.
Letter to Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 2,186, dated 23rd June.

7. The papers noted on the margin relate to the permission given to the Lieutenant Governor to purchase grain to the extent of 20 lakhs of rupees for importation into Orissa, the money being replaced as the proceeds from the sale of the grain are realised.

Telegram from Lieutenant Governor, dated 20th June.
Telegram to Lieutenant Governor, in reply, dated 21st June.
Resolution, dated 21st June.
Letter from Bengal, No. 1876, dated 20th June, and enclosure.
Resolution, dated 25th June.

8. We have received an application from the Government of Madras‖ for pecuniary aid towards the relief of the distress which is also prevalent in the Ganjam District. We have expressed ourselves willing to consider favourably any reasonable proposition to this end which the Madras Government may submit; and in the meantime we have authorised that Government to expend for this purpose, at its discretion, a sum not exceeding 10,000 rupees. It is believed that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has also placed a small sum out of the Famine Fund at the disposal of the Madras Government for charitable relief in Ganjam, and we shall be prepared to direct a further grant from that fund if necessary.

‖ Telegram from Madras, dated 15th June.
" to " " 20th "
" to " " 25th "

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 1004 T.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Darjeeling, 10 June 1866.

In reply to the letters from your office noted on the margin, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying narrative of the distress and scarcity at present prevailing in the Lower Provinces, and of the measures taken to afford relief.

No. 706, dated 10th ult., and No. 1189, dated 23rd ult.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE.

THE distress that would probably arise from the scanty rainfall of 1865 attracted the notice of the Lieutenant Governor in October last, and a report on the state of the crops and markets, and the prospects of the country, was called for from the Board of Revenue. That body submitted a full report, copy of which, as well as of the orders passed by the Lieutenant Governor thereon, was forwarded to the Government of India under Mr. Officiating Secretary Bayley's endorsement, No. 4206, dated 11th December 1865. From that point it will be most convenient separately to follow the history of the several divisions where distress, more or less severe, has prevailed.

Cuttack Division.—On the 14th November 1865, the Commissioner of Cuttack reported that great distress prevailed in Malood and Parikood, two estates in the Pooree district, on the tongue of land running between the Chilka Lake and the sea. The people were entirely dependent on the rainfall for their crops, and the failure of rain, with the cessation of the salt manufacture, had reduced them to destitution. The Lieutenant Governor immediately directed that work should be provided for the population of this tract, by sending one lakh of maunds of Kurkutch salt to Chittagong; and in the Public Works Department placed a sum of 69,000 rupees at the disposal of the Superintending Engineer, for expenditure upon the Cuttack and Ganjam, and Cuttack and Pooree roads.

A sum of 5,200 rupees from the Government Estates Improvement Fund was also placed at the disposal of the Collector, to enable him to give employment to the destitute in works for the improvement of the Government Sathparah Estate, situated to the north of Malood and Parikood. The Collector also proceeded to push on Ferry Fund roads wherever possible, and proposed to commence the restoration of the Narendra tank at Pooree, when he should realise a sufficient amount of subscriptions.* He further organised a relief fund, supported by local private charity. These measures were for the relief of a limited tract where alone distress was then severely felt; and the Collector, on the 5th March, wrote that, "for the present time at any rate, he did not consider any further remedial measures on the part of Government necessary." On the 21st March he applied for further aid, to enable him to commence operations on the Khoorda and Pipla road, still on the same region; and 10,000 rupees were placed at his disposal from the Government Estates Improvement Fund. The Collector was also authorised to spend 1,000 rupees in the purchase of rice, for distribution among the Sarbarakars of Sathparah for purposes of sowing. No further report was received from Pooree till the 27th May, when a letter was received from the Commissioner of Cuttack, enclosing one from the Collector of Pooree, representing that a "marked change had taken place in the position of affairs," and praying for assistance from Government. Before the receipt of this report, however, action had been taken by the Lieutenant Governor, upon the orders of the Government of India, placing two lakhs of rupees at his disposal for relief operations. From Cuttack and Balasore, up to the 11th May, beyond accounts of the marked increase of crime owing to scarcity, no reports had been received showing that anything like famine existed, or that those in danger of starvation could not be relieved by the funds raised by private charity, and administered by the relief committees which had been established both at Cuttack and Balasore. But on that date a report was received from the Commissioner, setting forth the destitution that prevailed, and asking for a contribution from Government in aid of the relief funds which had been organised.

Upon the 21st of May, telegraphic intimation was received of the Government of India having placed two lakhs of rupees at the Lieutenant Governor's disposal, and his Honor at once assigned 10,000 rupees to the relief committee of each of the districts of Cuttack, Pooree, and Balasore. Instructions were given for the judicious and economical expenditure of these funds, and the Board were empowered to expend a further sum of 45,000 rupees,

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* The work was shortly afterwards actually commenced, about 10,000 rupees having been subscribed.

rupees, if necessary, in buying grain where comparatively cheap, and conveying it to the distressed districts. The Board were at first reluctant to avail themselves of this permission. But on the 28th May the Commissioner of Cuttack reported by telegraph a sudden and enormous rise in the price of rice, the bazaar being almost closed; and it became imperatively necessary to send down rice. This the Board were without a moment's delay instructed to do, and the full two lakhs granted by the Government of India were placed at their disposal for the purpose.

The Board have accordingly despatched the steamer "Court Hey," with 6,000 maunds of rice on board, and towing the ship "Jacques Forrestier," with 1,700 maunds, to False Point, for the supply of Cuttack and Pooree, and 4,000 maunds have been despatched to Balasore. The cargo of the "Jacques Forrestier" is shipped by private persons for sale, Government guaranteeing a minimum price of *Rs.* 5. 10. per maund at False Point; that of the "Court Hey," and the rice sent to Balasore, are Government property.

The Board have also arranged for the conveyance of a cargo of 1,100 tons, or about 30,000 maunds of rice, from Akyab to the Orissa districts.

Nuddea Division.—In March last the Lieutenant Governor received an appeal for assistance from Government on behalf of the native Christian population of Nuddea, who were stated to be, in common with their neighbours, suffering distress from the scarcity and dearness of rice. The Commissioner was called on for a report as to the state of the district generally. He, after full investigation, replied that there was considerable distress in the centre of the district where the Christian villages were situated, for that, though there was grain in store, money was scarce among the poor, the Mahajuns being unwilling to advance upon the future crop. The Commissioner, therefore, recommended that relief should be given by supplying employment, and 20,000 rupees were accordingly placed at the Commissioner's disposal by the Public Works Department for this purpose. In Jessore and the 24 Pergunnahs, though prices were high, the Commissioner did not consider that there was any need for Government interference, the stocks of rice being sufficient, and work always to be had.

On the 21st May, 5,000 rupees were placed at the disposal of the relief committee, which had been organised in the Nuddea district, in behalf of those destitute who could not work.

Bhaugulpore Division and Sonthal Pergunnahs.—The Commissioner reported considerable distress in Monghyr, Bhaugulpore, Deoghur, and among the Pahareeahs of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. But the published reports of prices of grain did not show such intense or increasing distress as the Commissioner represented, and the Lieutenant Governor thought the case sufficiently met by a grant of 10,000 rupees for the construction of roads in the Damun-i-Koh, on which the Parareeahs are to be employed; by urging on the transfer of the lands required for the chord-line of railway from the Burrakur to Luckeeserai, the construction of which the contractors are anxious to prosecute, and which will afford ample employment to the inhabitants of Deoghur and Monghyr; and by the transport to Monghyr, Bhaugulpore, and Rajmehal, in suitable proportions, of 4,000 maunds of attah, made available by the Commissariat, for sale at cost price. In Purneah no Government interference has been called for.

Burdwan Division.—In Midnapore the existence of scarcity, as manifested by an increase of crime, had been brought to the Lieutenant Governor's notice, and reported to the Government of India. But the distress had not been so severe as to call for Government aid. In May last, however, the Board stated that the distress had increased; and the Lieutenant Governor placed 5,000 rupees out of the sum allotted by the Government of India at the disposal of the Collector of Midnapore. The case of Bancoorah was nearly analogous, and a similar sum was assigned to that district. The pressure, both in Midnapore and Bancoorah, was considerably relieved by emigration to Assam and Cachar. In the other districts of the Burdwan division the distress has not been so severe as to call for Government aid.

Patna Division.—In this division, although, as elsewhere, high prices cause much distress, it has not been deemed expedient to do more than place a sum of 2,000 rupees at the disposal of the Collectors of the districts of Chumparun and Tirhoot, in aid of private charity for the relief of cases of extreme privation. The Commissioner has informed Government that at present no further assistance from Government is required.

Chota Nagpore Division.—A similar sum has been placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom. But that district is much relieved by recruiting operations. The Board have further reported that they have placed 500 rupees at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhoom, for the relief of distress in the Dhulbhoom Pergunnah; elsewhere in that district severe distress is not felt.

In the remaining divisions, Assam, Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshaye, although the effect of scarcity has made itself apparent in high prices, nothing has been reported which calls for Government aid.

The assistance given by the Public Works Department in the earlier distresses of Pooree, as well as in Nuddea, has been noticed above. It may here be added, that in January the Government of India in that department sanctioned an extra grant of five lakhs of rupees to be spent on railway feeders, for the relief of the general distress throughout

out the country, by rendering it unnecessary to curtail the ordinary local fund expenditure, which reached into every corner of the country. From the sums thus set free, employment and consequent relief have been afforded in Midnapore, Cuttack, and Balasore, as well as in Pooree and Nuddea. But the present long-continued drought and scorching heat give cause for great anxiety for the future, as the failure of the early rice crop would be tantamount to famine, not only in Orissa, but through a great part of Lower Bengal. Upon this subject a telegram has this day been sent to the Government of India.

(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 2043.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Government of *India* in the Home Department, *Simla*, under date the 20th June 1866.

READ a letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, forwarding a narrative of the distress and scarcity prevailing in Orissa and other parts of the Lower Provinces, and of the measures taken to afford relief.

RESOLUTION.

1. The Governor General in Council has perused this narrative with feelings of deep sympathy for the suffering population.

2. His Excellency in Council earnestly trusts that the Lieutenant Governor will urge the local officers to continue to do all in their power to mitigate the great distress which prevails in a portion of his Honor's jurisdiction, and to enlist the aid of private charity in the promotion of this object. While the Government give the means of relief by actively prosecuting public works on which those who are willing and able to work can readily obtain employment, private benevolence must be looked to, to supply means for helping those who cannot work. The six lakhs of the North-west Famine Fund, which have been placed at his Honor's disposal for purely charitable purposes, will soon be exhausted, when private subscriptions must prove of great value. His Excellency feels assured that the Lieutenant Governor will do all in his power to induce the public to come forward and give their aid, which the Government of India has not any doubt will be liberally afforded by all classes, native and European, who have the means to do so; and his Excellency in Council would suggest whether this object may not be promoted by means of the mixed committees which have been appointed by his Honor of the official and non-official classes, English and native, presided over by the Commissioner of the division, and the magistrate of the district. By these committees the local knowledge and public spirit of private individuals may be utilised, and made available for the general purposes of relief to the suffering population.

3. The Governor General in Council would also wish to impress on his Honor the necessity of continuing to import grain into Orissa for sale, so long as famine prices continue. Care must, however, be taken, that sales are made at such prices as may not discourage private traders from importing grain. So far from doing anything to discourage traders, the Government should endeavour by all means to encourage private importers, and this object may be gained to some extent by Government guaranteeing such a minimum price as will be an inducement to private traders to import, the Government importing also on its own account at the same time, and selling at a price not below the market price. The benefit to the province would then consist in the effect that these importations would have on the market.

4. The Governor General in Council would also be disposed to advance money (in addition to the lakh already lent) freely to the Irrigation Company, repayable within a reasonable time if they desire it, so as to enable them to employ more labourers than their funds will allow at present, in order to push on the works which will, it may be hoped, save a great part of these districts from similar visitations in future.

ORDER.

Ordered—That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Government of Bengal with reference to the letter above quoted:

(No. 2044-45.)

And that copies be sent to the Financial and Public Works Departments with reference to the last paragraph.

(Revenue.—No. 1877.)

From the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of *Bengal* to the Secretary to the Government of *India* in the Home Department; dated Fort William, the 20th June 1866.

Sir,

In continuation of the letter from this office, No. 1004 T, dated the 10th instant, I am directed to forward, for the further information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a narrative of the further proceedings adopted in consequence of the scarcity and distress in Orissa up to date.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Mackenzie,*
Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE.

On the 8th of June the Collector of Cuttack telegraphed that no rain had fallen there, that the heat was intense, and the early rice crop burnt up. On the same day the Chamber of Commerce urged that the balance of the North-western Famine Fund subscriptions should at once be appropriated to the purchase of rice for Orissa, where (Chamber stated) the famine was now appalling.

2. Upon this the Lieutenant Governor applied to the Government of India for the balance of the fund, at the same time, in anticipation of sanction, authorising the Board to expend up to two lakhs of rupees in the importation of rice into Orissa.

3. The Board, however, replied that they would prefer to wait to see the effect of what had been already done, and of the rains which it was thought might be daily expected. They reported that a cargo of 20,000 maunds of rice, destined for Bourbon, had been offered them on a guarantee which they would accept if prices did not fall. In reply to this the Lieutenant Governor, on the 10th June, ordered the Board to accept the tender of the 20,000 maunds, and send it down at once to Balasore or False Point.

4. The accounts received by the Board and the Lieutenant Governor did not support the statements of the Chamber of Commerce, as to the intensity of the famine, but to satisfy the public with the knowledge that the whole of the famine fund would be available if required, his Honor again, on the 10th, asked the Government of India to place the balance at his disposal. The Commissioner of Cuttack was at the same time ordered to report daily by telegraph, to the Board and Government, the state of things in his division. On the same day the Government of India placed the balance of the famine fund at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor.

5. Meantime, the Chamber of Commerce had been urging the appointment of a general committee to superintend the disbursement of the funds at the disposal of Government. The Lieutenant Governor, however, in reply to a communication from the Government of India, reported that the funds could be much better administered by the Board through the agency of the local relief committees, presided over by the district officers. In communicating to the Board the sanction of the Government of India to the additional expenditure, they were called upon to ascertain and report how much money of the funds granted was actually available.

6. In reply to this, on 14th June, they pointed out that it was impossible to arrive at any accurate conclusion at present, as they were ignorant of the amount likely to be realised by the sale of the imported rice in Cuttack and Pooree, and also of the proportion of the whole which would have to be distributed gratis. Full discretionary power had been given to the Commissioner in regard to these points. In any case the Board would require credits for a much larger sum than would probably be eventually expended, and it was very doubtful whether the five lakhs placed at the Lieutenant Governor's disposal would prove sufficient; at a rough estimate, the Board had up to date expended cash or incurred liabilities amounting to 4,09,000 rupees. The importation of rice would not, they urged, at all do away with the necessity of sending down money.

7. On the 14th the Board reported that there was no rice to be had at Akyab, and very little at Rangoon. In no case would it be possible to land rice at Cuttack at a price which would remunerate Government for its outlay. The Board had bought the cargo of the "Jacque Forestiers," and that of the "Gustave," despatched to False Point, and had instructed the Commissioner to sell the rice at such price as he should think fit.

8. The

8. The Lieutenant Governor returned to the Presidency, on Saturday the 16th, and on Monday the 18th had a personal interview with the Board, at which the Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce and Baboo Degamber Mitter were present. The result of this will be reported in a separate letter.

Fort William, 20 June 1866. (signed) *Thomas Jones,*
For Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To *E. C. Bayley,* Esq., Secretary to the Government of India Home Department, Simla.

Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta,
16 June 1866.

Sir,

Your telegrams of the 9th and 10th instant having been confirmed by copies received by post, I am directed by the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce to express their respectful acknowledgment to the Right honourable the Governor General in Council of his Excellency's prompt compliance with their suggestion that the entire balance of the old relief fund should be placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for relief of distress in Orissa and elsewhere.

The Committee trust that, with this addition to the means previously lodged in the Lieutenant Governor's hands, his Honor will be able to cover a large area of distress, and extend material relief to the destitute people.

But, as the character and extent of the distress, which it is the duty and anxious desire of all to mitigate to the utmost, do not appear to be sufficiently defined to enable the Chamber of Commerce to arrive at the conclusion that further assistance will not be needed, and as official reports and private advices vary materially as to the intensity of distress, and its probable continuance, the Committee are of opinion that it would be extremely desirable to appoint a special Committee in Calcutta without delay, and that course has been suggested for the approval of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. W. J. Wood,* Secretary.

From the Honourable *A. Eden,* Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (No. 415 T.); dated Darjeeling, 12th May 1866.

On the 20th November last, the officiating Inspector General of Police, Lower Provinces, in connection with the reduction of the police of the Midnapore District, to the scale sanctioned by this Government, brought to notice the prevalence of crime in that district. The local officers deprecated any reduction so long as the high prices of provisions continued; but the Inspector General of Police, in asking for orders, was of opinion that, if the objection to reduction was allowed in this case, similar protests would be received from other districts. The Lieutenant Governor accordingly declined to disturb the revision of the police establishment in Midnapore already sanctioned.

2. On the 8th February, the officiating Inspector General of Police, in his letter No. 751, reported that there had been, during the past month, a very great increase of dacoities in Midnapore, due chiefly to the existing scarcity; and solicited sanction to the employment of 50 additional men in the police of the district to be entertained only on the certificate of the magistrate that their services were absolutely necessary, and to be discharged when no longer required. Colonel Pughe also intimated that he had ordered down two detective inspectors to the district to aid in bringing offenders to justice. The extra police force was sanctioned for three months, the cost, 300 rupees per mensem, to be met from savings in the Budget.

3. On the 7th ultimo, the Commissioner of Burdwan was requested to proceed to Midnapore, and after making proper inquiries, to submit a special report on the state of the district: copies of his reports are enclosed for perusal by his Excellency the Governor General in Council.

No. 45, dated 15th ultimo.
No. 50, dated 27th idem, with enclosed letter No. 52, dated 25th idem, from the Magistrate of Midnapore.

4. The Inspector General of Police has been instructed, in addition to the sanction previously

previously given, to strengthen the Midnapore police by 50 extra men, and by drafts from the reserves of other districts, and from the force lately brought down from the Bhootan Dooars, to make such further arrangements for strengthening the police and guards both in Midnapore and Bancoorah, as he may consider necessary, after consulting the Commissioner and Deputy Inspector General of Police. Care is, however, to be taken not to weaken the reserves in districts in which there is a probability of an increase of crime arising from the causes which have produced this result in Midnapore and Bancoorah. The establishment of patrols within thannah limits in Midnapore has been ordered, and a report has been called for from the Inspector General of Police as to the necessity for having a larger number of outposts there than now exists. A report has also been called for in regard to the statements made concerning approvers, and Colonel Pughe has been desired to make arrangements for redistributing them if the facts be found as mentioned. To remedy the overcrowding of the Midnapore gaol, the officiating Inspector General of Gaols has been requested to make arrangements for hutting the excess number of prisoners, it being found impossible, in the present state of things, to accommodate them in other gaols, and the necessary guard will be supplied from the reserve of the district strengthened as above indicated.

5. The Commissioner of Burdwan has been desired to report as to the manner in which the Rajah of Jhargaon has used his police powers, and the result of the inquiry as to whether he is willing to resign them. He has also been directed to report further in respect to the increase of crime in Bancoorah. His attempts to utilise the sirdars and paiks of Midnapore have been approved as judicious, and the Whipping Act has been extended to the thannahs of Gopeebullubpore, Jhargaon, and Bheempore (the Jungle Mehals), and to those of Gurbetta and Salbunnee.

6. The Commissioner of Chota Nagpore has been requested to report regarding the alleged disturbances in Purulia, and to take such preventive measures as he may consider necessary; and the Commissioner of Cuttack has been called on for a general report on the state of his division, the scarcity of food and the increase of crime.

From *C. F. Montresor*, Esq., Commissioner for the Division of Burdwan, to the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William (No. 45); dated Midnapore, 15th April 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report that, in pursuance of the orders contained in your letter, No. 2366, of the 7th instant, I arrived at this station on the morning of Wednesday last, the 11th of April and now beg to submit the following remarks for the consideration of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, with reference to the prevalence of crime in the Midnapore district:

2. For some months, even as far back as the early part of the year 1865, there has been an increase of heinous offences throughout the district; this was in a measure to be anticipated in the commencement from the fact of the distress that ensued from the disastrous effects of the hurricane in October 1864, and at the time of harvest in 1865, from the crops throughout the country being greatly impaired by the want of rain and the ordinary means of irrigation. The subject, however, has at no time been permitted to escape the observation and attention of myself and the local executive officers of the district, as I shall notice in a later part of this report.

3. The crime that has recently become more prevalent is that of dacoity or robbery by open violence. The following two Tables which I have prepared from the magistrate's office, will illustrate clearly (by Table A.) the quarter in which offences of this character have occurred during the past five months, and (by Table B.) the number of similar offences that were committed during the years 1863, 1864 and 1865.

4. I have thought it expedient to embody in Table A. the number of cases of dacoity that have occurred since the month of November last, or the harvest time, as at that particular period there was a general rumour, if not a prospect of impending famine, and several cases of violence occurred immediately connected with the price and exportation of rice, to which causes alone I can unhesitatingly attribute their origin. I have not deemed it necessary to embrace in any comparative statistical return the numbers of other heinous offences, as there has been no material fluctuation in them, and the preparation of any classified Table would be not only a matter of much detail, but altogether useless for the subject of immediate inquiry. At the same time I annex a statement of heinous offences for the first quarter of the current year, which is sufficient to show that the cases are numerous, and that the results of the operations of the police and magisterial officers have been in general successful.

STATEMENT of HEINOUS OFFENCES for the first Quarter of 1866.

Number.	CRIME.	Occurrences reported by Police, true or false.	Number of Persons brought to trial.	COMMITMENT.		Convictions.	REMARKS.
				Cases.	Persons.		
1	Dacoity with murder	2	27	1	25	19	1 died, 1 escaped, 2 discharged, 4 pending.
2	Dacoity other cases	84	362	24	183	73	1 died, 2 escaped, 51 discharged, 235 pending.
3	Murder - -	7	24	6	22	3	15 discharged, 6 pending.
4	Robberies - -	7	12	2	3	1	9 discharged and 2 pending.
5	Thefts - - -	298	269	1	1	116	1 escaped, 113 discharged, 39 pending.

(A.)

DACOITIES.

THANNAH.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	TOTAL.
1. Gopeebullubpore - -	- -	1	6	- -	1	7
2. Jhargaon - - -	- -	- -	4	4	–	8
3. Bheempore - - -	- -	- -	3	6	1	10
4. Gurbetta - - -	- -	1	2	4	3	9
5. Salbunnee - - -	- -	1	1	2	3	6
6. Midnapore - - -	- -	2	2	- -	2	4
7. Keshpore - - -	- -	- -	- -	3	3	6
TOTAL - - -	- -	5	18	19	13	50
8–12. Five other of Haine Circle.	2	- -	2	4	–	6
13–18. Six of Contai Sub-Division.	- -	1	2	1	3	6
19–23. Five of Tumlook Sub-Division.	2	2	3	- -	2	5
GRAND TOTAL - - -	4	8	25	24	18	67

(B.)

STATEMENT showing the cases of Dacoity that occurred during the Years 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866.

Names of Police Stations.	1863.	1864.												Total.	1865.												Total.	1866.			Total
		January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.		January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.		January.	February.	March.	
1. Midnapore	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	5	2	–	2	4
2. Keshpore	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	4	–	3	3	6
3. Daspore	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
4. Debrah	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	1	1
5. Salbunnee	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	1	2	3	6
6. Seebbung	Haine Circle	–	1	–	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	2	2	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	7	–	1	–	1
7. Narain Ghur	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	2
8. Dantoon	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–	4	–	1	–	1
9. Gopeebullubpore	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	6	–	1	7
10. Bheempore	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	3	3	6	1	10
11. Jhargaon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	–	8
12. Gurbetta	Sub-division of Gurbetta	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	4	2	4	3	9
13. Contai	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	2	2	–	–	2	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	9	1	–	1	2
14. Nugwan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	2	–	–	3	–	–	1	1
15. Pottaspore	–	1	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
16. Rughoonathpoor	Sub-division Contai	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	1
17. Bhugwanpoor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	1	3	–	–	1	1
18. Kedgree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
19. Jellasore*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20. Tumlook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–
21. Panchkoorah	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	2
22. Musnudpore	Sub division Tumlook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	4	1	–	6	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	4	1	–	2	3
23. Sootahatta	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	3	2	1	1	2	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	8	–	–	–	–
24. Nundigram	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	8	–	–	–	–
	56	5	2	1	4	2	5	1	2	1	10	5	2	40	15	5	4	6	5	4	5	8	4	5	4	8	73	24	25	18	67

* Since transferred to Balasore.

5. As I have already noticed, the increase in crime in the Midnapore District is to be found in plunder attended with violence, and it is, I have no doubt, to this particular class of crime that the Lieutenant Governor's attention has been drawn.

6. The reports received during the first half of the current month, *i. e.*, up to this date, show a continued decrease; and I have every hope that, under the arrangements that have been made with regard to the distribution of the police, which will be alluded to below, there will be a corresponding diminution in the amount of crime throughout the district.

7. With regard to Table A., I would mention that the first four thannahs on the list are what may be termed "border thannahs," adjoining the Mohurbhung and Purulia districts. They are inhabited principally by a rude class of people, of the Sonthal and Bhoomij tribe, and may be said to be in the jungle. The two next thannahs on the list, five and six, Salbunnee and Midnapore, are partly or about one-half jungle, and the seventh, adjoining Salbunnee and Midnapore, viz., Keshpore, is an ordinary cultivated thannah.

8. It will be observed that, out of the 23 thannahs in this extensive district, the greater number of dacoities have occurred in the seven police stations just noticed. In the Hidglee thannahs there have occurred more cases of dacoity than usual, the general average being about 15 during the year, but they are of a totally different character.

9. The 50 cases of dacoity that have occurred in the seven thannahs above noticed, are thus equally divided:

Jungle mehals, or thannahs, 1, 2, and 3 - - - 25 dacoities.
The remaining four thannahs 4, 5, 6, and 7 - - - 25 „

10. The narrative of each of these cases has been regularly furnished to me by the district superintendent through the magistrate, and has been again examined. These cases are mostly what may be termed "grain-plunder," the chief object of the attack being the obtainment of grain for food; in some cases grain and nothing else has been plundered.

11. The following Table shows the class of cases:—

	Grain Dacoity.	Other Dacoity.	Total.
1.—Gopeebullubpore - - jungle mehals	5	2	7
2.—Jhargaon - - - „ -	7	1	8
3.—Bheempore - - - „ -	9	1	10
	21	4	25
Other four thannahs (4, 5, 6, and 7) - -	14	11	25
Total - - -	35	15	50

In the 17 dacoities committed in the other parts of the district, grain has been rarely proved to be part of the plunder; but in the plains or cultivated thannahs, silver and metals are the natural objects of plunder under the pressure of high prices, in the same measure as is rice and grain in the jungle thannahs.

12. Of the dacoities committed in the jungle thannahs, none have been serious in the amount of property, and in very few has the violence committed been material. The two most important occurred in the jungle mehals, in one of which the dacoits, being intoxicated, pursued the householder, after plundering his rice, and belaboured him so severely that he subsequently died. In the second case an entire village of men, women, and children deserted, and on their way, while decamping, plundered three houses at some distance from each other.

13. The prisoners, on being arraigned, have, as far as I can gain from the reports, offered little or no defence; but have mostly confessed and pleaded hunger before the judicial officer holding the preliminary inquiry previous to committal, though from the bad influence of the prisoners in gaol, the confession has been generally withheld before the court of sessions. The plaintiffs are chiefly householders of an adjoining or neighbouring village, who have contrived to lay by a store of rice for home consumption, and are often of the same class as their plunderers.

14. I myself had, two days since, an opportunity of seeing a party of 14 (13 men and one woman) who were proceeding in the custody of the police to the magistrate's court. I examined these, one and all, apart from the police, as to the cause of their arrest, and

received from them an unqualified reply that they had been driven to commit the offence from sheer want. The appearance of these, I should notice, did not indicate starvation; but, on the contrary, they were healthy and able-bodied, and not the slightest attempt was made by them to disown the charge. I might also observe, at this point, that, with a view to ascertaining the general state and class of offenders that had been recently convicted of these offences, I visited the Midnapore gaol, and inspected each of the prisoners that had been convicted and were under trial (there were 157 of this latter class). I was surprised to find so healthy and sturdy-looking a gang, certainly carrying with them no signs of emaciation, as I had reason to expect would have been the case; possibly the favourable accommodation and good food of the prison, which some had been enjoying for weeks, may have ameliorated the condition of many; but the most recent arrivals appeared to me to be almost equally robust.

15. The mahajuns have suffered little or nothing from the lawlessness of the dacoits, and few of that class have appeared as plaintiffs; as far as I have been able to observe and learn from the magistrate, and others likely to know something of the subject, there is in the present time nothing like animosity and hostility to the mahajuns.

16. This, however, was not the case in the commencement of the harvest in November last. Prices rose 20 per cent. higher than they are at present; and as the creeks and small outlets by water were all full, and rice was thereby being exported, in spite of the local demand, the villagers turned out in crowds for the express purpose of stopping the trade, and helped themselves to rice from the golahs and boats that were passing.

17. These cases occurred in the southern thannahs, and it was at that time and not more recently, that the mahajuns were plundered; and by the timely and energetic measures taken by the magistrate, Mr. Herschel, and his district superintendent of police, Mr. Adams, the guilty parties were brought to conviction, and the crime firmly suppressed. Here, however, there was never any violence offered to the persons of the mahajuns, and the other property that was plundered, as distinguished from rice, was very trifling, boats and granaries being the sole attraction and object of plunder.

18. The mahajunnee dealings have not since recommenced on a large scale, as the channels and creeks are still dry, and the ryots are reluctant to part with the stock of rice that they may have.

19. The price current annexed in the margin, collected from the reports received from each thannah, and submitted bi-weekly to the Board of Revenue by the collector, exhibits the rise of prices in the several thannahs, and shows how very much more severe and rapid has the rise been in the four border thannahs during the past three months.

	Contai Sub-division.	Tumlook Subdivision.	Midnapore Generally.	Gurbetta Thannah.	Bheempore Thannah.	Jhargaon Thannah.	Gopebullubpore Thannah.
Price of the cheapest kind of rice on the 31st December 1865 - -	14	16	13	16	21	17	17
Price of the cheapest kind of rice on the 9th April 1866 - - -	13	11	10	10	10	13	10

20. In the month of November last, as I have already noticed, under a more sudden and alarming prospect of famine than is now entertained, the prices were generally 20 per cent. higher than they are at present. In Midnapore, rice was at eight seers for the rupee; and even now prices are exactly double what they were before the cyclone in 1864.

21. In the year 1766, the price of rice was as high as four seers for the rupee, equivalent to about one-and-half seers at the present time; but with rain to encourage sales, of which there seems every prospect at present, I have every hope that eight seers will not be reached again. Mr. W. Terry, the manager of Messrs. Watson & Co.'s extensive property in this district, informs me that he has no apprehension of famine, and that as soon as rain falls, prices will immediately fall, and employment in cultivation will put a stop to further plunder.

22. It will be apparent from the Return showing the number of occurrences, arrests, and convictions, attached to paragraph 4 of this Report, that there has been no want of activity on the part of the police, or of severity on the part of the Courts. The punishments have invariably been heavy, but in my estimation not too severe for the offence which has gradually become, no matter for what cause, habitual, and which must be put down by example.

23. I believe that the late judge, Mr. C. P. Hobhouse, who has tried many of these cases with the greatest possible care, was under the impression that there was no such grievous distress as to palliate the offence, and looked upon the plunder of other property simultaneously with the rice as evidence that it is general lawlessness rather than hunger that leads to these dacoities. In one case, however, of rice plunder, in which hunger was pleaded before the judge, and a sentence of six months' imprisoment was awarded to the offenders, the High Court animadverted on the inadequacy of the sentence, and I think reasonably

reasonably so, as in that case, as well as in most of the others that have come to my notice, there is clear evidence of the parties of dacoits going out armed with a view to resist opposition.

24. I have unfortunately not had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Hobhouse and ascertaining from him precisely what his opinion was; but if it be such as I have stated, I must differ with him altogether; and there is not a single person with whom I have conversed on the subject, during my stay at Midnapore, that does not agree with me that there is ample evidence to prove that hunger is the origin and cause of the augmentation of crime; 1st., in the facts that such cumbersome property as rice is plundered in so many cases; 2nd., in the large number of persons that are engaged; 3rd., in the entire want of any organised scheme known to the professional dacoit; 4th., the readiness with which a majority of the accused confess; and, *lastly*, the reason assigned for the commission of the crime.

25. It is to be observed that the crops in the low lands in the eastward or Hidglee side of the district (though not in the extreme south of Hidglee), are reported by the Collector to be much better than in the hilly country. This fact, coupled with that of the very liberal concession that was made by the Government to the zemindars and tenantry in that part, the relief that was in other ways granted after the cyclone, and the assistance that was afforded by the establishing of large food kitchens at the time of high prices in November last, organised by Mr. Herschel from funds derived from most liberal private subscriptions from the European residents and a few zemindars, has tended very materially to alleviate distress, and has undoubtedly put a stop to crime, which, as I above noticed, might have been expected to have increased greatly in this quarter.

26. In the plains or open country there has also been an increase of dacoity, but it has shown itself rather in the great sums plundered than in the number of crimes. Within the last four months there have been three or four dacoities which have the appearance of having been committed by professional dacoits, and in which large sums and valuable property has been plundered. In one of these a watchman was drowned, and the house was burned; this case as yet has, I regret to state, defied inquiry; in the three others the police have had good success, and conviction appears almost certain.

27. In the remaining cases there has been no violence to speak of, and but for their number, they would be thought nothing extraordinary. In one case now under inquiry, some property has been traced to some of the old approvers lodged in the police lines. This is under inquiry; but the police inspector, who has had much experience in these matters, informs me that there is every chance of a conviction of these men.

28. While noticing this case I would suggest that the approvers, who are distributed over the Lower Provinces, should be changed at intervals of one or two years, as their advice in cases of this nature is doubtless often sought for and taken; and it appears by some remarkable coincidence that most of the approvers have contrived to get transferred in or near to the very districts in which they formerly resided.

29. I would now notice the measures that have been taken by the magistrate to check the crime. In the month of October, when the grain panic commenced, and the mahajuns were threatened with a serious interruption to their traffic, guard-boats were under the orders of the magistrate organised and placed in the channels, and constable patrols were distributed among the villages under the immediate superintendence of the assistant district superintendent, Mr. Kilby, who was specially deputed for the purpose. The guard-boats did their work remarkably well for the space of some weeks, and the creeks were kept clear till the season was over.

30. In the month of November the district superintendent and the magistrate both recorded their opinion that the relief afforded by the harvest would be only temporary, and remonstrated against carrying out the new police allotments according to Colonel Bruce's scheme for another six months at least, though they had both given their concurrence to the arrangement otherwise. The circumstances were not considered at the time sufficiently strong to justify postponement of a measure that had been matured and commenced in practice, and the redistribution was carried out under the orders of Government.

31. In the month of January two special detective police inspectors were, in consequence of the heavy dacoity attended with arson above noticed, forwarded to Midnapore by the orders of the Inspector General of police, and the services of Mr. J. H. Reily were also offered; but as the deficiency lay in the numbers of men and not in superintendence, and prevention rather than detection was required, the proposal was declined. Early in the month of February, the district superintendent, Mr. Adams, reported that the police had become harassed by the number of pending inquiries that every available man was engaged; and that, if this did not speedily check the increase, it would be absolutely necessary to repeat the application for more men. In acknowledging this representation, the entertainment of 50 extra men was sanctioned, and they were forthwith enrolled.

32. The annexed Statement will show the sanctioned, present, and proposed strength of the police, as employed in the seven border thannahs:—

Thannah.	Sanctioned Strength.	Present Strength.	Proposed Strength.
Gurbetta - - - -	35	45+17	60+17
Bheempore - - -	37	44	54
Jhargaon* - - -	—	—	—
Gopeebullubpore - -	30	37	47
Midnapore - - -	38	38	43
Salbunnee - - -	20	28	28
Keshpore - - -	22	27	27

* The Rajah of Jhargaon has police powers in his own zemindary, as a separate thannah, under the terms of his settlement, and provides the police. It would be most expedient if this power could be revoked. I have requested the magistrate to ascertain personally from the Rajah whether he be disposed to give up this part of the engagement he holds with the Government.

33. This arrangement, coupled with measures now being adopted at my suggestion by the magistrate for apportioning off small bodies of police sirdars and paiks under orders of the police constables, and distributing them freely throughout the villages, will, I have little doubt, tend to reduce the amount of crime by open violence, provided that prices do not rise rapidly to anything below eight seers; but the measure will be attended with great difficulty as regards the organised constabulary, even with the present numbers.

34. I will here also quote, in the margin, the strength of the force of police sirdars, paiks, and chowkeedars engaged in the seven thannahs above noticed, which shows a very considerable number of men whose services ought to be of use at the present crisis. It is satisfactory to notice that this body of *quasi* police have, in few instances, been discovered to have partaken in the crimes recently committed, and the magistrate has noticed a few instances of their having done good service in the prevention and detection of crime.

Thannah.	Number of Sirdars.	Number of Paiks.	Number of Village Chowkeedars.
Gurbetta - -	101	108	371
Bheempore - -	38	246	0
Jhargaon - -	1	30	22
Gopeebullubpore -	24	193	151
Midnapore - -	62	296	297
Salbunnee - -	83	417	14
Keshpore - -	137	464	293

35. There appears to me to be a defect in the present system of distributing or rather locating the police in the district, and it is an opinion that is shared in by many of the native community, and has been expressed to me on several occasions during the present inquiry, and it is to the effect, that patrol within the thannah limits is altogether unknown, the police being either engaged in inquiry and duties of *Chellan*, or being all kept in attendance at the thannah, and thus neglecting almost entirely to go on rounds, as was formerly the case in the Mofussil. The number of outposts in these extensive thannahs is, in my estimation, too few, and I should be glad to see them doubled, if not increased to a greater extent. I have been given to understand that there is general distress in Cuttack, and in most of the jungle mehals, as well as Chyebassa and Chota Nagpore. A report to a somewhat similar effect had four days since been received from the deputy magistrate of Gurbetta, with regard to the Purulia District, and that the villagers bordering thereon were in great alarm at the proceedings of the Sonthals in Purulia, who are stated to be moving about in gangs, plundering people on the highway, and burning golahs. Mr. Adam, the district superintendent has, under instructions from Mr. Herschel, proceeded forthwith to that part of the country, and is at the present time instituting inquiry into the rumour. There is some tendency to the increase of crime, of precisely a similar character as that which is now prevalent in Midnapore, in the Bancoorah District, so that I cannot but recommend that some further pecautionary measures than those already taken should be adopted, and that the police force at Midnapore should be strengthened by drafts from the Howrah, Hooghly, and Burdwan reserve, and that of Bancoorah by a corresponding augmentation from Beerbhoom.

36. The Sonthal and other jungle tribes that compose the greater portion of the inhabitants in those parts where dacoity prevails, are, like the people of wild tracts, easily led to believe that plunder is the surest corrective to want and hunger; and if it be the case that the people in the adjoining districts are, as reported, moving about in gangs in quest of plunder, there is every probability that the inhabitants of these parts will be induced to sympathise with them and follow suit. I would, therefore, strongly urge that no delay take place in increasing, if possible, the reserve at the station of Midnapore.

37. Another and equally efficacious remedy would be that of extending the provisions of Section 6 of Act VI. of 1864, or what is commonly known as the "Whipping Act," to such

such parts of the frontier and jungle districts as require it. The zillah gaols are, I believe, no punishment to the ignorant class of Bhoomij and Sonthals at this season, but are, I think, on the contrary, with the food and shelter that is provided, rather agreeable and genial. I would, therefore, strongly recommend that the terms of the Act be immediately extended, as far as regards the district of Midnapore, to the five jungle thannahs of Gopeebullubpore, Jhargaon, Bheempore (the jungle mehals), and those of Gurbetta and Salbunnee, each and all as represented and demarcated in the map of the districts of Midnapore and Hidgelee, surveyed by Lieutenants Mathison and J. F. Egerton, revenue surveyors, and Mr. W. A. Wilson, revenue surveyor, published under the signature and authority of Lieutenant Colonel A. S. Waugh, Surveyor General of India, in the month of May 1849.

38. At present the Midnapore gaol, which is regulated to contain 600 prisoners, has on this date as many as 846 of all classes on its roll, and the result is, that 300 of the inmates are obliged to be encamped on the police parade ground, requiring thereby, for purposes of watch and ward, the services of an extra body of police, who might be most usefully employed in the interior on purely police duty. A reference to the inspector general of gaols might, under the approval of the Lieutenant Governor, lead to a portion of the convicts being transferred to some gaol where room might be found, and possibly at so convenient and healthy a gaol as that at Sooree, where, on my last visit in March last, there were little over 100 prisoners.

39. At any rate, should it not be feasible to remove the prisoners from Midnapore, arrangements should be made for their being hutted and guarded, and on the arrival of an additional police force, some of the municipal police, who have from sheer necessity been employed in guarding the prisoners, may be relieved and allowed to return to their own duty.

40. On receiving intimation of Mr. Adams' return from the Purulia border, I shall not fail to communicate the result of his inquiry to Government, and report further as to the expediency of extending the provisions of Act VI. of 1864 to the jungle thannahs of the Bancoorah District.

From *C. F. Montresor*, Esq., Commissioner for the Division of Burdwan, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 50); dated Burdwan, 27 April 1866.

In continuation of my letter, No. 45, of the 15th current, I have the honour to submit, for the perusal of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, a copy of a letter received this day from the magistrate of Midnapore, with reference to the increase of crime and state of the district generally. There is a slight increase of crime in the adjoining district of Bancoorah; but the prices of grain in that part are not higher than they have been for some months.

From *W. J. Herschel*, Esq., Magistrate of Midnapore, to the Commissioner of Burdwan Division (No. 52); dated 25 April 1866.

I beg to report the latest information I have about the state of the district in respect to the scarcity of food and consequent increase of crime.

2. The price lists show a continued fall. In Midnapore rice is selling at 10 seers, but at Dantoon, 30 miles south on the borders of Balasore, where I was a day or two ago, I found it below nine seers, and that bad rice. At Dantoon, stories were afloat of the lower castes taking to eating cows' flesh raw, and human corpses. The latter tale originated in the acts of a mad man, and I only mention it because its circulation showed that people are getting much alarmed there.

3. In Bogree (Gurbetta) on the extreme north, Bancoorah side, of the district, there is similar alarm. Mr. Adams, who has gone out to inquire into rumours of arson and wholesale gang-robbery, which Baboo Hem Chunder Kerr had reported, finds that there was at the time real alarm along the Purulia border, lest the Sonthals of that district should come over to plunder. From the enclosed *urzee* of a police officer in Purulia, to whom Mr. Adams had, I believe, addressed some questions, it seems that the alarm was not groundless. Mr. Adams tells me that, within our own line, the state of things is "not *bad*," and that the alarm has somewhat subsided. The price lists there show that rice is selling at 11 seers. From a private source I hear than the mahajuns of Bogree have been ill treated; thefts from their granaries are frequent, and one or two have certainly been burnt down.

4. I have not heard of such *malicious* proceedings elsewhere, and I cannot help observing that nowhere else in the district than in Gurbetta had any interference between mahajuns and consumers been attempted, to my knowledge. The export trade in rice was actually checked by the putneedars, and the mahajuns were actually pressed to sell to the ryots. The inevitable result is that the ryots are confirmed in their belief that the

mahajuns are their enemies when they will not sell. The instance is a very marked one. I have spoken to the putneedar about it, and have warned Baboo Hem Chunder Kerr not to give his countenance to any such one-sided benevolence. The putneedar has expressed his willingness to change his policy.

5. In the jungle mehals and the two jungle thannahs, Gurbetta and Salbunnee, as well as in Keshpore, grain dacoities and thefts are scarcely, if at all, on the *decrease*; and I am sorry to say the crime is spreading towards the plains.

6. Heavy rain fell over all parts of the district from which I have news as yet, on Saturday and Sunday, 21st and 22nd, and great hopes are entertained that the Boro or *Aus* rice will prove abundant. Sowings of this crop are very eagerly going on. A zemindarat Dantoon has given out land rent-free to all who will cultivate this crop this year, and the measure has been successful.

7. As usual on these occasions, the effect on the labour market is at first to lower the price of labour, and cause great discontent. This is the case all over the district, and particularly on the public and canal works. In these two departments, indeed, it is aggravated by the fact that wages had been lately ascertained to have been, beyond all doubt, too high. The complaints in Hidglee are of course bitter, but the embankments are crowded with men; women are scarcely to be seen, which is, I think, a favourable symptom.

8. The distress is still not so great, judging by prices, as it was just before the harvest in Hidglee and Midnapore, and I have not yet heard of any deaths among the able-bodied or even middle-aged. But the old and infirm are beginning to die from insufficient food. I have still hopes that the rain may bring forward cultivation, and that the granaries will then open more freely. Every one is watching for this. I am glad to be able to say that even at Dantoon, where prices are hardest, I was assured that very few ryots indeed had parted with their cattle, and that cultivation was going on very favourably to the labourers.

(No. 214.)

To the Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department; dated 23 May 1866.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of Government, copy of a letter* this day addressed by me to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, reporting an unauthorised increase of charge in the Police Establishment of the Midnapore District.

* No. 213, dated 23rd May.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Clark*,
Deputy Accountant General, Bengal.

(No. 213.)

To the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated 23 May 1866.

Sir,

WITH reference to the Financial Resolution, No. 1452, dated 29th March 1866, prescribing the course that should be observed in the audit of salary lists of the police force, I have the honour to report, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, a very great departure from the sanctioned scale, both in the numbers and cost of Head Constables and Constables of the several grades in the Midnapore District.

The numbers sanctioned by Government are as follows:—

Rank.	Grade.	Number.	Amount.
			Rs. *a.* *p.*
Head Constables - -	1st Grade - -	2	50 – –
	2nd ditto - -	20	400 – –
	3rd ditto - -	31	465 – –
	4th ditto - -	60	600 – –
Constables - - -	1st Grade - -	10	90 – –
	2nd ditto - -	75	600 – –
	3rd ditto - -	168	1,176 – –
	4th ditto - -	500	3,000 – –
	TOTAL - -	866	6,381 – –

Whereas

Whereas the following have been drawn:—

Rank.	Grade.	Number.	Amount.
			Rs. *a.* *p.*
Head Constables - -	1st Grade - -	3	56 13 8
	2nd ditto - -	11	220 - -
	3rd ditto - -	37	555 - -
	4th ditto - -	69	674 13 5
Constables - - -	1st Grade - -	2	18 - -
	2nd ditto - -	17	132 - -
	3rd ditto - -	213	1,477 1 9
	4th ditto - -	611	3,652 11 10
	TOTAL - -	963	6,786 8 8

As this increase of establishment requires the previous sanction of the Government of India, I have disallowed the excess amount drawn, *Rs.*405. 8. 8. (less deductions on account of Superannuation Fund and Fines), and directed its recovery from the District Superintendent of Police.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Clark,*
Deputy Accountant General, Bengal.

(No. 879.)

COPY of the above forwarded to the Home Department, for information.

By order, &c.
Financial Department, Simla, 7 June 1866. (signed) *J. E. Cooke,*
Assistant Secretary to the Government of India.

(Home Department.—No. 2022.)

To the Honourable *A. Eden,* Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir, Simla, 20 June 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 415 T., dated the 12th ultimo, with enclosures, relative to the prevalence of dacoity in the Midnapore District, and the remedial measures adopted.

2. In reply, I am to request that the Lieutenant Governor will have the goodness to forward, for the information of the Governor General in Council, copies of any further reports relating to Midnapore that may have been since received, or that may be received hereafter, and also any similar reports that his Honor may receive regarding the state of affairs in Orissa, and in the other districts bordering on Midnapore.

3. His Honor will, it is presumed, in due course, submit for sanction a statement of the extra establishment of police which he may find it absolutely necessary to authorise, the Account Department having, it is understood, already objected to pass the pay of the additional police entertained.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Howell,*
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

SERVICE MESSAGE.—21 June 1865.

From Calcutta.
From Secretary, Government of Bengal.
To Simla.
To Home Secretary.

CONVICTIONS for dacoity and grain robbery in the distressed districts numerous. All gaols excessively overcrowded, and already in two districts extensive gaol breakage taken place. Precedence.

Permission is urgently requested to the immediate dispatch to Port Blair of a large batch of men under sentence of transportation. It is begged that no restriction may be made as to length of term of men sent.

SERVICE MESSAGE,—23 June 1866.

From Simla.
From Home Secretary.
To Calcutta.
To Secretary to Government of Bengal.

YOUR telegram, dated 21, received. Despatch of more prisoners to Port Blair cannot be sanctioned. The Governor General suggests that the Lieutenant Governor should get up temporary shelter and entertain special guards. More by post.

(Home Department.—No. 2186.)

To the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir, Simla, 23 June 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 21st instant, reporting that convictions for dacoity and grain robbery in the distressed districts are numerous; that gaols are excessively over-crowded; that in two districts extensive gaol breakage has taken place; and requesting sanction to the immediate despatch to Port Blair, without reference to term of sentence, of a large batch of prisoners sentenced to transportation.

2. In reply, I am directed to intimate that the Governor General in Council is unable to accord sanction to the proposition.

3. Port Blair has now a *full* complement of convicts; and if natives of India are sent there, without being in all respects properly cared for, and especially without being well housed, there is likely to be again, I am to remark, the same frightful rate of mortality which prevailed a very few years ago.

4. Again, as a question of expense, it would surely be as cheap to entertain special guards, and to work the excess prisoners as labour gangs on the roads, as to charter a vessel to send them to Port Blair.

5. The Governor General in Council also thinks that there must be many among those convicted of grain robbery whom, as not belonging to the criminal classes, it would be merciful to pardon when the present distress is at an end.

6. But, however this may be, his Excellency in Council believes that it will not be prudent to pour into Port Blair a further large supply of convicts at present. They would arrive at the worst season of the year, and would, in all probability, be subjected to great exposure, or else the whole of the convicts to great overcrowding.

7. The Governor General in Council cannot, therefore, sanction, for some time to come, the dispatch of convicts to Port Blair who are sentenced to less than 14 years.

8. Under these circumstances, I am to intimate that the Government of Bengal must find temporary accommodation for the surplus convicts during the monsoon, and to authorise the entertainment of temporary guards.

9. As soon as the dry weather begins, the Governor General in Council thinks that, under the special circumstances of the case, gangs of prisoners should be employed on roads and other public works.

10. As connected with the above suggestion, I am to ask whether a gang might not even now be employed, for instance, in the Calcutta Dockyard.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

(Revenue.—No. 1878.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Sir, Fort William, 20 June 1866.

ADVERTING to the meeting which the Lieutenant Governor had with the Board on Monday, the 18th instant, and at which Mr. Moncrieff and Baboo Digumber Mitter were present, I am desired to record the following remarks as to the principle upon which the charitable funds placed at the disposal of the Government for the relief of the existing distress are to be administered, and the measures to be taken for the purpose.

2. The

2. The sum placed at the disposal of the Government is understood to be upwards of six lakhs of rupees. The Lieutenant Governor requests that the Board will ascertain and report what the exact amount is, how much of it has been expended, and in what manner, and how much remains.

3. It appears that 51,500 rupees have already been assigned to the several districts, as per margin, and are in course of distribution by the Local Relief Committees under the direction of the district officers, in the form either of money allowance or gratuitous rations of food to the weak and helpless, or of wages in money or food to the destitute who are able to work. It is supposed that this sum, supplemented by local charity, and by such general subscriptions as are offered, will suffice for some time longer, and that for merely charitable relief of this kind not more than, say, two-and-a-half lakhs will be wanted during the next three months, after which the new crop (of which, owing to the setting-in of the periodical rains, there is now a favourable prospect) will have come into the market, and the need of such relief will probably have been materially lessened.

	Rs.
Cuttack	10,000
Balasore	10,000
Pooree	10,000
Midnapore	5,000
Bankoora	5,000
Nuddea	5,000
Maunbhoom	2,000
Tirhoot	2,000
Chumparun	2,000
Singbhoom	500
Total Rupees	51,500

The Lieutenant Governor therefore proposes to reserve two-and-a-half lakhs out of the fund at disposal for strictly charitable relief. If in the course of the next few weeks it should appear that more money is likely to be wanted for this purpose, it will then become necessary to appeal in a formal way to the general charity of the public.

4. But the peculiar circumstances of the Province of Orissa have rendered it necessary for the Board, acting under the instructions of the Government, to import rice largely by sea into the districts of Pooree, Cuttack, and Balasore, for sale at prime cost to the people. It is believed by some that the quantity of rice now actually existing in these districts is not sufficient to support more than two-thirds of the population for the next three months; and though this belief is not shared by the local authorities, it is certain that the great bulk of the grain now in store is in the hands of village mahajuns, zemindars, and petty agriculturists, that they will not part with it at any price, but retain it either for their own consumption or for the use of their own immediate dependents and customers, and that the supply available for the general market is insufficient for the support of those who depend upon this supply for their daily food. Owing to the want of means of internal carriage, the scarcity prevailing in the adjoining districts, and the risk of importing by sea at this season, there is no prospect that the deficiency can be met by the operations of private trade, and it has therefore devolved upon the Government to step in, and avert the threatened calamity by importing rice for the consumption of those who can afford to purchase it at cost price, but who must otherwise starve, not for want of means to procure food, but because there is no food to be had.

5. The reports which have been received from the officers of the Public Works Department go to show that much of the money which has been sanctioned for public works in the province is at present useless, and cannot be spent, as the people will not work for money but demand food.

6. The importation of rice, therefore, by the Government in sufficient quantities, while it enables the bulk of the population to supply themselves with food, will have the effect of preventing a further rise of prices; afford the Government and the East India Irrigation Company the means of employing a greater number of labourers on works in progress, and tend generally to the removal of well-founded apprehensions of the actual exhaustion of existing stocks, to the restoration of confidence, to the prevention of grain robbery, which has become lamentably prevalent, and to the further development of the sources of local private charity.

7. Acting on this view, the Board have already purchased, or ordered the purchase of about 100,000 maunds of rice, of which about 26,000 maunds have been either imported into Orissa or are now on their way there, and the rest has been ordered from Rangoon and the Madras coast, but is not likely to arrive for some time. But, according to such information as the Government has, this quantity is far from sufficient even for the immediate wants of the province, much less for its probable wants during the next three months. Even if the trade with Ganjam and Gopalpore by the Chilka lake is to be depended upon, and if the rise of the Mahanuddy, consequent on the rains, should open the markets of Sumbulpore and Chutasgurh, still a considerable supply of rice will be needed at any rate for Balasore and the eastern parts of the Cuttack district, and for this the Board must provide.

The Board, however, have already anticipated nearly the whole of the charitable funds in hand by the purchase of 100,000 maunds as above stated. It is true that this expenditure will nearly all be recovered by the eventual sale of the rice, but it will be a long time before the returns come in, and in the meanwhile, unless other funds be forthcoming, no further transactions can be entered upon. Under these circumstances the Lieutenant Governor will ask the sanction of the Government of India to advance such sums as may be necessary for the purchase of rice, the advance being repayable from the sale proceeds of the rice as realised by the local authorities.

8. As to the quantity of rice to be purchased, it need be limited only by two considerations:—

1st. That the price at which it can be landed at one or other of the Cuttack ports, and conveyed to the place of sale, is not much greater than the ruling market price.

2nd. That the local authorities can make arrangements for receiving and landing it at the several ports, and conveying it to the various places in the interior at which it is to be sold.

9. On the first point it need only be observed that, when the price of rice in any of the districts of Orissa falls to a point at which importation of rice from abroad can only be effected at a considerable loss, it will be an indication that the local stock of rice is sufficient for local consumption, and that the supply may again be left to the ordinary operations of trade. It is extremely undesirable that import operations should be carried on by the Government longer than the necessity of the case absolutely requires, for these operations necessarily discourage private traders; and it is for the same reason that the rice imported by the Government must not, as a rule, be sold to the people at less than the market price, or less than prime cost, whichever of these two may at the time be the lower. But it will no doubt be necessary for a longer period to distribute relief both in money and food to the weak and indigent, either gratuitously or in return for such labour as they can perform.

10. In regard to the second point, the Commissioner has already been desired to report precisely the arrangements he has made for receiving, landing, and distributing the cargoes of rice as they arrive at the ports, and for selling rice at the several depôts established in the interior, and the quantity he is able to dispose of in this manner. It seems probable, however, that unless there is a receiving ship stationed at False Point or Dhamra, there may be considerable delay in landing the rice at this season, and consequent demurrage. The master attendant should be consulted whether the "Tubal Cain," or any other vessel, is available for this service.

11. The Board will keep clear and accurate accounts of the expenditure of the funds placed at their disposal, and publish them weekly for the information of the public. The relief committees should in like manner be required to furnish the Board with weekly accounts of their receipts and expenditure, and of the relief afforded by them. And the Commissioner of Cuttack should submit weekly stock and cash accounts of the rice importod by the Government and disposed of. It will be convenient if the accounts of the import operations and those of the relief committees be kept quite separate; all supplies of rice furnished from the imported stock to the relief committees for charitable distribution being credited in their accounts at a fixed rate, estimated, as nearly as possible, to represent the cost price. All rice supplied from the imported stores to public departments must be debited at full cost price to those departments under the proper head of account.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Lieutenant Governor to Governor General.

Calcutta, 20 June 1866.

I WROTE to you on Monday about the supply of rice to Orissa. We have plenty of money for purely relief operations, and need not ask the public at present for more; but for importations of rice a large outlay is required. I ask immediate authority now for the advance of four lacs from the Treasury; the whole to be recovered by sale of rice at cost price.

REPLY.

From Home Secretary to Lieutenant Governor.

Simla, 21 June 1866.

ADVANCE of four lacs for purchase of rice sanctioned. It is suggested that the rice should be sold at market price, so that the private traders may not be discouraged.

(No. 2085.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Home Department, Simla, under date the 21st June 1866.

READ a telegram from the Hon. the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, dated 20th instant, requesting an immediate advance from the Treasury of four lacs of rupees, for the purchase of rice for importation into Orissa, the amount to be recovered by the sale of the rice.

RESOLUTION.

The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the advance applied for by the Lieutenant Governor.

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Financial Department for the issue of the necessary orders in regard to the advance.

(No. 2086.)

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Government of Bengal for information.

(Revenue.—No. 1876.)

To the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

Sir, Fort William, 20 June 1866.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of a letter, No. 1878, of this day's date, addressed to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and with reference to paragraph 7 to request that the Government of India will place at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor the sum of 20 lacs of rupees (20,00,000 rupees) to be employed in importing rice into Orissa. This sum will be entirely of the nature of an advance, to be recovered by the sale of the rice at prime cost, any loss which may be incurred by having to sell the rice at a price below prime cost, to be met from the relief fund already placed at the disposal of this Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Mackenzie*,
Officiating Deputy Secretary to Government, Bengal.

(No. 2216.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Home Department, Simla, under date the 25th June 1866.

READ again the following papers regarding an advance of four lacs of rupees for the purchase of rice for importation into Orissa:

1. Telegram from Lieutenant Governor, of 20 June.
2. Reply, dated 21 June.
3. Resolution, dated 21 June.

Read a letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 1876, dated the 20th instant, applying for an advance of 20 lacs, to be employed in importing rice into Orissa.

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal considers that the best plan for giving relief to the starving population of Orissa is to arrange for the importation of rice to be sold at a price covering the first cost, and also the cost of importation. With this object to be accomplished, his Honor asks to be allowed to expend money, if necessary, up to 20 lacs of rupees on Government account, the money being replaced as the proceeds from the sale of the grain are realized.

His Honor has already been authorized to expend four lacs for this purpose, and the Governor General in Council is pleased to extend the sanction to the amount now applied for, viz., 20 lacs.

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Financial Department for the issue of the necessary orders.

(No. 2217.)

Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Government of Bengal for information.

SERVICE MESSAGE, 15 June 1866.

From Calcutta.
From Mr. Harrison.
To Simla.
To Home Secretary.

Precedence. The following telegram from Madras has been received to-day:—Distress in Ganjam District very great. Can a grant in aid of district relief funds be made from the surplus Famine Fund at your disposal?

SERVICE MESSAGE, 20 June 1866.

From Simla.
From Home Secretary.
To Madras.
To Secretary to Government.

YOUR telegram to Calcutta regarding the famine in Ganjam received. The whole of the surplus North-West Famine Fund has been allotted for famine purposes in Orissa and elsewhere; but the Government of India will consider favourably any reasonable proposition for the relief of the distress in Ganjam which the Madras Government may submit. Meanwhile, pending the receipt of fuller information, the Madras Government may expend for this purpose, at its discretion, a sum not exceeding 10,000 rupees.

(No. 2035.)

Copy forwarded to the Financial Department for information.

SERVICE MESSAGE, 25 June 1866.

From Simla.
From Home Secretary.
To Madras.
To Secretary to Government.

IF there is still great distress in Ganjam calling for charitable relief, in excess of the means already made available, the Governor General will assign a portion of the North-West Famine Fund, from which it is believed a small sum has been already granted by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 39 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable the Earl *De Grey and Ripon*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 11 July 1866.

IN continuation of our Despatch, No. 36, dated the 27th ultimo, we have the honour to report further proceedings relating to the distress prevailing in Orissa and other parts.

2. A narrative, furnished by the Government of Bengal, of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted and in course of adoption for alleviating the wants of the sufferers, will be found among the papers noted on the margin.* A copy† of the Lieutenant Governor's instructions to the Board of Revenue on the subject of the relief of the prevailing distress, will also be found among the papers.

* Letter from Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 1985, dated 2nd July 1866, and enclosure.
† Letter from Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 1932, dated 26th June, and enclosure.

From Government of Fort St. George, No. 1470, dated 15th June (received 29th).
Telegrams to Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, dated 30th June.
To Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 2380, dated 30th June.
To Acting Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, No. 2381, dated 30th June.
From Government of Bengal, No. 1,993, dated 2nd July 1866.

3. We have, you will observe, requested the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to place a sum of 20,000 rupees (out of the Famine Relief Fund) at the disposal of the Madras Government, for the relief of the distress now prevailing in Ganjam. This amount will be expended in purely charitable relief.

We have, &c.

John Lawrence. *G. N. Taylor.*
W. R. Mansfield. *W. Massey.*
H. S. Maine. *H. M. Durand.*
W. Grey.

(Revenue.—No. 1932.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 26 June 1866.

WITH reference to the resolutions of the Government of India, noted in the margin, and to your telegram of the 21st instant, I am directed to forward copy of a letter addressed this day to the Board of Revenue on the subject of the relief of the prevailing distress.

No. 1840, dated 14th June 1866.
No. 2043, dated 20th June 1866.

2. The Governor General in Council will perceive from this and previous communications that most of the suggestions of the Government of India have been anticipated.

3. The system of guaranteeing a minimum price to private traders has been tried, and found not to answer. The best practical guarantee that the private trader can have is, that the Government will not sell its stores to the public at less than the market price, except in small quantities through the agency of the Relief Committees in the way of charitable relief.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Revenue.—No. 1933.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L.P.

Sir, Fort William, 26 June 1866.

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters noted on the margin,* relative to the measures in progress for the relief of the prevailing distress. The letter, No. 844 B, will not be recorded.

* No. 810½ B., dated 19th June, with enclosures.
No. 857 B., dated 21st June.
No. 844 B., dated 21st June.

2. The rules issued for the guidance of local relief committees in the Cuttack division, and of collectors in charge of Government rice, are generally approved; but the rule which authorizes the relief committees to issue tickets or orders on the Government store at the rate of eight Cuttack seers for the rupee, to the extent of 10 rupees' worth at a time, requires modification. This rule would enable petty dealers to obtain two maunds of rice at five rupees a maund, and retail it to the poor at market price, which at present may be taken to be 10 rupees a maund, and thus realize a profit of 100 per cent. on the transaction. Relief tickets should be limited to the quantity necessary for a few days' consumption of the person relieved, and should be very sparingly used. It seems in all respects preferable that the relief committees should indent on the Government stores for the rice they require, either for gratuitous distribution, or for distribution in exchange either for work or for money, at less than the market price, and that no stores should be issued from the Government stock at less than the cost price.

3. The rice imported by Government must not on any account be sold direct from the Government stores at less than the market price ruling at the time. The sale of rice on more favourable terms should be effected only through the agency of the relief committees; and as a rule it must not be sold from the Government stores at less than cost price, though hereafter, when the market price falls, it may become necessary to sell the Government rice at a loss, but never at a rate below the market price. While the market price is high, the price charged for the Government rice will probably be something above cost price, but the profit obtained by these earlier transactions will probably not be enough to cover the loss that will be incurred when the market price falls. No other system will be compatible with the obligation that rests upon the Government to administer the relief fund economically, and not to interfere with private trade further than may be absolutely necessary for the relief of the necessitous.

4. From a telegram received from the Commissioner, and laid before the Board at its meeting yesterday, when the Lieutenant Governor was present, it appears that the first supplies of Government rice were greedily purchased at five Cuttack seers the rupee, the Commissioner having wisely overruled the proposal of the Relief Committee to sell it at six seers the rupee. The market price at the time being four seers, the Commissioner would have acted rightly if he had offered the Government stock for sale at that price.

5. The Board should furnish the Commissioner with the means of estimating the prime cost of the imported rice, including all charges, in order to enable him to charge the public departments and relief committees at that price for all rice supplied to them on indent; but for the sale of rice to the public the market price must be his only guide.

6. With reference to para. 6 of your letter, No. 857 B., I am to remark that while it is perfectly true, as the Board observes, that the distress of the people will range through all grades from actual destitution up to the full power to purchase food at the market price,

price, and that the relief committees must suit their operations to each class from gratuitous distribution up to sale at anything less than full price, it is incumbent upon the committees to be most careful in their proceedings, and not to extend relief to any who can provide for themselves.

7. Rules such as those which have been adopted for the relief committees in Orissa should be prescribed for the committees in other districts in which distress prevails, and to which the Board have extended public relief.

8. It was determined at a meeting of the Board yesterday, that a sum of 5,000 rupees should be advanced through the Relief Committee at Kishnagur to Mr. J. Hills, for the support of needy ryots, who are prevented from labouring on public works by reason of being employed in the cultivation of their fields, but who have no means of subsistence until the harvest, Mr. Hills undertaking to repay the whole amount in October. This is an exceptional case, but the plan is one which may be adopted at the discretion of the Board, where the necessity for it is shown, and where there is really trustworthy agency to carry it out. The advance of money to professional mahajuns cannot be permitted.

9. The Government of India having sanctioned an advance of four lakhs from the public treasury (in addition to the relief funds) for the purchase of rice, I am desired to request that the Board will make immediate arrangements for this, taking care to purchase the rice so that it may be imported into Orissa at the cheapest possible rate, and in such proportions at the several ports as the wants of each district indicate as proper. With reference to your letter No. 844 B., and the postscript attached to your letter No. 857 B., I am to observe that these further import operations should be limited for the present to 80,000 or 1,00,000 maunds.

10. I am desired again to impress upon the Board the great importance of keeping accurate accounts of cash and stock, and of requiring the same from the district officers and relief committees, and of keeping a clear distinction between the import operations which are now being carried on to a great extent with Government money, and those of the relief committees. It is also of great importance that the Board should receive early returns of the disposal of the Government stocks, in order that they may know from time to time what funds are available for further operations.

11. In conclusion, I am desired to request that the Board will remind the Commissioners and district officers when distress prevails, of the continued necessity that exists for availing themselves to the utmost of local private charity, and for stimulating the more wealthy and well-to-do residents of each district to assist their poorer and distressed neighbours, by helping the relief committees with funds, by feeding the destitute and helpless, by giving employment to those who can work, or in any other way. It is clearly incumbent on the residents of each district to support their own poor to the utmost extent of their means, and the liberality of the public and of the Government, by which so much assistance has been afforded to the districts now suffering from scarcity and famine, should only stimulate the local upper classes, especially zemindars, bankers, and others, who derive their incomes from the industry of the poor, to greater exertion and self-sacrifice on behalf of the suffering people whose first claim is upon them, and in whose welfare they are chiefly concerned.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Revenue.—No. 1985.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 2 July 1866.

In continuation of my letter, No. 1877, dated 20th ultimo, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a third narrative of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted, and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Narrative.

In the previous narrative, dated the 20th instant, it was stated that the Lieutenant Governor had had a personal interview with the members of the Board of Revenue, at which the Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce and Baboo Degumber Mitter were present. The result of this meeting was separately reported to the Government of India

India in a letter, No. 1876, dated 20th instant. In consequence of the discussion which there took place, the Lieutenant Governor came to the determination that Government might very properly advance such sums as may be necessary for the purchase of rice, the advance being repayable from the sale proceeds of the rice as realised by the local authorities, and the Board were told to limit their importation of rice into Orissa by two considerations only:—

1st. That the price at which it can be landed at one or other of the Cuttack ports and conveyed to the place of sale, is not much greater than the ruling market price.

2nd. That the local authorities can make arrangements for receiving and landing it at the several ports, and conveying it to the various places in the interior at which it is to be sold.

2. Importations have continued to be made up to the present time, and will continue to be made on these principles, until the price of rice in the districts of Orissa falls to a point at which importation from abroad can only be effected at a considerable loss.

3. For the purpose of effecting the importation of rice, the Lieutenant Governor asked the Government of India for a credit of 20 lakhs of rupees, and requested an immediate instalment of four lakhs of rupees; the latter sum was at once sanctioned by telegraph, and the full amount asked for has since been placed at the credit of this Government by the Government of India.

4. Instructions have been issued to the Commissioner of Cuttack to keep the accounts of all the rice imported entirely distinct from those of the rice distributed by the relief committees. The rice will, in the first place, be stored and kept by the collectors and their subordinates, who will retail it in small quantities at numerous depôts, at their discretion, to the public generally at the full market rate. It has been determined not to sell below the rate, in order that confidence may be preserved among the traders, and that trade may be restored to its natural channels at the earliest possible date.

5. While this arrangement has been made in regard to the sale of imported rice, the officers in charge of the stores have been directed to supply rice freely to the relief committees from their depôts at cost price, taking payment in cash when the relief funds will permit of such payments, or advancing it to them on credit if necessary. No one will be permitted to purchase rice from the collectors' stores for anything less than market price, but here the relief committees step in, and supply rice to any one whom they consider incapable of paying full price for it, at any price they may fix below market price, or gratuitously, as they may think fit. Rice will also be supplied to the public departments at cost price. It is hoped that the loss from the sales below cost price, and the gratuitous distribution, will be covered by the six-and-a-half lakhs of rupees from the North Western Provinces Famine Relief Fund, placed at the disposal of this Government by the Government of India.

6. The first instalment of Government imported rice which had reached Cuttack sold readily at eight rupees per maund. The total quantity of rice for the importation of which orders have at present been given for the Orissa district is 1,80,000 maunds, and besides this the Commissioner of the Central Provinces has been asked to purchase in Sumbulpore 50,000 maunds, and send it down by the "Mahanuddee." Whether he will be able to do this is not yet known; but he has reported that there was a fair average crop in that locality last harvest.

7. The chief difficulty which has to be contended against is that of landing the rice and transporting it into the interior; it is hoped, however, that arrangements have been now made which will obviate future delay in this respect. The "Guide," pilot vessel, has been sent to the Dhumra river with rice, and if she can land her cargo it will find its way into a part of the country near Bhudruck, which it has hitherto been found very difficult to relieve. As the rivers are opening, it is hoped that large importations will now come from the Sumbulpore direction, while the transport arrangements between False Point and Cuttack will be greatly facilitated.

8. The relief committees, both in Cuttack and in other parts of the country, have been urged to avail themselves to the utmost of private charity.

9. The rains have now set fairly in throughout the Lower Provinces, and the crops are reported to be unusually fine, except in Cuttack, where the early rice crop has suffered, but by the latest advices the greater portion of this has been saved by the rain which commenced to fall about the 13th.

10. The neighbourhood of Koordah, in the district of Pooree, was at the beginning of the month disturbed by bands of men committing robberies, principally of grain; the police were strongly reinforced; relief operations were commenced, and all is now quiet. A sum of 10,000 rupees has just been granted from the Government Estates Improvement Fund for expenditure in the Koordah and Piplee road, a work which is said to have afforded great relief to the people in its vicinity. Unfortunately cholera has broken out in the Orissa districts, and it is feared that the disease will be aggravated rather than

relieved by a plentiful supply of food after such great privation. To assist the Commissioner, who is much overworked, the Lieutenant Governor has deputed Mr. M'Neile, of the civil service, who acquired large experience in relief operations after the cyclone of 1864. A considerable staff of assistant and deputy magistrates has also been sent down to Orissa to assist the district authorities.

11. The general state of the district suffering from the high prices of grain is improving, and, as the rivers and khalls open and enable the agriculturist to bring to market stores of grain heretofore locked up in villages and farms, it will have a tendency to improve still further. The harvest of the Ous crop, which is particularly large this year, will commence in less than a month, and the mahajuns who have stores will, now that a fine crop is a matter of certainty, open their golahs.

12. Maunbhoom is perhaps the district which, next to Orissa, has suffered most. To that district further sums of 3,000 and 15,000 rupees' worth of rice have been sent. Two roads are in course of construction which afford relief to a large body of labourers. The Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, has gone to Purulia to superintend the relief operations. The Relief Committee is distributing food at a daily expenditure of 100 rupees, and private subscriptions, amounting to 3,220 rupees, have been placed at the Deputy Commissioner's disposal by the inhabitants of the district. To Hazareebaugh and Burhee 500 rupees in cash have been sent.

13. *Patna.*—Rumours having reached the Lieutenant Governor of great distress in Tirhoot, the Commissioner was directed to proceed to the spot, and report. The result of his inquiries seems to show that the extent of the distress has been greatly exaggerated; it is almost entirely confined to the northern part of the district in the neighbourhood of the Terai. The residents and zemindars are doing all that is necessary in this and the other districts of the Patna division. Chumparun and Sarun are perhaps those which are suffering most. At a second meeting of the Board, which was held on Monday the 25th instant, the following further assignments of money were made to the Relief Committees:—

Pooree - - - - - - - -	*Rs.* 10,000
Nuddea - - - - - - - -	10,000
Sarun - - - - - - - -	5,000
Chumparun - - - - - - - -	5,000
Tirhoot - - - - - - - -	2,000

14. The sum of 5,000 rupees was also placed at the disposal of the Collector of Ganjam, in consequence of a telegram from the Government of Madras to the Controller of Accounts in the Presidency, which was forwarded by him to the Lieutenant Governor. No demand for money has been made from other places. Of the 10,000 rupees granted to Nuddea, 5,000 rupees is to be made over to Mr. Hills, of Nischindpore, to be advanced under his superintendence and upon his security to the cultivators of his neighbourhood until their crops can be reaped, and the Board have been authorised to extend the principle to the case of other landholders, provided the security of their guarantee is considered sufficient.

15. A further sum of 30,000 rupees has been placed at the disposal of the Commissioner of Nuddea from the assignment for local public works. The crops in Nuddea are said to be the finest that have been seen for many years past, and the Collector of Midnapore is confident that all the further aid that he will require will be 5,000 rupees.

16. To relieve the distress in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, the Commissioner has been authorised to make small advances of money to the Government Khas ryots, to enable them to tide over the time which must elapse before the early rice crop is available. These sums will be repaid on the gathering of the crop.

(signed) *Ashley Eden,*
Fort William, 30 June 1866. Secretary to the Governmnt of Bengal.

From *W. Hudleston*, Esq., Acting Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1470); dated 15 June 1866.

The distress in the Ganjam district at the present time is grievous, and in the northern portion of the district is as great as what is reported of the neighbouring district of Cuttack.

2. Strenuous efforts are being made by the Government officers and by private charity to afford such measure of relief as is possible, and much has been and is being done in this direction.

3. But means are limited for encountering such wide-spread and crushing distress, and I am accordingly directed to solicit that you will bring under consideration the claims of the district for a grant-in-aid from the large surplus of the Famine Fund, which it is understood is available for expenditure.

SERVICE MESSAGES.

From Simla, dated the 30th June 1866.
From Home Secretary.
To Calcutta.
To Lieutenant Governor.

Please place at once 20,000 rupees out of Famine Fund at disposal of Madras Government for relief of distress in Ganjam. Inform Madras.

From Simla, dated the 30th June 1866.
From Home Secretary.
To Madras.
To Mr. Secretary Hudleston.

Your letter (No. 1470), dated 15th June, received. Lieutenant Governor of Bengal will at once place 20,000 rupees from Famine Fund at disposal of Madras Government, to be expended in purely charitable relief in Ganjam.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 2380); dated Simla, 30th June 1866.

REFERRING to the accompanying copy of a letter from the Government of Fort St. George (No. 1470), dated the 15th instant, regarding the distress prevailing in the Ganjam district, I am directed to request that you will have the goodness, under the orders of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, to place a sum of 20,000 rupees out of the surplus Famine Fund at the disposal of the Madras Government.

2. A telegram to the above effect has this day been sent to you.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Acting Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George (No. 2381); dated Simla, 30th June 1866.

IN reply to your letter (No. 1470), dated the 15th instant, I am directed to state that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has this day been requested to place a sum of 20,000 rupees out of the Famine Relief Fund at the disposal of the Madras Government, for the relief of the distress now prevailing in Ganjam. This amount, I am to add, should be expended in purely charitable relief.

2. A telegram to the above effect has this day been sent to you.

From *A. Mackenzie*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue (No. 1991); dated Fort William, 2nd July 1866.

UNDER instructions from the Government of India in the Home Department, I am directed to request that the Board of Revenue will, in communication with the Accountant General, Bengal, place at once at the disposal of the Government of Madras a sum of twenty thousand (20,000) rupees, from the Famine Fund for the relief of distress in Ganjam.

(No. 1993.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India in the Home Department, with reference to their telegram of the 30th ultimo.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 46 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 26 July 1866.

IN continuation of our Despatch, No. 39, dated the 11th instant, we have the honour to transmit for your information the accompanying further narratives furnished by the government of Bengal of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted, and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

Letter from Bengal, No. 2076, dated 10th July 1866, and enclosure.
Letter from Bengal, No. 2162, dated 18th July 1866, and enclosure.

From Bengal, No. 3714, dated 7th July 1866, and enclosures.

2. We also forward copy of the documents noted on the margin relative to the state of the districts of the Chota Nagpore division, and the prevalence of dacoity in the Khoordah subdivision in Cuttack.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 2076.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 10 July 1866.

In continuation of my letter, No. 1985, dated the 2nd instant, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the fourth narrative of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted, and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Narrative.

See paragraph 11 of the Narrative submitted with Letter No. 1985, dated 2nd instant.

Last week the Lieutenant Governor had the satisfaction of reporting that the general state of the districts suffering from the high prices of grain was improving. His Honor is now glad to observe that this improvement continues. In Hooghly, Burdwan, Kishnaghur, and Jessore hopes are entertained of an abundant harvest, and promising accounts have been received of Kooshtea, Bongong, Maherpore, Ranaghat, Choregutcha, Kotechandpore, Magoorah, Jenidah, Narail, and Koolna. From Moorshedabad, Pubna, Maldah, Rajshahye, and Purneah the accounts are also good. As regards Tirhoot the reports are very favourable, except in regard to a small tract near the sub-division of Seetamarhee, where great distress exists. The magistrate has been specially deputed to relieve the people of this part of the country.

2. Sickness and mortality have been reported prevalent at Jellasore, and the Principal Inspector General, Medical Department, has been directed to depute a qualified native doctor with medicines to that locality. Another native doctor has also been ordered to Balasore.

3. From the Khas Estates in Hidgelee 250 rupees have been contributed to the Contai Famine Fund, and a monthly subscription of a similar amount has been directed to be paid to the General Famine Fund of the Midnapore district. From the Wards' Estates at Nyagur and Jumboonee, 250 and 200 rupees have been paid to the Dantoon Committee, and to the relief depôts at Gootea and Belpaharee.

4. In accordance with the instructions of the Government of India, 20,000 rupees have been placed at the disposal of the government of Madras for the relief of distress at Ganjam, in addition to the sum of 5,000 rupees which had been previously sent to them.

5. The amount expended from the surplus Famine Fund placed at the disposal of the Board of Revenue, has been 4,56,580 rupees; of this 1,18,100 was in cash remittances to fifteen distressed districts, including Ganjam, and 3,38,480 rupees in despatches of grain. A considerable portion of the amount expended in grain will be recovered by sales. Besides this, orders on the part of Government have been given for the purchase of grain at Sumbulpore and, as before reported, on the Madras coast, and 85,600 maunds of rice are deliverable at Cuttack in all July and August. A general order has been sent to Rangoon to go on purchasing rice so long as it can be put on board ship at *Rs.* 3. 8. per maund. In Calcutta purchases are being made for Balasore and Dhumra, and a cargo of 8,500 bags has been bought up at 12 rupees per bag deliverable at False Point. Two steamers are now discharging their cargoes of rice at Pooree.

6. The Commissioner of Cuttack has been told that, having regard to the great difficulty which is experienced in finding out the real market price of rice, owing to the smallness of stocks, he may fix the price of the rice imported into the district for sale at half a seer or one seer per rupee cheaper than the nominal bazaar price.

7. During

7. During this week a letter was received from the Committee of the British Indian Association, urging principally the need of importing large quantities of rice into Orissa, and objecting to the instructions given by Government to the local officers to interfere as little as possible with private trade by selling at market or cost price. It was pointed out in reply that Government was already sending rice into the country as fast as it could be obtained and shipped, and that, under the instructions given to local authorities, the relief committees had ample powers given them to alleviate positive distress by supplying rice on terms quite irrespective of market rates, while for those who were able and willing to buy rice the Government stores were open, and to sell to them at market prices was the only fair and proper course to adopt.

(signed) *Ashley Eden*,
Fort William, 10 July 1866. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Revenue.—No. 2162.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 18 July 1866.

In continuation of my letter, No. 2076, dated the 10th instant, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the fifth narrative of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted, and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Narrative.

Since the date of the last Narrative the accounts from the Moffusil, though showing that great distress still exists in Orissa, and in parts of Midnapore, Maunbhoom, Chumparun, and Tirhoot, are full of promise as to the future. Prices are already falling even in Orissa. In all parts of the country the increasing crop is spoken of as being one of the finest that there has been for many years. The weather is singularly favourable for the winter crop, and there is every prospect that in about six weeks the price of food will everywhere have fallen naturally, and that the distress of the poorer classes, even where it is now most severely felt, will have been brought within the compass of local relief. The early rice crop is already being reaped in dry lands, and in the course of the next two months the summer harvest will have been gathered throughout Bengal. Fortunately, in Balasore, this is the chief harvest of rice, though in other districts it is only a subsidiary crop. All that Government has to do, therefore, besides supplying funds in aid to the local relief committees, and finding employment for the able-bodied on public works, is to continue the importation of rice into the Orissa districts till the latter part of next month; and for this arrangements have already been made.

The mortality from privation and cholera has been very great, but the local committees are doing everything in their power to alleviate the distress. They are everywhere plentifully supplied with funds, and large sums have been raised among the wealthier classes, especially in Tirhoot and Chumparun, for the relief of the poor. It is satisfactory to find that the actual cultivators have rarely been compelled to seek for relief, which has been almost confined to the classes who work for wages, the old and infirm, and beggars. These are now, in many places, returning to labour in the fields.

Up to the 11th instant, 8,08,399 rupees had been disbursed for the relief of 15 districts; 1,31,100 rupees in cash remittances, and 6,77,299 rupees in purchases of grain. Of the latter sum a great proportion will be recovered, and the Lieutenant Governor thinks that there is now no longer any ground for anticipating that it will be necessary to make any general appeal to the public for funds in aid of the District Relief Committee.

There are nine vessels either at or on their way to False Point, Pooree, Balasore, and Dhamra River, with cargoes as per margin.

	Maunds.
"Arracan"	5,600
"Gibb"	27,000
"Gustave" and "Charles Maurien"	37,000
"Guide"	5,000
"Nemesis"	8,000
"Asia"	35,000
"Bushire" and "Tubal Cane"	35,000
Total	1,52,600

From the six centres of relief in Cuttack, relief is being afforded to 1,205 men, 631 women, and 1,075 children. Much also was being done through individual exertions.

From the Balasore depôts 10,816 persons are relieved daily, and 1,124 in Pooree.

The Government of Madras were asked to send 10,000 bags of rice, and the request has been complied with, but they have intimated that as the price of grain is rising on the coast they can supply no more.

Fortunately the supply of rice from Burrisaul is now very abundant, and any quantity can, by the latest advices, be purchased at from *Rs.* 2. 8. to *Rs.* 2. 12. per maund. Arrangements have been made for continuing a full supply from this source for the Orissa districts, so long as it is required.

The

The East India Irrigation Company, in aid of the measures adopted by Government, have tendered the loan of their boats and the services of three European assistants for landing rice.

	Rs.
Balasore	5,000
Cuttack	5,000
Midnapore	2,500
Maunbhoom	1,000
Tirhoot	2,000

Further assignments have been made to the districts marginally noted, and another cargo of 8,500 bags of rice consigned originally to Bourbon has been bought up in Calcutta, for transmission to False Point.

(signed) *Ashley Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 18 July 1866.

From *A. Machenzie*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 3714); dated Fort William, 7th July 1866.

WITH reference to the letter from your office, No. 2022, dated the 20th ultimo, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of the correspondence, noted in the margin, containing a Report from the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore on the state of the districts in his division, and details of the measures adopted by him to relieve the distress now prevailing in Maunbhoom and Singbhoom.

Letter from the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, No. 993, dated 14th May last.
Do. do. No. 1283, dated 14th June.
To ditto, No. 3395, dated 22nd June.

2. Copies of communication from the Commissioner of Cuttack, as per margin, reporting the prevalence of dacoity in the Khoordah subdivision, together with copies of the orders passed thereon by the Lieutenant Governor, are also annexed. I am to add that all further reports which may hereafter be received in this office on the state of the distressed districts, will be forwarded to the Government of India.

No. 134, dated 30th May last.
No. 147, dated 9th ultimo.

From Lieutenant Colonel *E. T. Dalton*, Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Darjeeling (No. 993); dated 14th May 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter, No. 300 T., of the 5th instant, with its enclosure from the Commissioner of Burdwan, reporting that the Midnapore villagers, bordering on the Maunbhoom (Purulia) district, were in great alarm at the proceedings of the Sonthals from that district, who are represented to be moving about in gangs, armed, &c.

2. In reply, I beg to state that though, during the month of April, a number of grain robberies have been reported from the south-eastern part of the Maunbhoom district, and a considerable number of men have been tried and convicted of such robberies, there have been no disturbances—nothing with which the ordinary police has been unable to cope.

3. I do not find that Sonthals predominate amongst the plunderers; they are generally of the class called Baorees, who are not so well off as the Sonthals.

4. The Deputy Commissioner is now engaged in devising measures for the relief of the most distressed of the people who are driven to crime by starvation; but I do not consider that the general pressure, in consequence of the scarcity of food, is specially severe on the Maunbhoom district.

5. I have called on the Deputy Commissioners of Singbhoom and Maunbhoom to report if any armed gangs from their districts have been disturbing the peace of the frontier. I have not heard of such. The inhabitants of Singbhoom and Maunbhoom appear to me to be bearing up very well against their difficulties.

(No. 3349.)

COPY forwarded for the information of the Commissioner of Burdwan, in continuation of paragraph 4 of the Government letter, No. 302 T., dated the 5th ultimo.

By order, &c.
(signed) *A Mackenzie*,
Offg. Under-Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Fort William, 20 June 1866.

From Lieutenant Colonel *E. T. Dalton*, Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Darjeeling (No. 1283); dated 14th June 1866.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 300, of the 5th ultimo, forwarding an extract from the Commissioner of Burdwan's Report, No. 45, of the 15th April last, I have the honour to submit a Report by Lieutenant R. C. Money, on the south-eastern part of his district, bordering on Midnapore, where, amongst the poorer classes, there is now very great

great distress, and a great prevalence of gang robberies committed by the starving poor.

2. The state of that part of the Maunbhoom district appears to be getting worse daily. Since I addressed you on the 14th ultimo, measures have been adopted to relieve the distress. A Relief Committee has been appointed, and 3,220 rupees subscribed by private individuals, and 2,000 rupees allotted by the Board of Revenue from the grant at their disposal. New works have been commenced, viz., a road from Ryepore to Ambicanuggur, and a road from Burrabazar to Purulia, to give employment and subsistence to those who can work, and depôts for distribution of grain to indigents incapable of working have been formed at Burrabazar, Ambicanuggur, Ryepore, and at Purulia. A lazaretto has also been established at that station, as it was found that lepers from all parts of the district had congregated in the town.

3. Captain Judge, the district superintendent, having recently visited a part of the district where distress prevails, reports as follows:—

"The want down at Burrabhoom, and, indeed, all along the south of the district, is very bad; the poor people are more like walking skeletons than living men. The children appear to be the worst. The police tell me that, farther south than Burrabhoom, the people are literally starving, and have to go without food for days. I have not heard of any deaths from starvation, but I have no doubt that they do occur."

4. At the last sitting of the Relief Committee, it was recorded that the area of the distress was rapidly increasing, and "the Committee being of opinion that the distress in the south-east of the district is, if at all, but little less than in Midnapore, desire to make an earnest appeal to Government, through the Commissioner, for a large grant to be made, as without it the small relief, already commenced, cannot be continued, and the Committee are of opinion that their present arrangements are very inadequate to the wants of the district."

5. The Committee's report, which is dated the 11th instant, will be submitted this day *in extenso* to the Board of Revenue, and the Board will, I doubt not, allot them an additional grant.

6. With reference to the letter from the Secretary to Government in the Department Public Works, No. 67T., of the 23rd May 1866, authorising the superintending engineer to make over to me any portion of the grant of the 20,000 rupees that can be expended on public works in the distressed districts, I have directed Lieutenant Money to apply for grants for the Burrabhoom and Ryepore roads, and to make any advance that may be wanted at once in anticipation of further sanction.

7. I have also authorised him to employ people on the 3rd section of the Burrakur and Chyebassa road, if he has the information necessary to enable him to do so on the line selected by the engineer; but I consider this work ought to be under the superintendence of an engineer, and should be glad if it could be taken up by the Public Works Department. I anticipate no difficulty in obtaining labour as apprehended by the superintending engineer.

8. I have also authorised Lieutenant Money to commence any work provided for in the sketch estimate recently submitted.

9. I earnestly solicit his Honor's consideration of the proposal contained in the concluding paragraphs of Lieutenant Money's Report. Notwithstanding the enormous increase in gang-robberies in the south-eastern parts of the Maunbhoom district since the pressure was felt, the police have hitherto been able to cope with the crime. In almost every case the dacoits are arrested and convicted. This we owe mainly to the large force of Ghatwalee police, in Burrabhoom, and the estates bordering on Midnapore, who have discharged the duties assigned to them in a very satisfactory manner.

10. But it is quite true, as observed by Lieutenant Money, that the lower grades of Ghatwals have, at the best of times, a mere pittance for their services, and now, owing to the failure of crops, whether their remuneration is in lands or made up of payments by the villagers, they have harder work than ever and only nominal pay.

11. Under these circumstances, Lieutenant Money proposes to give a gratuity to the most needy. I think this would be a liberal and wise policy, and would be very glad if 4,000 or 5,000 rupees could be placed at Lieutenant Money's disposal for the purpose.

12. It is of the highest importance to the peace of the district that we should keep these Ghatwals from joining in the plundering that is going on; and Lieutenant Money observes that, in some recent cases, Ghatwals were implicated. I am not surprised at this. They are mostly of the same class, the Bhomij and Baoree, as those by whom the dacoities are for the most part committed, and they are subject to the same distress and pressure.

13. I have nothing particular to report on the state of crime in the Singbhoom district. There has been some increase in thefts, but since the suppression of the *émeute* in Bamunghatee, there have been fewer gang-robberies than might have been expected, considering that,

that, in Dhulbhoom, bordering on Midnapore and Burrabhoom, the scarcity has been felt very severely. The prosperity of that district is greatly depending on the summer rice crop. A larger area than usual has been cultivated with that crop, and by the last accounts it was suffering from want of rain. As there has been a great decrease in the temperature within the last few days, I am in hopes they have had rain.

14. I have, with reference to the letter to the superintending engineer above reported, informed the deputy Commissioner, Dr. Hayes, that he is authorised to construct the portion of the proposed Burrakur and Chyebassa road that lies in his district, *i. e.* between Chyebassa and the Subarnoreka, if he can undertake the work at once, so as to give employment to the poor; and I have authorised him to go on with the repairs and improvements of the road through Chyebassa to Midnapore, which goes through the most distressed part of his district, Dhulbhoom.

15. With regard to the observations in the Burdwan Commissioner's letter regarding armed gangs from Singbhoom, &c., the district superintendent of police reports that he has not heard of any such gangs, and he considers he would long ago have heard of such movements from his police or Ghatwals if they had taken place. He is making further inquiry in the matter.

16. In the Lohardaggah district, though the price of rice has risen to 11 seers, and the people are looking out anxiously for rain, they appear tolerably well off, and there is nothing particular to report on the state of that district, nor have I had any complaints of late from the Hazareebaugh district, or applications for assistance.

From Lieutenant *R. C. Money*, Deputy Commissioner, Maunbhoom, to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore (No. 342); dated Purulia, 12 June 1866.

Referring to your Memorandum, No. 1155, of the 15th May, and enclosure, I have the honour to report that the Commissioner of Burdwan represents the state of affairs on the border of Midnapore and this district very much as they really are. It is, however, a mistake to think that gangs of Chooars from this district cross the border and commit depredations in Midnapore, or even that gangs of the said class move about the south-east of Maunbhoom plundering on the highways.

2. The case is simply this: owing to the almost total failure of crops last year in that portion of the district under report, and owing to a combination on the part of the Mahajuns who have stored grain not to sell till distress is at its greatest, and they can enforce the highest prices, there is fearful distress among the Sonthals, Bhomijs, Baorees Harees, and such tribes known by the general term "Chooars." Thousands of these people have nothing to feed on but grass, roots of trees, and the seed of the sâl tree: many have died of starvation or disease caused by it, and the distress is daily increasing. I believe the distress in these parts to be as great as in any of the most distressed parts of Bengal. In fact, the very nature of the hilly and jungly country tends to enhance distress, and being, as it is, remote from more civilised parts, and difficult of approach, the inhabitants seem to take into their own hands the means of providing for their wants, and as the only way which presents itself to them, they commit dacoity simply to get food.

3. This part of the district under report has constantly of late been visited by different officers, and there is, as far as I can judge, no wish on the part of these Chooars to rebel or cause disturbance. They do not go about in armed parties by day, but gangs of them, driven to desperation by famine, go at night and attack the houses of those they know to have rice or *dhan*, and who they also know are not in a position to defend themselves. Attacks of this kind, being made at night, naturally lead to consequences which the dacoits themselves do not, I am convinced, contemplate; and thus it happens that in some cases the owners of houses or their servants have been killed in some one of the dacoities. These dacoities are committed nightly, and to the extent of three or four, and I dare say others occur which are not reported.

4. It is very probable that Maunbhoom Chooars living on the border have in a few cases committed these dacoities in Midnapore; but it is equally certain that the Midnapore Chooars have done the same in Maunbhoom. In one case, which occurred very lately, a Midnapore dacoit was killed while committing dacoity with others in the house of Bungsee Coormyn, of this district. That the people of Midnapore should feel apprehensive is not strange, but I think they will be found to be as apprehensive of the starving poor of their own district as of those of Maunbhoom. In times like these all owners of grain must feel more or less apprehensive. The wealthier classes of Mahajuns have at present armed men in their service on purpose to defend them in case of an attack on their granaries. By armed men I mean armed with *lathees* and *tulwars*. None of this class of Mahajuns' houses have as yet been attacked; should they be, it might lead to a more general disturbance. I do not, however, anticipate this, if means are taken to provide for the starving classes. As I have before said, there is no wish on the part of these Chooars to make disturbance, or in any way to oppose themselves to the authorities, nor is there a desire on their part to effect disturbance for the purpose of plunder.

5. The crime committed is simply the effort of starving people to obtain food. Those who

who commit these dacoities, as I have before reported, do not attempt concealment; very many of them confess, and it is hard to doubt the words of men with starvation imprinted on their persons, when they urge, as excuse for their offence, "Our sons, or wives, or daughters, as it may be, had died of starvation; our remaining children were dying; what else could we do?"

6. In reporting thus I have recorded the state of the district as it is at present; but when it is remembered that for two or three more months this distress is likely to go on increasing, I would strongly urge that prompt measures be taken to import grain and dispose of it among these starving Chooars. You are aware of the means taken by the relief committee, but as the committee have themselves reported they are not adequate to the wants of the district, and unless something further is done, I fear the disturbances, which at present are not more than the police can cope with, may assume a more serious aspect. I may here state that one of my reasons for this apprehension is, that the part of the district on which I now report is mainly under the Ghatwallee police. So far, this force has behaved uncommonly well; but when it is borne in mind that the Ghatwals and Digwars of those parts are of two classes, either those whose pay is in land or else collected from the villages in cash, it will be seen that the present famine must affect them as well as others. The natural consequence is, that a starving police will sooner or later sympathise with a starving people. I am borne out in this by the fact that in the later decoities I find some of the poorer Ghatwals mixed up.

7. I would therefore strongly urge on Government the incumbency of doing something to support the rural police till the famine is past. Their pay, owing to the failure of their crops, is now nominal; and while they are now expected to do duties without remuneration, they are by those duties prevented from doing other work, and thus providing for themselves.

8. It is to this rural force that we have to look for the preservation of tranquillity in the south-east, and I would therefore propose that relief be afforded to them and to their families. This should be effected by the importation of grain, and distribution, gratuitously, to all the poorer classes of Ghatwals of at least two maunds per man. Were actions of this kind taken, it would be an act of justice to those who deserve it, and it would also, by bringing grain into the district, effectually promote the prosperity of the lower classes, and do more to check the general famine than anything else.

9. In thus proposing the importation of grain, I would state that large quantities of grain are stored in different parts of the district. I am, however, of opinion, and in this most of the natives whose opinion is worth taking concur with me, that, could all the grain which is hoarded in the district be brought into the market, there would not be nearly enough for the requirements of the district. In all schemes for relief, I think the main thing necessary will be found to be the importation of grain. The grain depôts I proposed to the relief committee, if extensively carried out, would, I am sure, have been the best means of affording permanent relief. My proposal was, however, negatived. It has to be borne in mind that those now starving, unless provided with *dhan* for sowing, cannot this year cultivate their fields, and the famine will therefore be carried into next year. The people in the south-east are strictly agricultural, and subsist on the crops they themselves cultivate; and relief, which keeps them alive this year, will leave them as badly off as ever next, unless they are given the means of sowing their fields this year.

10. If, however, grain is imported and given to the poorer Ghatwals, of whom there are some 2,000 or 3,000 in those parts, and sold at low rates to those who can buy, and given gratuitously here and there to those who cannot obtain it otherwise, we may tide over this year's difficulties, and a favourable season, when the next crops come in, may see this distress at an end.

11. Should my views on this subject meet with your approval, I trust you will urge on Government the necessity for aiding the Ghatwals. I look on this, at this particular period, as a matter of urgent necessity, and, as I have before said, one of the most important means of preserving tranquillity in the district and relieving the general distress.

12. In conclusion, I would apologise for the hurried nature of the reports I submit. It is with the greatest difficulty I get time to write them, or to devote to this subject, which should be, in my opinion, my primary duty.

13. In the present overcrowded state of my gaol, I have constantly to be engaged in trial of dacoity cases, so as to keep down the number of prisoners. I have at present waiting for me, as to-day's work, four cases of dacoity and one of murder ready for trial.

From *A. Mackenzie*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore (No. 3395); dated Fort William, 22 June 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1283, dated the 14th instant, with its enclosure, reporting on the state of the districts in your division, and in reply to state that the Lieutenant Governor approves of the measures adopted by you to relieve the distress now prevailing in Maunbhoom and Singhboom.

2. The Board of Revenue will be desired to take into their serious consideration the expediency of importing grain into Maunbhoom, as suggested by the Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant R. C. Money.

3. The Accountant General, Bengal, has been requested to place at Lieutenant Money's disposal 4,000 rupees out of the police budget, to be expended by him in supporting the most needy of the Ghatwalee police during the next three months. The amount should be adjusted hereafter by means of bills to be submitted to Government by Lieutenant Money, through the Inspector General of Police, Lower Provinces.

(No. 3396.)

Copy fowarded for the information and guidance of the Accountant General, Bengal.

(No. 3397.)

Copy of this letter, and of the one to which it is a reply, with enclosure, forwarded for the information and guidance of the Board of Revenue.

(No. 3398.)

Copy of this letter, and extracts, paragraphs 2, 6, 7, and 14, of the one to which it is a reply, forwarded for the information of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Public Works Department.

(No. 3399.)

Copy forwarded to the Inspector General of Police, Lower Provinces, for information.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner, Cuttack Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William (No. 134); dated Cuttack, 30 May 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, from information this day received from Khoordah subdivision, that serious dacoities and day-plunderings have commenced. The paiks of Serai Pergunnah, to the number of some hundreds, assembled to levy black mail in grain from the villages, and in default of their demands being satisfied, commenced plundering those who had grain.

2. Mr. Barton went at once to the spot, and notes that the district superintendent of police from Pooree was with him; about 100 men have been arrested.

3. The deputy magistrate, in consultation with the district superintendent, calls urgently for a reinforcement from Cuttack. I applied to the Cuttack district superintendent, who informed me he had not any men available in his reserve; and after consultation with the officer commanding the 37th Madras Grenadiers, at Cuttack, I have arranged that the gaol guard be taken temporarily by the 37th. The guard thus relieved, to the number of 50 men, with one sub-inspector, I have ordered to start this afternoon for Khoordah, and place themselves under orders of the Pooree superintendent of police and the deputy magistrate at Khoordah.

4. I have instructed the district superintendent, police, at Cuttack, to enlist extra men to supply the place of those sent to Khoordah, and as soon as practicable to relieve the military guard at Cuttack Gaol.

5. The matter appears urgent, and I look for the sanction and support of Government, and for confirmation of the orders I have issued on my own responsibility. These plunderings, once commenced, are very apt to spread, and prompt action taken at first may keep the people quiet.

6. Mr. Barton reports the distress in Khoordah as very great. A portion of the relief fund for Pooree will be placed at his disposal, and if necessary a supply of rice forwarded there in a few days.

7. I have already communicated with you by telegraph.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner, Cuttack Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William (No. 147); dated Camp Pooree, 9 June 1866.

In continuation of my Famine Report, noting the outbreak of dacoity and plundering in Pooree, Sub-division Khoordah, I have the honour to forward all the information, chiefly demi-official, which has up to date been received, contained in the magistrate's No. 262, dated 8th June 1866, and 2nd idem, No. 248, which only reached me this morning from Cuttack.

2. You will observe that the assistance sent from Cuttack (50 constables, two head constables, and one sub-inspector) has enabled the district superintendent of police and deputy magistrate to effectually check the somewhat extensive plundering which had commenced; and in order to prevent a recurrence, it will be impossible for the present, with any safety, to withdraw a single man from Khoordah.

3. Two hundred and eighty prisoners are reported as having been arrested and placed on trial, and for the safe custody of these prisoners (there being no gaol accommodation for so many) a large guard will be required; and under the opinion expressed in Mr. Barlow's 7th paragraph, based on considerable experience among the people of Khoordah, it will be necessary to retain a strong body of police to ensure peace in the district.

4. The superintendent of police recommends doubling the force; but until further and more detailed information can be obtained, I concur, after consultation with the magistrate, that it will suffice for the immediate necessity to increase the police in 10 out-posts nearest to the scene of these disturbances, and to afford an adequate guard and reserve at Khoordah gaol and station, placing the general duty of patrolling and acquiring information regarding any disposition of the people, and tending to create renewed disturbance, under Sadhoo Singh, who appears peculiarly fitted for the duty. For these purposes, the 50 constables, two head constables, and one sub-inspector sent from Cuttack, together with Sadhoo Singh, will, for the present, afford the required assistance.

5. The subject of the Pooree gaol guard does not appear so urgent; but if the prisoners be moved into huts, a considerable increase to the gaol guard will be also needed.

6. I have, in consideration of the urgency of the occasion, sanctioned the retention of the Cuttack guard already sent to Khoordah in Pooree, and also the immediate temporary employment of Sadhoo Singh on the salary and allowance recommended, viz., 100 rupees salary, and 150 rupees travelling allowance, equal to 250 rupees per mensem.

7. I have further again written to the magistrate and district superintendent at Cuttack, directing the enlistment of sufficient police force to carry on the duties of the station and gaol, not exceeding the number of the force sent to Khoordah. These men to relieve the military guard on the gaol as soon as possible. Before leaving Cuttack in communication with the district superintendent of police and officer commanding the troops, I had arranged for temporary enlistment as policemen of the sons and relatives of the sepoys, who are in a manner attached to the regiment, waiting an opportunity to enlist. These men are half-made soldiers, and would be soon ready to take the gaol guard.

8. Enlistment is difficult throughout this division, fitting men being hard to obtain. At the present moment, the police is inadequate to the heavy press of duty falling upon them; and while soliciting sanction and confirmation of the arrangements I have already made, I would suggest that the deputy inspector general of police may be directed to proceed to Cuttack, and take measures to reorganize the police in each district of this division on an efficient footing. With regard to the staff of district officers, I have this day addressed you in a separate letter.

9. I have every hope that the Khoordah cases are being thoroughly investigated. Mr. Lacey is an experienced officer, and I have high opinion of Mr. Barton's qualifications. In the meantime, looking at the large number of arrests already made, I have, through the magistrate, advised great care and discrimination where the whole population have been more or less implicated in dacoity and plunder. I am of opinion that due discretion should be exercised in selecting those only for trial and punishment who have taken a leading part in these disturbances. Wholesale prosecutions or convictions will tend to reduce the number of the male population, and add to prevailing distress.

From *G. N. Barlow*, Esq., Magistrate, Pooree, to the Commissioner of Cuttack (No. 248); dated 2 June 1866.

With reference to your letter No. 135 of 30th May, just received this evening, I have the honour to state that the first information of the dacoities in question were received by me on the evening of the 29th ultimo after post time. On the following day I sent off the reports of the inspector of police submitted from the spot, along with a demi-official received from Mr. Barton announcing his departure to the Mofussil, and in my demi-official I made an urgent application for the assistance of a force of 50 police from Cuttack.

Having since heard indirectly of the departure of a force for the disturbed localities, I was under the impression that it was in consequence of my representation.

2. I yesterday forwarded a pencil note received from the district superintendent, reporting the result of his proceedings in the capture of 116 dacoits concerned in three cases; there remained yet another case in the same locality to be taken up, after which Mr. Lacey moves on to Jenkiah, where a very unsettled state of affairs appears to prevail, a number of dacoity cases being represented as occurring there.

3. I shall report officially on the subject so soon as I am in possession of further particulars. In the meantime, I note that the prompt action taken appears to have had good effect in restoring confidence, and I am heartily glad of the aid so promptly displayed by you, as affording a good example of the fact that the strongest efforts will be made against crime wherever it may occur.

4. I note your orders for early return of the Cuttack force. I trust you will allow us to keep them for a short time, until the present series of cases be disposed of, and some arrangement made for reinforcing our police force. I will inform you as to the possibility or otherwise of enlisting men at Pooree, so soon as I can hear from Mr. Lacey.

From *G. N. Barlow*, Esq., Magistrate of Pooree, to the Commissioner of Cuttack (No. 262); dated 8 June 1866.

In continuation of my letter No. 248 of 2nd instant, to your address, although I have not as yet myself received any official communication either from Mr. Barton, or from district superintendent of police, such as would enable me to report in a collective form upon the late serious outbreaks of dacoity in this district, still, as I feel that too long a period has already been allowed to elapse without your being officially addressed on the subject by this office, I beg to submit an interlocutory report based upon the information which I have gathered from letters daily received from the district superintendent, though not in official form. I notice that the omission to report officially in this important occasion, while it complicates the position of the controlling authorities most clearly, does not proceed from any want of attention to duty on the part of officers who have carried out their proceedings with such energy and beneficial results in the interior. Mr. Lacey states that, in the extreme pressure of the work thrown on his hand, he has found himself unable to obtain opportunity for preparing his comprehensive official report on the subject, and that, moreover, in respect to some of the points requiring to be noticed, the full particulars have not yet been properly ascertained.

2. I take up the subject from the commencement. After receipt of the reports forwarded by me to you on the 29th ultimo, Mr. Lacey proceeded to the scene where the most serious outbreak of crime was stated to have occurred; viz., around the neighbourhood of Kunas; he took with him such small force of men as he was able to make up from the reserve police force, and joined the Khoordah sub-division inspector and other officers who had already proceeded on to the spot. The following day Mr. Lacey reported that on arrival, he had found no party of persons assembled or offering shows of resistance, but that an unusual stir and excitement had been occasioned by the commencement of plundering, by night attacks upon houses, on the part of the paiks and inhabitants of the villages generally, which was carried on upon such an openly lawless system of combination, that whole villages turned out, men, women and children, the first more or less armed with tulwars, &c.; and after looting the house which might form the special object of their attacks, proceeded to divide the spoil and prepare for a repetition of the act.

3. I cannot tell you at present the exact number of the cases that occurred in this manner, for the superintendent speaks of them decisively by the mere names of villages; but I gather the movement was quite general among the villages surrounding Kunas, and that about six cases have been taken in hand and disposed of by the efficient body of officers whom Mr. Lacey shortly collected together on the spot, and a very large body of prisoners have been arrested, and sent into Khoordah for trial.

4. The district superintendent then moved on to Jenkiah, where the same kind of outbreak of crime, with, if possible, more frequent occurrence, had already appeared; and here the same condition of affairs, as regards the character of the offence, was ascertained to exist and exact, and Mr. Lacey is still at that place, going on with his inquiry, and preparing and forwarding his cases.

5. Mr. Lacey, in writing about the subject generally, says that about 20 of these cases of wholesale "dacoity" have occurred from the 24th to the 29th ultimo; these are all in the neighbourhood of Kunas and Jenkiah, the object undisguisedly being disturbance and plunder, while the surburakars of the villages concerned, those who were not actively engaged in the outrages in person, or as represented by their relatives, are reported all more or less to have favoured the combination; and with the hereditary influence which they possess amongst the paiks and the rest of the population, incited and tempted by hunger, the elements of serious disturbance were most undoubtedly close at hand. It is satisfactory,

satisfactory, however, to observe the effect of the measures which have been taken to repress the outbreak; for since the arrival of the police upon the spot, no further cases have occurred, and already upwards of 280 prisoners have been arrested and sent up for trial, amongst whom are several surburakars and leaders of importance. Mr. Lacey remarks that scores of persons known to have been implicated have not been arrested, for where the whole population, almost in a body, have become implicated "it is impossible to proceed otherwise than by some system of selection, and in such a manner as to secure the ringleaders and those whose share in the commission of the offence is most clearly ascertained by the evidence.

6. In the position in which I am placed, as not having myself become possessed of the full detail and particulars of the affair, I am compelled to leave the above bare skeleton description of what has occurred, and premising that I shall add a complete report as soon as possible, I pass on to speak of my own view of the affair.

7. There is not the slightest doubt but that what has occurred bears a very serious view when it is reflected that the disturbances were the results of deliberate action on the part of a large body of the population. The spring of the whole thing has been the pressure of starvation upon the poor, which has made them amenable to the influence of leaders who have not hesitated to turn their power to bad account. It is correct to take a different view of this matter to that formed upon other similar matters occurring in other parts of the district, such as, for example, the isolated though numerous instances of dacoity occurring in Gope and Piplee; because it is a fact that the population about Khoordah and its neighbourhood have a peculiar habit, character, and connexion, which would make them very troublesome to deal with if disorder upon anything like combined or organised method (which would be sure to follow the repetition of crime) broke out amongst them. I have had personally some experience now of the district, and I am quite sure, after consideration of the whole circumstances of the case, the power of combination which exists, and the restless disposition amongst the paik population, that strong and severe measures must be carried out if we want to hold our control of affairs in that part of the country, and prevent the recurrence and spread of this kind of outrage.

8. As I have already stated that full particulars of what has occurred in each of the past cases will be all brought to light as time goes on, and we are most fully alive to the necessity of looking after and making an example of each case in which a surburakar or other influential man was at the bottom of the matter. I hope no one of these will escape. But my special object in addressing you is to ask for order to the completion of the measures which I deem absolutely necessary for the protection of the district under present circumstances.

9. The district superintendent is earnestly asking for the doubling of the number of men at all the police outposts in Khoordah, and for the services of a special inspector and sub-inspector. With the former of these, a more efficient system of patrol and protection, especially as the men must be armed, may be arranged, and there will be a larger force able to show, at any point where it may be required, to overawe on the first appearance of disorder; and of the two officers asked for, the inspector should be for the special purpose of touring about the country, looking after and ascertaining the state of feeling amongst the people generally, with a view to the prevention or enabling us to be forewarned of the outbreak of crime in any part; and the sub-inspector is required as a reinforcement to the police for regular duty, since with the scale of our force in the district we are utterly unable to cope with the increase of crime continually occurring.

10. After carefully examining the strength and disposal of the present police force, I have, so far as I can definitely determine without consultation with the superintendent (the result of which I will finally communicate), concluded that it is not necessary immediately to double all the outposts throughout Khoordah, those, for instance, at Bhoobnessur or Chundka around Cuttack, and others in different parts, where all seems likely to continue quiet, appearing sufficiently strong, but selected others in whose locality serious crime has already appeared, or where from local knowledge I am prepared to look for it. I have made a list of 10 outposts, including Kirnas and Kallapudda (although without the limits of Khoordah Proper), where I desire to see an increase of the police force of two head constables and 38 constables, to be disposed of in the manner indicated; and I consider that it is absolutely necessary that such reinforcement should be made immediately; otherwise we shall probably see the removal of the district superintendent and his return to the head quarters followed by a fresh outbreak of crime.

11. I have entered also in the list, as attached to Khoordah station, the inspector and sub-inspector whom we decide to entertain for the former post. There is one particular individual for whom, indeed, the appointment itself is principally designed; that is, to secure the service of Sadhoo Sing, a distinguished police officer of very long service, who has just now retired from the new force. This man is of note in the district, and especially in Khoordah, where, from long employment, he has gained a knowledge which would probably enable him to mark down every bad character in the country. He is respected by the Khoordah people, and is in every way exactly the man for the work we want done at this particular time. I cordially, therefore, commend to your approval that this man, as a special case, be enlisted for six months, say, at a salary of 100 rupees, and 150 monthly travelling allowance, as his duty would be constant circuit.

 12. I propose

12. I propose the increase of a body of 12 men at Khoordah station, as a reserve ready to move out under orders. Mr. Lacey, I understand, proposes to keep for the present a European officer moving about in the lately disturbed part, and I think it absolutely essential that there should be a small party of men able to be moved on a point.

13. I propose an addition of six men to the sub-division hajut guard, which is only four constables at present. Mr. Barton's hajut is 280 prisoners at present, with a room for locking up which can hold but 10 or 12 persons. I do not suppose, especially if our efforts to keep down crime as herein proposed be successful, that such numbers as the above will be continued; but I much fear that, during the term of this crisis, the number of prisoners under trial will be lastingly considerably above the average, and some provision for guarding must consequently be made; the additional 12 men I have proposed as reserve at the station will be able to lend help in case of emergency.

14. Lastly, in my list I have added two head constables and 32 constables required urgently by us for additional gaol guard at the Sudder station. Our gaol has close on 500 in it; and the overcrowding is so great, that we are commencing on our own responsibility to build huts outside the gaol, for which guards must be provided; but, under present circumstances, there are no men.

1 Inspector.
1 Sub-Inspector.
4 Head Constables.
38 Constables.

15. Summing up the total of my proposal, we require the reinforcement noted in the margin, and deducting one sub-inspector, two head constables and 50 constables, the number sent by you from Cuttack, and which I beg of you to allow us to retain here, seeing that the opportunity for recruiting is so much more favourable at Cuttack than here, we require to be strengthened by an increase of one inspector, two head constables and 38 constables.

16. The general enlistment of men here is impossible, but for a temporary measure we could, I understand, get the required small number (38). I solicit therefore that orders for enlistment of such number should be at once given to us; their enlistment might be for six months. Under any circumstances, I request you will, in anticipation of the orders of Government as special case, authorise the entertainment of Sadhoo Sing as inspector, as, with the force we have from Cuttack, we desire at once to set him in motion and get things organised.

17. In submitting this report, I have only to add further that, however incomplete it may prove in other respects, I am most thoroughly satisfied of the strict propriety and necessity of the proposals I have made. The circumstances are special, and so also require to be the measures; but I am convinced that the policy recommended will be found the safest as well as the cheapest in the end.

18. I should mention that the regular reserve of the police force which is 50 strong, is incapable of providing any of the assistance we require. After disposal of certain number of men sick, &c., there are 24 men only for all miscellaneous work, of escorting treasure, prisoners, &c.

MEMORANDUM of proposed Temporary Increase to the Police Force within the Sub-division of *Khoordah* and elsewhere.

NAME of POLICE STATIONS and OUTPOSTS.	PRESENT SCALE.				PROPOSED SCALE.				INCREASED.			
	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constable.	Constable.	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constable.	Constable.	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constable.	Constable.
Kunas Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	2	10	–	–	1	6
Kullapudder Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	8	–	–	–	4
Bolegur Outpost	–	–	1	6	–	–	1	10	–	–	–	4
Jenkiah Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	2	10	–	–	1	6
Govindpore Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	8	–	–	–	4
Seekoe Outpost	–	–	1	6	–	–	1	10	–	–	–	4
Sunpudder Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	6	–	–	–	2
Moater Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	6	–	–	–	2
Burkool Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	6	–	–	–	2
Bhatparrah Outpost	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	8	–	–	–	4
Khoordah Station Outpost	1	1	2	20	2	2	2	32	1	1	–	12
Hajut Guard at Khoordah	–	1	2	4	–	1	2	10	–	–	–	6
Gaol Guard at Sudder Station	–	–	2	32	–	–	4	64	–	–	2	32
TOTAL	1	2	16	100	2	3	20	188	1	1	4	88

G. N. Barlow, Magistrate.

From *A. Mackenzie*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Commissioner of Cuttack (No. 3373); dated Fort William, 20 June 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 147, dated the 9th instant, regarding the prevalence of dacoity and plundering in the district of Pooree, and to inform you in reply that the Lieutenant Governor approves of your having authorised the retention in Khoordah for the present of the party of one sub-inspector, two head constables and 50 constables, who were sent to that place from Cuttack under your instruction. The temporary employment of Sadhoo Sing, on a salary of 100 rupees and a travelling allowance of 150 rupees per mensem, to acquire information regarding the disposition of the people and check the disturbances, is also sanctioned.

2. The Lieutenant Governor also approves of your having directed the enlistment of a sufficient police force at Cuttack, not exceeding the number of the men sent to Khoordah, to carry on the gaol guard and other duties at that station. This will admit of the military guard, temporarily placed over the Cuttack Gaol, being relieved at an early date.

3. As suggested in the 8th paragraph of your letter, the Deputy Inspector General of Police of the 1st or Coast Circle will be instructed direct from this office to proceed at once to Cuttack, and, in personal communication with yourself, to take the necessary measures for re-organising the police of each of the districts of your division, so as to place them on an efficient footing to meet the present emergency.

4. His Honor concurs with you in opinion that where the whole population have been more or less implicated in dacoity and plunder, the ringleaders only should be tried and punished, and that due discrimination should therefore be exercised by the local authorities concerned in selecting those men only for trial and punishment who have taken a leading part in the disturbances.

(No. 3374.)

COPY forwarded to the Deputy Inspector General of Police of the 1st or Coast Circle for his information and guidance.

(No. 3375.)

COPY of the above letter and endorsement forwarded to the Inspector General of Police, Lower Provinces, for his information.

(No. 3376.)

EXTRACT (paragraph 1) forwarded to the Accountant General, Bengal, for his information.

Home Department.—Public.—No. 51 of 1866.

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 9 August 1866.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 46, dated the 26th July, we have the honour to transmit for your information the accompanying further narritive* furnished by the Government of Bengal, of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

* Letter from Bengal, No. 2244, dated 24th July 1866, and enclosure.

2. The Madras Government have, in their Despatch† of the 7th July, reported to you their proceedings regarding the distress which prevails in the Ganjam district. We have communicated‡ our approval of these proceedings, and have authorised the Madras Government to expend whatever further amount they may consider necessary for relieving the distress.

† Revenue (Miscellaneous), No. 31 of 1866.

‡Letter to Madras, No. 3150, dated 27 July 1866 (copy enclosed.)

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 2244.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 24 July 1866.

In continuation of my letter No. 2162, dated the 18th instant, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the sixth narrative of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted, and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Narrative.

During this week the accounts received from the distressed districts have continued to be favourable. Cultivation had been resumed in Patna, and it was expected that in another week or two, all hands in the district would be at work again; hoarded stores were being reopened, but prices are not expected to fall materially until the new crops are gathered in. From 379 to 390 persons are employed daily in public works.

In Pooree, the only great difficulty is found in landing the rice, everything depending upon the state of the weather, only from 300 to 500 bags can be landed there daily, and in Cuttack from 4,000 to 5,000 bags. In Balasore arrangements for relief and for the sale of Government rice had been thoroughly organised by Mr. McNeile, who has now gone on to Cuttack. Mr. McNeile has estimated the very outside of the requirements of Balasore till the incoming of the harvest to be 40,000 rupees. He states that the relief is confined to the classes who work for wages, and the old and infirm, and beggar; the agricultural classes are not dependent on the relief operations in any way. A full supply of rice to Balasore has been arranged for. In all the districts where distress prevails, active measures are in full operation for its relief, and will have to continue till the harvest is reaped, but possibly it may not be necessary to import much rice beyond that already ordered. The disbursements from the famine fund up to the 18th instant, has been 6,72,721 rupees; 1,42,100 rupees in cash remittances, and 5,30,621 rupees for purchases of grain.

Cuttack.
Burdwan.
Nuddea.
Patna.
Chota Nagpore.

The Lieutenant Governor has called for from the Commissioners noted on the margin, a report of the extent to which the Zemindars afforded relief to the famine-stricken people on their respective estates, and the result will be reported hereafter. From Nuddea, further applications for relief have been received, and 5,000 rupees has been sent; but the known condition of the district, and the large sums already expended in relief, have led the Lieutenant Governor and the Board to doubt whether relief is being altogether prudently administered in that district, and the Commissioner has been ordered to visit the scene of the distress, and submit a full report.

Ashley Eden,
Fort William, 24 July 1866. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From *A. M. Monteath*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Acting Secretary to Government, Fort St. George (No. 3150); dated Simla, 27 July 1866.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1669, dated the 6th instant, forwarding a copy of a correspondence regarding the extreme distress which the inhabitants of the northern portion of the district of Ganjam are suffering, and reporting what the Government of Madras has already done towards its relief.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council entirely approves of the proceedings reported in your letter, and authorises the Government of Madras to expend whatever further amount it may consider necessary for relieving the distress.

(No. 3151.)

Copy of correspondence forwarded to the Financial Department.

EXTRACT from the Supplement to the "Calcutta Gazette" of 3rd August 1866, referred to in paragraph 7 of Lord *Cranborne*'s Despatch, No. 85, of 1866.

THE SCARCITY.

A SECTION of the BOARD of REVENUE'S PRELIMINARY REPORT on the LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION for 1865–66.

THE leading feature of interest in the history of the year is the very general suffering of large classes of the people, following upon the extensive failure of the rice crops, which are not supposed to have reached one-half the usual yield. In several parts of the country adverse circumstances had already weakened the ability of the people to resist or endure the calamity. In the province of Behar the crops had been, more or less, deficient for the two preceding seasons; and a large tract in the 24-Pergunnahs and Midnapore was devastated by the cyclone of October 1864.

Added to this, the figures given in the margin* show that the exports of grain by sea had been for the last two years upon an unprecedented scale. There is reason to believe also that the same process of depletion had been going on largely in the direction of the North-Western Provinces; while it is more than probable that, owing to the very general improvement of the condition of the body of the people of late years, the increase in the home consumption had more than kept pace with the increase of production. Indeed, it is not unlikely that, owing to the great demand for jute, oil seeds, &c., there had been an actual decrease of the breadth of land under rice of no inconsiderable extent.

	Maunds.
*1855–56	94,75,637
1856–57	96,66,594
1857–58	75,98,378
1858–59	45,03,764
1859–60	54,36,486
1860–61	80,36,495
1861–62	-1,14,46,933
1862–63	-1,25,90,273
1863–64	-1,64,23,478
1864–65	-1,91,86,522
1865–66	94,90,218

The reserve stock of food, then, in the country at the beginning of the year was probably considerably below its usual average, and so far the people were ill-prepared to meet the consequences of the scanty crop of 1865. On the other hand, the power of facing the calamity that has occurred, so far as the possession of wealth enabled them to do so, was probably greater than it had ever before been.

The rain-fall of 1865 was peculiarly unseasonable. The usual fall of the first five months of the year in Calcutta is 9¼ inches. In 1865 there fell in that period 24½. The usual fall, on the other hand, in the last seven months of the year is 62$\frac{9}{10}$th inches, while there fell in those months, in 1865, only 37½ inches. From about the middle of September onwards there was scarcely a drop of rain. The consequence of this unfavourable distribution of a rain-fall in itself insufficient, was that, upon the lowest calculation, half the rice crop was lost.

Symptoms of coming distress began to show themselves early in the year. In the three months ending 31st October, the excise revenue, which is an index of the prosperity of the people, showed a falling off. About the same time, at the desire of the Government, the Board instituted an inquiry into the prospects of the crops generally, the result of which was reported in my letter No. 373 A, dated 25th November 1865.

In that report, after reviewing the very meagre facts upon which they were called upon to form a judgment, the Board stated their opinion that in the eastern districts not much less than an average crop was to be expected; that in the rest of Bengal there would be at least half a crop; that the cold weather crop would fail very largely; and that although it was quite impossible to state what the stock of grain in the country was, it might be assumed that it was not very large.

The Board added that, nevertheless, they believed that there would be a supply of food for the actual necessities of the people; that the bulk of the people, being agriculturists, would obtain such high prices for their short crops that they would not probably suffer materially; but that multitudes would not be in a position to profit by that compensation, and that, for them, suffering, but, it was humbly trusted, not generally famine, was in store.

Speaking generally, the Board consider that the opinion that they then offered, based as it was, avowedly, upon a most imperfect collection of facts, has been generally shown to be sound.

The cold weather crops turned out, on the whole, better than was expected. From the high prices that have ruled in the eastern districts, it seems probable that the out-turn of the crops there could not have been really quite so good as was supposed. In other respects the estimate of the crops which the Board offered has been fully realised.

Except in particular tracts of no very wide extent, there has not, up to the present time, been famine anywhere but in Orissa and in parts of Midnapore. The suffering has, indeed, been very severe in very many districts; but the means of feeding the people have not been generally

generally wanting, though prices have been unprecedentedly high, considerably higher than the Board had expected. The prospects of the growing crops, early and late, are everywhere excellent; the rain-fall, though now in parts not full, has been hitherto sufficient; and there is every hope that Bengal proper and Behar will soon now be fully supplied with food, though it is not to be expected that prices will very early, even if ever, sink to their former level.

In Orissa, however, there is no doubt that there has been actual famine—an actual insufficiency of food to sustain the lives of the inhabitants; and there it has been necessary to take very unusual measures, that can be justified only by the peculiar geographical position of the province, rendering it difficult for the rest of the world to communicate with it during a considerable portion of the year.

The earliest symptoms of severe distress appeared in Pooree in the autumn of 1865, and were at that time confined, or nearly confined, to a particular part of the district known as the country of Malhood and Parikood, a narrow, sandy, and salt tract lying between the Chilka Lake and the sea. The natural product of the tract is salt. It cannot, and never will, produce grain enough, with sufficient regularity, to support any but a most scanty population.

The people had lived always by the manufacture of salt, depending little upon the uncertain out-turn of the crops. When the monopoly of the manufacture of salt was abandoned by the Government, the means of subsistence of the people of Malhood and Parikood became most precarious. They might live on so long as there was a succession of favourable agricultural seasons; but one or two unfavourable seasons must reduce or banish the population. Except for the manufacture of salt, the tract would not probably, in fact, be inhabitable.

As soon as the suffering condition of the people was known, such means as the circumstances allowed were adopted for their relief. It was obviously impolitic for the Government to do anything to induce the people to remain in a place where a periodical repetition of their calamities might be certainly expected. The renewal of the salt manufacture on account of the Government was out of the question; and though the excise rules were relaxed in order to promote private manufacture, few, if any, licenses were applied for.

There was at the time a good demand for labour on the Irrigation Company's works, and very many of the people emigrated to those works. To provide employment for those who could not do so, considerable public works were undertaken in such localities as promised to be fit for permanent human habitation. The collector himself visited the place, and planned the works, and the Government readily granted the funds.

For a time after this there was no actual famine in any part of the districts of Orissa. Great uneasiness there was, and much suffering; but, till towards the end of May, prices were not very much higher than in many other parts of Bengal. At that time there was a sudden rise, and it became evident that famine had actually made its appearance.

The number of seers of 80 tolas each of the cheapest kind of rice in ordinary use procurable for a rupee in each district in Orissa throughout this period were as follows:—

Week ending	Balasore.	Cuttack.	Pooree.	Week ending	Balasore.	Cuttack.	Pooree.
18 November -	16	13	8¼	31 March -	8	9	8⅜
25 „ -	16	11½	10½	7 April - -	8	8	7¼
2 December -	17	12	11¾	14 „ - -	8	8	6¾
9 „ -	17½	10½	12¾	21 „ - -	9	6¼	8¼
16 „ -	17	10½	12¾	28 „ - -	9	6¾	6½
23 „ -	17	—	13¾	5 May - -	9	7¼	6¼
30 „ -	15	14	14	12 „ - -	9	7¾	6½
6 January -	14¼	15	14½	19 „ - -	9	7¾	7
13 „ -	—	15	13¾	26 „ - -	7	6	6⅞
20 „ -	14¼	13	13	2 June - -	6½	5	6 9/16
27 „ -	12	13	10¼	9 „ - -	7	5	6½
3 February -	11	12	8¾	16 „ - -	6½	5	5⅝
10 „ -	12	10	8⅞	23 „ - -	6	4¼	6
17 „ -	10	9	8⅞	30 „ - -	5½	4½	6
24 „ -	10	10	9½	7 July - -	5½	4½	6 9/16
3 March - -	10½	10	9¾	14 „ - -	6½	4½	6 7/32
10 „ - -	10½	10	—	21 „ - -	6½	4¾	5⅞
17 „ - -	11	10	8⅜	28 „ - -	6¾	5	5⅞
24 „ - -	11	10	8⅜				

It will be observed that till the end of March there was no appearance of such a rise of prices as to give any cause for alarm. From that time to the end of May prices were no doubt high—quite high enough to attract importation had the province been more accessible.

accessible. Even then the local authorities expressed their belief that there was rice in stock, and the expectation was reasonable that the distress was temporary, and would not be beyond the reach of private charity, supplemented by such means (and these were freely resorted to) as a liberal expenditure upon public works and by the Government, in its own estates as landlord. There was nothing at that time to justify the extraordinary measures that have since become necessary.

On the 28th May the Commissioner, who throughout the whole period has shown all possible humanity, sagacity and zeal, telegraphed that the bazaar was closed, and that rice was with difficulty procurable at five seers the rupee. A famine, in fact, had occurred, and it was evident that the Government could no longer abstain from interfering. Within a few hours of the receipt of the telegram, arrangements were made for the immediate dispatch of grain to the province, and in a little more than a week a steamer, with a ship in tow, carrying between them about 21,000 maunds of rice, had reached False Point.

The difficulties to be overcome at first in landing the rice, and then in forwarding it to the interior, were so great that it was long before much of this grain actually reached Cuttack. It is, in fact, only now (August 7th) beginning to arrive there in full supplies. The obstacles that had to be overcome are patent to all who know the coast and the country; they were not, &c. moveable immediately by any expenditure of money, or by any local effort. Neither one nor the other have been spared. Nevertheless the relief was immediate, the market has been open, and though very slowly, still steadily, improving almost ever since. Balasore has been separately supplied from Calcutta; and Pooree was, until the rains set in, supplied by private trade from the Madras coast, *viâ* the Chilka Lake. Since that time it has been necessary to attempt the landing of rice at Pooree itself; an operation of no small difficulty, but which is now being accomplished.

The mode in which the Government has administered relief, and the sources from which the funds have been procured, have now to be explained. A sum of about 6¼ lakhs of rupees (62,500 *l.*) was lying in the Government treasury, being the unexpended portion of various funds subscribed in India and England for the relief of the sufferers from other famines. At the request of the Government of Bengal, the whole of this sum was placed at their disposal, and a further sum of 20 lakhs rupees (200,000 *l.*) advanced from the public treasury to enable the Government to carry on the importation of rice, upon the condition that the money should be replaced from the proceeds sales.

It was clear, from the first, that, for the purposes of relief, the people might be divided into two great classes—those who could afford to pay the market price for their grain, but whom the market could not supply—and those who could not. In the latter class were included all gradations, from those who could pay nothing at all, to those who could pay all but the market price. For the relief of the first and most numerous class, it did not appear to the Government that it was in any way right or necessary to expend the funds subscribed for charitable purposes. There seemed no reason, in fact, why they should be supported at the expense of their fellow-citizens. Moreover, there were very great and obvious reasons against so far under-selling the bazaar dealers as to interfere with their regular trading operations. The importation of rice was beset with physical difficulties of the most formidable kind, so that to convey to the various centres enough to feed the whole population was simply impossible. Yet, if, by ill-advised measures, the market was closed, this is what it must have devolved upon the Government to attempt. The only result must have been failure ending by leaving the market, hopelessly, without control, in the hands of the dealers, who would probably have been more panic-stricken than ever. The Government, therefore, resolved not to attempt to under-sell the market more than should be found absolutely safe, but, at the same time, to lead it downwards as much as possible. The power to do this depended, of course, upon the extent of the supplies. In Cuttack and Pooree, the Government supplies being scanty, it has been possible to effect it only very gradually. In Balasore, the process has been much more rapid.

In dealing with the second class of people, consisting of the very numerous body who required actual charitable relief, the same caution was not necessary. All that was required was to take such precautions as might be practicable to prevent fraud and to ensure the relief being given only to these entitled. The distribution of grain to these people has been left freely in the hands of the relief committees who have been established, from the first, in each district; a few general directions, only, being given for their instruction.

With the one condition that they must select those entitled to relief, these committees have been allowed to draw freely upon the Government stores of rice, and either to distribute it gratuitously, or to sell it at what price they thought proper. Hitherto, the larger portion of the rice has been used in this way. Eventually the deficit which will appear against the sum advanced for the importation of rice, will be charged off against the relief fund balances. What that deficit will be, it is impossible at present to say. It may, probably, far more than swallow up the portion of those balances not actually distributed in cash. For, besides the rice imported, it has been found necessary to assign to various districts in cash grants, no less than 16,810 *l.* already. With the single exception of Manbhoom, it has not been thought necessary, or expedient, to undertake the importation of rice anywhere but in Orissa, though many of the district relief committees which have been established throughout Bengal have imported on their own account.

Very considerable sums of money have been raised locally to supplement the grants from the relief fund. It would be premature to attempt to give any exact account of these sums; but they have been large, especially in Behar. Noble private efforts have also been made in Calcutta, Moorshedabad, and elsewhere, to overtake the local distress. It is of course the policy of the State to encourage such charitable associations to the utmost and not supersede them by contributions from the public revenue. A general subscription may, indeed, be eventually necessary, and the Government have been throughout prepared to resort to it. But, so long as the funds at their disposal from previous subscriptions were not exhausted, it did not appear expedient, especially in the untoward circumstances of the present year, to forest the necessity.

The sum of 68,348 *l.* has been already expended by the Government in importing rice into Orissa. Three cargoes have been sent from Calcutta, one from the Madras coast, and four or five from Burmah and Arracan, whence more are coming.

The report of the Commissioner of Cuttack on this subject is annexed. Like him, the Board have thought it well to carry on the story, at once, beyond the actual termination of the official year. It is gratifying to receive Mr. Ravenshaw's testimony to the success of the efforts made in alleviating the terrible distress. Mr. Ravenshaw is now assisted by Mr. McNeile, and an additional Assistant Collector has been appointed to each district, besides deputies. Nothing can exceed the loyalty and earnestness shown by the officers of Government, and by the relief committees, in attempting to grapple with the mass of suffering around them. It has been the endeavour of the Board, acting in immediate concert with the Government, that, so far as human power gives the means of giving effectual relief, it should be placed at their disposal.

A statement is annexed, showing the expenditure actually incurred for the relief of each district to date. The liabilities for orders already out would probably amount to another 40,000 *l.* It will be understood that this is entirely independent of the expenditure from private sources, of the execution of the very numerous relief public works, and of the expenditure by the Government, as landlord, for the relief of the tenantry of its own estates.

Extract from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of *Cuttack* (No. 313); dated 16th July 1866.

Para. 59. *Weather and Crops.*—The early cessation of the rains in 1865, just as the main crop of rice was coming into ear, has caused heavy loss, estimated at full one-half the average yield. The moisture left in the ground was not sufficient to bring the grains to perfection, and, over large tracts of country, the ear withered, and the produce was next to nothing.

60. The greatly enhanced value of grain has enabled the landholders to discharge their Government dues with fair punctuality; but the pressure and distress on the poorer classes, towards the close of 1865, began to be severely felt. This has continued in increasing intensity, until it amounted to actual famine and starvation to the poor, the price of grain having risen to three Cuttack seers per rupee. Zemindars and dealers, alarmed at the prospect before them, held back the supplies in their granaries, partly with a view to secure even higher prices, and partly from a feeling of uncertainty as to the coming season. Under these circumstances, the famine price of grain was enhanced by the excessive difficulty in procuring it at any price. Occasional panics occurred, during which trade entirely ceased, and the shops were all shut; much anxiety and alarm were felt at such times, and both myself and the Collector required to exercise the most extreme caution and unceasing care and attention to restore confidence.

61. My first attention was directed to ascertain, if possible, the amount of grain in store in the country, in order to form an estimate as to whether the supply would suffice to carry the country through, until relieved by next season's crop. For many months I received every assurance, from all quarters, that the store of grain in the country was sufficient for the year's food. This I used my utmost endeavours to test by personal inquiry, extending over the greater part of my division. I still received the same assurance from all classes, that large supplies of grain were held by landholders and dealers. I continued to keep the Board and Government informed of the result of my inquiries, and I had great hopes that, though grain might keep up to famine prices, food would have been procurable for money, in which case the only action called for in affording relief to the poor and starving would have been assistance in money. In this, however, I was disappointed, and, though still of opinion that the stores of grain in the country, if thrown into the market, would have sufficed, yet the extreme difficulty in procuring grain, even at famine price, and the natural tenacity with which it was held by the proprietors, who, from the prolonged drought, feared another bad season, rendered it necessary for me to represent the urgent need of supplies of grain

grain for purposes of relief, and for the maintenance of Government establishments being thrown into the country by importation. The question may arise why such representation was not made at an earlier date. The reply is, that under all ordinary rules of political economy the urgent demand for grain in the Cuttack division ought to have created a supply from other and more favoured parts, and that, unless under the most exceptional circumstances, any interference on the part of Government with local trade was a measure fraught with danger and opposed to all rule or precedent.

62. When, however, it became evident that no local dealers would undertake importation, and that such a thing as free and unrestricted trade hardly existed in Cuttack, and the pressure became so great and general, that the mass of the people were unable to procure food, and the country was evidently lapsing into a state little short of general anarchy and confusion, I then felt it my duty to ask for assistance by importation, believing that by throwing a quantity of grain into the country to feed the starving, maintain the suffering poor, and supply Government establishments, the local markets would be easier. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the crisis did not occur earlier in the season, but I submit that I should not have been justified in asking for Government importations, so long as grain was freely procurable in the local market at any price.

63. The proceeds of excess subscriptions to the North-West Famine Fund, supplemented by a liberal grant of money by Government, have now been made available, and large importations of grain are coming into Cuttack, Balasore, and Pooree. The greater portion of this grain is being expended in affording food and relief to the starving, and any surplus is sold at current market rates. The result has been that local markets are easier, supplies more freely obtained, and the poor are fed.

64. I have carried this narrative somewhat beyond the close of the official year under review, in order to show the result of measures taken to relieve the pressure of famine at its close.

65. Early in December, when the prospects of distress among the poor became apparent, local relief committees, for the administration of funds raised by local subscriptions, were organised in each district, and have continued to work ably and unremittingly. Their task has been, and will be, an arduous one; the manner in which their duties have been so far performed, is worthy of all praise.

66. Famine has been succeeded by sickness; and the poorer classes, weakened by want of sufficient wholesome food, have suffered severely from cholera, which, throughout the hot season, was raging all over the country. Many have emigrated towards Calcutta in search of work, and all have expended largely from their savings, or drawn on their credit, to procure the necessaries of life; so that, looking at the famine from a revenue point of view, there can be no doubt that the cultivating and rent-paying power of the people has diminished, and the country has sustained a shock which several years of plenty and peace will hardly suffice to obliterate.

67. During the year, the Irrigation Company's works have been carried on vigorously. The Kendraparah and High Level Canals have been opened, the former for a considerable distance, and the distributory channels, running through the parts of the country most liable to drought, will secure large tracts from loss in future seasons. The people have, hitherto, held back, and have not availed themselves, to any great extent, of the supply of water for irrigation; but their fears and prejudices are, gradually, being overcome; and I have reason to hope that next season will show a large breadth of country under irrigation. These most important and useful works will tend materially to improve the province, not only by affording immunity from the effects of drought, but by supplying means of transport and cheap carriage of produce and communication between Cuttack, Balasore, Midnapore, and Calcutta. Independent of the future advantages to be derived from canals and irrigation, the present effect of these extensive works has been to employ a large portion of the population, who would otherwise have starved or emigrated; nearly a lakh of rupees being expended monthly, and thrown into circulation in the country.

68. Much assistance has been given in the employment of labour by the Department of Public Works. The Grand Trunk-road is still in course of construction, and will, I trust, be finished and metalled throughout. At present it is imperfectly bridged, and is impassable for wheeled carriages through the rainy season. The advantages of roads and means of communication in Cuttack cannot be over-estimated, and it is to these alone we must look for future permanent improvement in the province.

STATEMENT showing the Disbursments made by the Board of Revenue up to the 3rd August 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By last Statement.	Since Assigned.	Total Assignment.
CASH REMITTANCES. (Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
To Balasore	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Cuttack	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Pooree	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Bancoorah	5,000	5,000	18,000
„ Midnapore	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Nuddea	20,000	5,000	25,000
„ 24-Pergunnahs	- -	2,500	—
„ Chumparun	7,000	- -	7,000
„ Gya	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sarun	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Tirhoot	4,000	- -	4,000
„ Hazareebaug	500	- -	500
„ Burhee	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Maunbhoom	8,000	- -	8,000
„ Singhbhoom	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Pakour	100	- -	100
„ Ganjam	25,000	- -	25,000
TOTAL *Rs.*	1,47,600	12,500	1,68,100
DISPATCHES OF GRAIN. (Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree	4,56,663	1,21,294	5,77,957
„ Dhamra	24,171	- -	24,171
„ Balasore	60,566	622	61,188
„ Maunbhoom	20,165	- -	20,165
TOTAL *Rs.*	5,61,565	1,21,916	6,83,481
ABSTRACT.			
Cash	1,47,600	12,500	1,60,100
Grain	5,61,565	1,21,916	6,83,481
TOTAL *Rs.*	7,09,165	1,34,416	8,43,581

ORDERS OUT.

To Rangoon and Akyab.—General order to go on purchasing so long as rice can be put on board ship for 3½ rupees a maund.

(Public.—No. 85.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of *India* in Council.

Sir, India Office, 9 October 1866.

Para. 1. I HAVE received and considered in Council your Despatches noted in the margin,* forwarding the narratives furnished by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal respecting the famine unhappily prevailing in Orissa, and in other parts of the Bengal Presidency.

* No. 36, dated 27 June 1866.
No. 39, dated 11 July 1866.
No. 46, dated 26 July 1866.
No. 51, dated 9 August 1866.

2. The scanty information, principally derived from telegrams, furnished in your previous Despatch of the 16th June, received at this office on the 20th July, had afforded Her Majesty's Government but too much reason to believe that

that the people in large portions of Bengal and Orissa were exposed to great privations from the deficiency of food, if not to the horrors of actual famine. They deeply lament to learn, from the further information now before them, that the worst anticipations have been realized, and that in some districts famine has for some time prevailed among large masses of the population; and that, besides the misery which all the poorer classes in those districts have experienced, a large and deplorable loss of life has resulted from want of food.

3. It appears that, although serious apprehensions were entertained so far back as the autumn of last year as to the consequences of the deficiency of the rice crops of the year from the failure of rain, and although steps had been taken in the different districts to relieve the sufferings which might result from the deficiency, both by the formation of local relief committees, and by additional expenditure on public works, it was not till the end of May that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal became aware of the extent of the danger, and of the certainty that famine, with all its horrors, was imminent in Orissa and other large portions of the territories subject to his government.

4. I am happy in being able to recognize the promptness and energy with which the Lieutenant Governor, and all the officers connected with the administration, exerted themselves to mitigate the sufferings of the people, both by pouring food into the famine districts, and by a still greater enlargement of the system of public works, as soon as the extent of the impending calamity was realized by them.

5. Unhappily, the conviction of the necessity of such steps did not come till the apprehended evil had actually arrived. The melancholy result was, that a considerable time elapsed before any material relief was produced by the measures then adopted; and, in the meantime, the price of food continued to rise, the sufferings of the people increased at a correspondingly progressive rate, and a lamentable, though at present unascertained, mortality occurred among the destitute population.

6. The information furnished by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal is insufficient to show the conduct of the different authorities and officials in Bengal between the time when alarm as to the state of the crops was first entertained, and the period when the danger of famine was realized to its full extent; but from a careful consideration of the documents now placed before me, I can come to no other conclusion than that the local officers and the Board of Revenue, at least, were in possession of information which should have led them at a much earlier period to propose those measures on the part of Government, which were unhappily postponed till "it became evident that famine had actually made its appearance." I cannot but express my surprise that the statement made upon the 25th of April, in the report of the Magistrate of Midnapore, to the effect that the "old and infirm were beginning to die from insufficient food," should not have suggested to the local Government the urgency of the impending danger.

7. The section of the Report of the Board of Revenue, printed in the supplement to the "Calcutta Gazette" of the 3rd August, which professes to give an account of the famine and the measures taken for its alleviation, is indeed, in itself, sufficient to show that the active interference of Government for the purpose of supplying the deficiency of food should have been resorted to at a much earlier period. The Board fully admit that from the failure of successive crops, and from unprecedentedly large exports for two years, "the reserve stock of food in the country at the beginning of this year was probably considerably below its usual average;" and "the Excise revenues, which," as the Board remarks, "is an index of the prosperity of the people, showed a falling off" even so early as last October. The price of food throughout Orissa is shown to have increased steadily from the month of November in last year, if not week by week, at any rate month by month; and yet, while the Board implicitly admit that the rise of prices at the end of March had been such as to give cause for alarm, it was not till two months later, and, as they remark, till it was shown that "famine" had actually set in, that the interference of Government was solicited for the purpose of providing that supply of food which private enterprise had failed to furnish to the necessitous districts.

 8. This

8. This deplorable delay, in adopting the only measures which under the circumstances of the case could have been of any real avail in averting the horrors of actual famine from an already half-starving people, seems to have been attributable to a determination at almost all hazards to take no steps inconsistent with "the rules of political economy,"—a determination which is apparent in the Report submitted by the Board of Revenue on the prospect of the crops so early as November 1865, and which is no less traceable in the subsequent documents put forth by the Board as well as in the correspondence of the district officers. That the rules and principles of economical science should not be lightly interfered with, and that the supply and the distribution throughout the country of the means of subsistence should, except under extraordinary circumstances, be left to the operation of the law of "demand and supply," there can be no question at all. But there can be as little doubt that the rules of political economy, however valuable under ordinary circumstances, ought to give way whenever the lives or the health of the people would be seriously endangered by a pertinacious adherence to them; and it is a subject of great regret that the Commissioner of Cuttack and the Board of Revenue did not at a much earlier period recommend to the Government of Bengal those measures of relief which, though necessarily conflicting to some extent with those laws of political economy which they were desirous to uphold, were so urgently called for by the state of the people in all the suffering districts, and in Orissa by the local position of the Province, which the Board admit is such as to have discouraged the importation of grain even when prices were steadily advancing.

9. In pursuing the subject, I cannot refrain from expressing my great surprise and regret at the little attention which appears to have been paid to the evidence of distress among the people afforded by the increase of crimes of violence in those parts of Bengal where scarcity prevailed, and how almost exclusively the measures proposed and sanctioned in consequence of those outrages related to the repression of crime, apparently to the neglect of the causes which led to it.

10. It was evident, and indeed expressly stated by most of the local officers, that, to quote the language of Lieutenant Money, in speaking of the robberies in Maunbhoom, "the crime committed is simply the effort of starving people to obtain food;" and again, "it is hard to doubt the words of men with starvation imprinted on their persons, when they urge as excuse for their offence, 'Our sons, or wives, or daughters, as it may be, had died of starvation; our remaining children were dying; what else could we do?'" That the public peace should be maintained, and the property of the peaceable members of the community protected from depredation, is a duty absolutely incumbent on Government and its officers; but, under the peculiar circumstances of the riotous proceedings in question on the one hand, measures of repression and police should have been accompanied by the most energetic exertions for the removal of the sufferings under the pressure of which the outrages were committed; and, on the other, all possible leniency should have been displayed in dealing with those who, not being habitual criminals, were urged into offences against the law by the impulse of providing food for themselves and their starving families. I trust that the suggestion which was made by your Government for the mitigation or remission of sentences passed on such persons has been duly acted on by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

11. In the absence of any explanation of the grounds on which the Lieutenant Governor acted, I refrain from expressing a positive opinion on his refusal to sanction the constitution of a General Relief Committee at Calcutta for the collection of subscriptions and their distribution throughout the suffering districts. I must remark, however, that the surplus famine funds of 1860–61, which were very properly made available for the relief of the present distress, having been raised by voluntary subscriptions, might most fitly have been made over to the disposal of such a body; that no other body or authority could have acted so effectively in the collection of further funds; and that a committee of private individuals could have taken many measures which the Government or a Government Department might naturally have hesitated to adopt from the fear of violating established rules, or of establishing an inconvenient precedent.

12. I have

12. I have no means of knowing whether the failure to supply full and continuous information to Her Majesty's Government as to the prospects of the crops, and as to the progressive increase of distress during the early part of this year, was owing to the absence of reports from the local officials, or to the failure of the Bengal Government to pass on either to your Government or to Her Majesty's Government at home the reports which the Lieutenant Governor may have received from his subordinates. It was, however, so obviously the duty of the Lieutenant Governor, after the alarming statements as to the risk of famine submitted by the Board of Revenue at the close of last year, to require special and constant information on matters so nearly concerning the welfare of the people as well as the prosperity of the country generally; and the Lieutenant Governor must have felt so deep an interest in the subject, on the grounds of humanity alone, that I can scarcely entertain any doubt that regular information was furnished to him, and that the neglect which occurred was in the transmission of such information to superior authority. It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that on a matter of such extreme importance, involving the interests and even the lives of vast numbers of our fellow-subjects, Her Majesty's Government should have been supplied with such full and regular information as would have enabled them, from time to time, to communicate such instructions as they might deem suitable to the local Government, with the object of averting or mitigating the impending evil, as well as to satisfy the anxiety of that large section of the community in this country who feel a benevolent interest in the welfare of the natives of India.

13. It is my desire that all the information requisite for enabling Her Majesty's Government to form an opinion as to the causes and progress of the scarcity, and as to the measures taken for its prevention or mitigation, should still be supplied. But a yet more important point is to determine on those measures which are likely to prevent the recurrence of so deplorable a calamity in Bengal, and which it may be within the competency of the Government to undertake or to promote.

14. The deputation of the late Colonel Baird Smith on a mission of inquiry into the circumstances of the famine in the North-West Provinces in 1860 resulted in the production of an exhaustive report on the causes which exposed those provinces periodically to the ravages of famine, and in the submission of valuable suggestions with a view to the prevention of such visitations in future. It is my opinion that the information which I am desirous of receiving as to the circumstances of the famine in Bengal, and as to the most effectual means of preventing the periodical recurrence of such calamities, will similarly best be obtained through the appointment of a special officer to inquire into the whole subject, and to furnish a full and detailed report of the conclusions at which he may arrive. It is my wish that the officer to whom this duty is assigned shall at the same time report to you upon the extent to which the sufferings of the people were relieved by the efforts either of private individuals or of the Government. It will be his duty to ascertain how far the officers of revenue in charge of those districts furnished to their Government, between the months of October 1865 and July 1866, timely and accurate information with respect to the condition of the people and the prospects of the supply of food. It will be your duty to inform me how far the measures adopted by the local Government, in consequence of that information, were effective in mitigating the distress. I do not doubt that it will be in the power of your Government to select an officer possessed of the requisite qualifications for this important duty: and I would only remark on this point that the individual selected would necessarily be one unconnected officially with the revenue administration of Bengal.

15. I will, in conclusion, only assure you that Her Majesty's Government will be prepared cordially to approve any further measures which you may deem requisite for the relief of the distress which may still remain in the suffering districts of Bengal and Orissa, either from the continued scarcity of food or from the prevalence of disease, which I deeply regret to find has already broken out as a consequence of the famine, and has already been productive of great mortality.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

(Home Department.—Public. — No. 56 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 27 August 1866.

In continuation of our Despatch, No. 51, dated the 9th instant, we have the honour to transmit for your information copies of further narratives* furnished by the Government of Bengal of the state of the famine districts, together with copies of other communications† which we have received from that Government relating to the famine.

* No. 2388, dated 8th August 1866, and enclosures.
No. 1446 T., dated 13th August 1866, and enclosure.
No. 1589 T., dated 20th August 1866, and enclosures.

† No. 1400 T., dated 9th August 1866, and enclosure.
No. 1366 T., dated 8th August 1866, and enclosures.
No. 1537 T., dated 16th August 1866, and enclosures.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue—No. 2388.)

From *A. Mackenzie*, Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 8 August 1866.

In continuation of my letter, No. 2244, dated 24th ultimo, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the Seventh Narrative of the state of the districts where scarcity and distress exist, and of the measures adopted and in course of adoption, for alleviating the wants of the sufferers.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Mackenzie,*
Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Narrative.

The Board of Revenue have reported this week, that the prospects of the crops in the Patna district are so good that no further anxiety need be felt about it. Even in Sarun, Chumparun and Tirhoot, the accounts are cheering. In 24-Pergunnahs, Nuddea, Moorshedabad, Bhaugulpore, and in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, a good deal of distress still prevails, which was being relieved in every possible way, either by the distribution of food, or by employment on public works. The Lieutenant Governor has been happy to observe, that the recent inundation has not been so destructive as was at first anticipated, and that the measures of relief everywhere adopted, with the prospect of the incoming crops, will restore matters to their former satisfactory footing. Up to the 25th instant, 7,09,165 rupees have been disbursed, 1,47,600 rupees in cash remittances, and 5,61,565 rupees in purchases of rice. Some of the districts have not reported the number of persons relieved daily, but it will be seen from the marginal note that, though the returns are incomplete, the number of persons to whom relief is daily afforded is no less than 48,844. Cholera is still prevalent at Mozufferpore and Sitamaree. A copy of the Revenue Board's Eighth Narrative is appended.

Relieved Daily.

	Persons.
Pooree	1,543
Cuttack	1,960
Balasore	16,994
Midnapore	9,667
Manbhoom	1,900
Nuddea	3,111
Gya	1,699
Sarun	5,609
Tirhoot	6,361
Total Number relieved Daily	48,844

The latest accounts, received in two telegrams dated the 2nd and 3rd instant, from the Board of Revenue, are very cheering. Fair weather and the fall of rain is general throughout the country. In Orissa there is seasonable weather and a plentiful fall of rain, and rice is now selling at Cuttack at nearly six seers per rupee. The unloading of the ship "Gibb," is proceeding favourably, and the early harvest has begun in Cuttack, Midnapore, Nuddea, and Furreedpore, the produce being everywhere good.

In Nuddea also matters are more hopeful, and the Commissioner expects that things will have righted themselves in another month.

(signed) *A. Mackenzie,*
Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
8 August 1866.

THE FAMINE.

NARRATIVE, No. 8, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the relief of the distress arising from the scarcity of food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The statistics of persons relieved come down to the 30th June only. In the week ending on that day, a daily average of 1,643 persons were fed, of whom 368 were incapable of labour. During the week ending 7th July, 973 maunds of rice were sold to the public from the Government depôts; coming to more recent days the chief concern of the collector for the moment is to get the "Gibb" unloaded. The Government had resolved that the vessel must be detained to deliver her cargo at Pooree, whatever be the cost in demurrage. The operation proceeds slowly and with difficulty. A brig has come up to Pooree, however, with rice on private account, but there were no means of unloading her till the "Gibb" is cleared. The Government, upon this, telegraphed to the Commissioner to place boats at her disposal, even at the risk of detaining the "Gibb" longer. But he was authorised, if he thought fit, to send the "Gibb," under the circumstances, on to Balasore or False Point. The committee makes some complaints of the quality of rice imported from Burmah. The Government purposely ordered the coarsest and cheapest rice that could be got. The local authorities have been authorised to sell the Burmah rice at a price considerably below the price of Indian rice, which the people much prefer, and to make over, as far as possible, none but Burmah rice for sale below cost price, or for gratuitous distribution. The Burmah rice is now being sold at Pooree for 11 seers the rupee. The Board have, however, prohibited this, as it is below cost price (about 8¾ seers the rupee). The collector states, on behalf of himself and of the members of the committee, that there is now nothing more that the Government can do for them, for the present they have all the means that they can use. Nothing can exceed the loyalty and zeal with which each member of the committee is working. There are nine centres of relief open in the district. The price of rice in the bazaar of Pooree has, the Board regret to say, risen again. It is now from 5¼ to 5½ seers. This is, perhaps, owing to a corresponding rise of prices at Ganjam and to the increasing difficulty of importing rice.

Cuttack.—Rather more complete returns to the 7th July show a daily average of 1,960 persons relieved in the week ending on that day, of whom no less than 1,522 were incapable of any kind of labour. The Board are very anxious as to the transport of rice from the coast to the interior; the returns show very little progress made in the organisation of this essential part of the arrangements. The Commissioner's best attention has been directed to this point. The returns show only 3,606 maunds actually brought into consumption to the 14th July. Some uneasiness is felt at the deficiency of the rain-fall.

Balasore.—Returns are to the 14th July; in the fortnight ending on that day, a daily average of 16,994 souls were fed at seven different stations, 12,422 being incapable of any work, 5,122 of these were children. The rice expended in relief was 1,080 maunds, and there was also an expenditure of 3,788 rupees. Number of deaths reported in the fortnight, 1,018; rice sold to the poor at less than market price, 770 maunds, and to the public at full price 3,081 maunds. Mr. McNeile has now completed his arrangements at Balasore, and passed on to Cuttack. An interesting letter from him describing what has been done, will be published immediately. The fulness of the statistics given above from this district are proof of the completeness of the arrangements made. The sale of rice on account of Government is going on well, and it is found practicable to lead the market downwards, without interfering injuriously with trade. The local committee here too are working harmoniously and vigorously. The chief difficulty with which they have to contend is transporting the grain into the interior at such a season. They hope now that 15,000 maunds in addition to the 20,000 maunds daily expected by the 'Tubal Cain,' will suffice for the wants of this district. The loss by selling this rice at the current rate will, it is estimated, be 50,000 rupees. Baboo Padma Lochun Mandal, a native gentleman of wealth and influence in the district, has co-operated liberally with the committee, placing his warehouses at their disposal, and offering seed-grain to the cultivators. The Government is sending down native doctors and public works overseers to assist the committee. At Bhuddruck, to the south of the district, subdivisional committees are doing their duty with energy and ability, the distress is very severe, and the difficulty of relieving the place great. The Board have no news yet of the "Guide's" arrival, but she is probably there. The requirements of the subdivision, to the end of August, are estimated by Mr. McNeile at 15,000 maunds. Of the whole district Mr. McNeile writes that he does not think the extreme distress extends to the main body of the agriculturists. It is confined to that section of the people which depends upon daily wages and to the poorer cultivators. The Board have reminded the Commissioner that the Government make small permanent allowance for the support of destitute orphans, if no respectable person can be found to take them without such help.

Midnapore.—In this district there are now 12 centres of relief at work, at which, during the week ending 13th July, a daily average of 9,667 mouths were fed. Receipts to date 18,436 rupees. Expenditure, 9,862 rupees.

Maunbhoom.—Returns come down to the 17th July. Daily numbers fed at six stations 19,000, besides those who can work. Twelve deaths from starvation actually reported. The Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, has visited the district and several of the relief depôts, and was gratified with the order and efficiency of the arrangements. A large portion of the persons relieved are professional beggars; at one distribution 1,004 persons were

were present. As a rule, the local zemindars have not come forward to help. Rajah Radhakrishna Singh, of Burabhoom, is an exception. The rest appear to follow the example of Baboo Nilmonee Singh Deo, the zemindar of Pachete, the chief man of the place holds entirely aloof from all plans of public beneficence.

Hazareebaugh.—At the recommendation of the Commissioner the Board have remitted a further sum of 500 rupees for the Burhee subdivision.

Twenty-four Pergunnahs.—Severe distress is reported to prevail in the tract along the river bank, which was devastated by the cyclone of 1864. The Commissioner is, however, adopting measures of relief, chiefly with some funds that he had at his disposal, being the balance of the old Cyclone Fund. In other parts of the district there is a good deal of suffering, but nothing approaching to famine. The zemindars of this district are mostly men of wealth and intelligence, and will doubtless extend to their ryots the help that they need. The crops are reported to be most promising, excepting in the tract along the river bank, where the rain-fall has been so scanty that the Board have been obliged to authorise the executive engineer to use his discretion in cutting the dams at the mouths of the water-courses which communicate with the Hooghly, so as to enable the people to irrigate their lands.

Nuddea.—During the week ending 8th July, 3,111 people were relieved daily from 21 depôts, at a cost of 1,248 rupees, and about 1,160 persons were employed on public works. The Commissioner has urged the superintending engineer to do as much work as possible during the next two months. As expected by the Board, the damage done to the rice by inundation turns out to be much less than was expected. The average price of rice on the 17th July was reported to be five rupees, and in some places even 5¼ rupees a maund throughout the district. On the 25th July, however, rice was procurable wholesale at Kooshtea, for about *Rs.* 3. 14. The report of the committee, dated 13th July, still takes a desponding view of the state of affairs, and the large subscriptions raised in the district show that these apprehensions truly represent local public opinion. The committee ask for no less than 26,000 rupees, in addition to all that they have had as the least that they think necessary to carry them through. The opinion of intelligent persons in Calcutta, well acquainted with the district, is much less gloomy than that of the committee, and the Board cannot help hoping that it will be found that the fears of the committee are exaggerated. Further the committee have fixed a seer of rice as the quantity to be given to each soul daily. They have been informed that this is unnecessarily liberal. In other parts six chittacks for an adult, and four chittacks for a child is found ample. At many depôts even less is given. The Commissioner has now, at the request of the Government, proceeded to Kishnaghur, and the Board await his report. For present need they have remitted to the collector a further sum of 5,000 rupees, and the Commissioner has been told that he will be supported in directing any further advance of funds that may seem to him absolutely necessary. The Board have information that the early harvest has actually commenced in some parts of the district. This is very unusually early, and will be a proportionate boon to the people. The promise of the crops continues most excellent.

Moorshedabad.—Very bad accounts have been received from the country bordering upon the Nuddea district. Deputy Collector Baboo Bruj Lall Chowdhary was sent to the spot by the Commissioner, and his account tells of great mortality arising from want of proper food. The severe suffering is confined to very narrow limits. There are some considerable estates in the neighbourhood under charge of the Court of Wards, and assistance will be given from them. Messrs. Watson & Co. have also estates near by, and will no doubt show their usual liberality. Ranee Suvanamayi, a wealthy landed proprietress of Moorshedabad, immediately upon hearing of the distress sent down 125 maunds of grain. This same lady has, for months past, been distributing at least 100 rupees' worth of grain daily. Baboo Durput Sing, Lakstmipat Sing, Harak Chand, and other Keyal mahajuns and zemindars of Baluchar and Azimgunge, and Baboo Ram Doss, and many other native gentlemen of Berhampore and Moorshedabad, are said to be behaving with great liberality, and relieving the wants of thousands. Baboo Budh Singh Doodooriah, a rich mahajun of Azimgunge, has offered also to distribute daily in the city of Moorshedabad as much cooked food as may be asked for. The distribution has already commenced. A public meeting was to be held on the 24th to raise funds for general distribution. The public spirit shown in the district deserves all praise.

Bhaugulpore Division.—A comprehensive report of the state of affairs in this division was published in "The Englishman" of the 26th July.

Gya.—The collector reports on the 18th instant that 1,699 persons were being relieved daily from four stations. The zemindars of the Nowadah subdivision have supplied the committee of that place with rice for relief purposes at 25 seers the rupee, a most liberal concession. The promise of the crops continues splendid.

Shahabad.—A relief committee was organised on the 16th instant, 4,020 rupees being subscribed on the spot, of which the Rajah of Dumraon generously gave 1,000 rupees. The weather has been favourable everywhere to the crops, which promise well. There had been drought in the Bhubooa subdivision, but it had been relieved by rain.

Patna.—The relief operations proceed favourably; but the prospects of the crops is so good that no further anxiety is felt about this district.

Sarun.—In the week ending the 11th July an average of 5,609 persons were relieved daily at 11 places, about 700 maunds of grain being expended for the purpose. Heavy rain had, as anticipated last week, relieved the district at once. The cultivation of the lands and the manufacture of indigo has given employment to thousands of persons. The land-

holders

holders are taking measures liberally to relieve the distress on their estates. The committee have funds in hand, which will last, they hope, to the middle of September.

Chumparun.—The collector reports on the 11th instant that matters were much improved. The measures taken by the relief committee had been successful in alleviating distress and diminishing crime. Plentiful rain, too, had set all the people to work upon their fields, and cheered their hearts. The mahajuns were advancing seed-grain. He thinks that the funds at the disposal of the committee will suffice for the district. At Bettia the application for relief had diminished by one-half.

Tirhoot.—In the week ending 14th July, a daily average of 6,361 persons were fed at four stations. Disease, especially cholera, is very prevalent both in Mozufferpore and at Seetamaree. The mortality has therefore increased. At Durbhanga scarcity of grain is reported, but ample means are at disposal for importation from more favoured localities. The crops all promise well, and for agricultural purposes the season is favourable.

Calcutta.—The price is not less than it was, though scarcely higher, about five rupees a maund. A statement of accounts to date is appended.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

R. B. Chapman, Secretary.

Fort William, 26 July 1866.

STATEMENT showing the Disbursement made by the Board of Revenue up to the 25th July 1866 for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By late Statement.	Since Assigned.	Total Assignment.
CASH REMITTANCES. (Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)	*Rs.* *a.* *p.*	*Rs.* *a.* *p.*	*Rs.* *a.* *p.*
To Balasore	15,000 – –	– – –	15,000 – –
Cuttack	15,000 – –	– – –	15,000 – –
Pooree	20,000 – –	– – –	20,000 – –
Bancoorah	5,000 – –	– – –	5,000 – –
Midnapore	15,000 – –	– – –	15,000 – –
Nuddea	15,000 – –	5,000 – –	20,000 – –
Chumparun	7,000 – –	– – –	7,000 – –
Gya	1,000 – –	– – –	1,000 – –
Sarun	10,000 – –	– – –	10,000 – –
Tirhoot	4,000 – –	– – –	4,000 – –
Hazareebaugh	500 – –	– – –	500 – –
Burhee	500 – –	500 – –	1,000 – –
Manbhoom	8,000 – –	– – –	8,000 – –
Singhbhoom	1,000 – –	– – –	1,000 – –
Pakour	100 – –	– – –	100 – –
Ganjam	25,000 – –	– – –	25,000 – –
TOTAL *Rs.*	1,42,100 – –	5,500 – –	1,47,603 – –
DESPATCHES OF GRAIN. (Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree	4,28,606 – –	28,657 – –	4,56,663 – –
Dhamra	24,171 – –	– – –	24,171 – –
Balasore	57,679 – –	2,887 – –	60,566 – –
Manbhoom	20,165 – –	– – –	20,165 – –
TOTAL *Rs.*	5,30,621 – –	20,944 – –	5,61,565 – –
ABSTRACT.			
Cash	1,42,100 – –	5,500 – –	1,47,600 – –
Grain	5,30,621 – –	30,944 – –	5,61,565 – –
TOTAL *Rs.*	6,72,721 – –	36,444 – –	7,09,165 – –

ORDERS OUT.

To Rangoon and Akyab.—General order to go on purchasing so long as rice can be put on board ship for *Rs.* 3. 12. a maund.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1446 T.); dated Darjeeling, 13th August 1866.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the eighth weekly narrative of this Government, relative to the present distress from scarcity.

NARRATIVE.

WITH reference to the Cuttack division, the Board have, in a letter dated 30th July, reported that they have considerable hopes that it will be unnecessary to export any more rice from Calcutta even to Balasore. At that port the 20,000 maunds sent per "Tubal Cain," and another cargo to be imported from Burmah, are expected to suffice for all wants. It has been reported, however, that the "Tubal Cain" has been driven from her anchorage and forced to take shelter in the Hidgillee River, from whence her cargo will be transhipped on the "Nemesis" to Balasore.

In the Bhuddruck subdivision, works for the relief of the distressed have been proposed, the cost of which is estimated to exceed 12,000 rupees. The Public Works Department have been requested to issue such orders as may be necessary, charging any expenditure incurred against the special grant made to that department for relief works.

In the Bhaugulpore division the Commissioner has reported that the Commissariat attah, which was sent to various districts of the division, has been sold. A sum of 2,484 rupees, the surplus subscription to the Bhaugulpore Agricultural Exhibition of 1865, has, at the request of the gentlemen who composed the Exhibition Committee, been made over to the relief funds of the division.

J. Geoghegan,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Darjeeling, 13 August 1866.

(Revenue.—No. 1589 T.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department; dated Darjeeling, the 20th August 1866.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 1446 T., dated the 13th instant, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the ninth weekly narrative of this Government relative to the present distress arising from scarcity of food.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE.

Government of Bengal; dated Darjeeling, 20th August 1866.

SINCE the last narrative was written the Board have submitted a memorandum from Mr. McNeile, containing an estimate of expenditure on account of importation of rice for the Cuttack division. It is calculated that for Balasore, excluding Bhudruck, 15,000 maunds will be required per mensem, viz., 7,000 for sale at market rates; 4,000 at lower rates; and 4,000 for gratuitous distribution; and that the nett loss to the relief fund will be 20,000 rupees per mensem. On the same principle the loss for Bhudruck will be 15,000 rupees, giving a total of 35,000 rupees per mensem for Balasore. A similar amount will be required for Pooree. In Cuttack the monthly imports are assumed at 75,000 maunds, valued (at *Rs.* 5. 8. a maund, including all costs) at more than four lakhs of rupees. Of this, 35,000 maunds, set aside for sale at market rates, will give a return of two lakhs, and 20,000 maunds sold at low rates will, it is estimated, yield one lakh; the rest, if distributed gratis, will show a loss estimated at one lakh. The total loss for the division is therefore 1,70,000 rupees per mensem, which the relief fund supplemented by subscriptions will cover for three months; and if the harvest turns out well, expenditure might then, the magistrate thinks, be curtailed to one-half the estimated scale at the end of the current month. A copy of Mr. McNeile's memorandum is annexed for perusal by his Excellency the Governor General in Council. A complete account has been called for from the Board of the funds placed at their disposal, and an estimate of what is likely to be required. Special information is to be supplied as to the cost of importing rice on account of Government into the distressed districts.

2. A telegram, dated 18th instant, reports the Cuttack bazaar price at $6\frac{9}{16}$ seers for the rupee, and that rice was coming in from Sumbulpore on private account. At Pooree the landing of rice was difficult, owing to stormy weather. The "Tubal Cain," which had broken from her anchorage, had been compelled to put into Akyab. Abundant rain had fallen, and the crops were promising. On the 18th the Pooree bazaar price was $5\frac{7}{8}$ seers; the

the weather still stormy, and the Pooree-road and embankments had been breached by high floods, which inundated much of the country. These floods have subsided, but there were apprehensions that they may have injured the crops. From Balasore, accounts were less favourable, owing to the accident to the "Tubal Cain" and the bad weather; and rice had gone up temporarily as high as $2\frac{15}{16}$ per rupee. The "Nemesis" has, however, since arrived there with a cargo, and the "Guide" and "Teesta" are now going down to meet her with a fresh supply of rice and coal. The "Arracan" is also on her way from Madras to Balasore with 2,000 bags of rice. At Bhudruck the grain godowns had been carried away by the flood; and though it was at first reported that much grain was lost, information has been since received that the greater portion of the rice has been saved.

3. In addition to assignments from the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund balances, the following grants have been made:—

From the Government Estates Improvement Fund:
Twenty thousand rupees for the road from Piplee, *viâ* Khoordah, to Dalhepadda, on the north of Khoordah, in Pooree; 5,200 rupees for tanks, and 1,108 rupees for an embankment in Sattparah, in the Koordah Estate; and 1,000 rupees' worth of grain-seed distributed among the Surburakors, the cost price to be repaid at the next harvest.

From the revenues of Government Estates:
Two hundred and fifty rupees to the Contai relief fund, and a similar monthly subscription to the Midnapore relief fund.

From the Ward's Estates of Nyagon and Jumbonee:
Two hundred and fifty rupees to Dantoon relief committee, and 200 rupees to the relief depôts at Gootea and Balapaharee.

From the funds of the Durburegah Estate:
Twenty thousand rupees for distributing food, and 3,000 rupees to provide employment in the construction of a tank.

The Berhampore Court of Wards will contribute towards measures of relief in the Moorshedabad district.

In the Public Works Department the following expenditure has been sanctioned for relief works:—

	Rs.
For the Bhaugulpore Division:	
Doomka	5,000
Monghyr	5,000
Rajmehal	4,000
Rs.	14,000
For the Patna Division:	
Sarun	10,000
Sewan, subdivision	10,000
Gya	9,050
Patna	2,000
Shahabad	5,000
Rs	36,050
For the Cuttack Division:	
Subdivision of Bhudruck	*Rs.* 12,450

Expenditure up to 12,000 rupees has been sanctioned for raising the sides and slopes, and for the general re-sectioning of the Amedpore feeder, No. 2, from Amedpore to Laghuttee, to afford employment to the distressed in the Beerbhoom and adjoining districts.

4. In Calcutta a committee of European and native gentlemen has been formed, and a considerable sum has already been raised by private charity. The Commissioner of Police has been authorised to open an additional hospital, and to provide shelter for the destitute in convenient and open places apart from the thickly-populated quarters of the town. He has also been desired, in communication with the relief committee, and with the assistance of the best medical aid available, to take needful precautionary measures to prevent the sickness and mortality which may otherwise be expected to result from the unusual influx into Calcutta of great numbers of people in a condition predisposing them to disease.

5. Measures are also being taken to check the influx, especially in the case of the Jehanabad subdivision, in Hooghly, where the distress had extended beyond the reach of local relief. A grant of 5,000 rupees has been given for this subdivision, and ample means promised to the Commissioner of Burdwan for extending the sphere of action of existing relief organisations. It was to be announced to the immigrants that assistance would be given them to return to their own homes, and to maintain them there after arrival, on the

usual principle of providing work for those capable of work, and food for those not so capable. The arrangements were to apply equally to all parts of the Burdwan division, whence persons have flocked into Calcutta as well as to Hooghly; but in regard to this latter tract of country, Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, a large landed proprietor there, stated that within a month rice would be procurable at 15 seers for the rupee, and the agriculturists would be relieved, though the artizans (weavers) would still require every assistance, owing to their present complete destitution. Further reports will be received as to what steps have been taken, and what will be necessary.

6. A report has been called for as to the measure adopted in and about the town of Calcutta, since the commencement of the distress, both by the authorities and by private individuals, for the relief of the destitute, for their accommodation and shelter, and for the segregation and cure of the sick.

7. The Commissioner of Burdwan has been directed to proceed at once to Howrah, and, in personal communication with the magistrate, to take steps for forming a committee, raising subscriptions, and providing for those who require it, in accordance with the principles adopted by the Calcutta committee. Measures have also been taken to organise a centre of relief at Oolbarea under the Howrah committee, and a hospital is to be established there, a sub-assistant surgeon and medicines being provided by Government.

(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

MEMORANDUM.

I HOPE and believe that Mr. Schalch's apprehensions of the insufficiency of the relief fund to cover the whole nett expenditure incurred in the Government importations will be found groundless; the one grand reason being that, do what we will, we cannot bring into the country enough rice to supply the relief committees with the means of overdrawing the funds in hand for their use. In a demi-official note to Mr. Schalch, I have already estimated the total monthly expenditure of rice in the Balasore district, exclusive of Bhudruck, at 15,000 maunds, and the nett loss to the fund at 20,000 rupees. This estimate has been founded on the supposition that out of the 15,000 maunds, 7,000 will be sold at market rates, 4,000 sold at low rates, and 4,000 gratuitously distributed. On the same principles, the total nett expenditure from the fund in Bhudruck may be put down at certainly not more than 15,000 rupees. Total for Balasore per mensem, 35,000 rupees.

In Cuttack, we may expect to land an average of 2,000 maunds per diem. We may, perhaps, succeed in making it 3,000 maunds, but I think it very doubtful. Estimating it at 2,500 maunds, we have a monthly expenditure of 75,000 maunds, of which about 40,000 will be made over to the relief committee, and 35,000 sold at market rates. The amount now sold by the relief committee is to the amount gratuitously distributed nearly as five to two—a much more favourable proportion than that which prevails in Balasore. Again, in Balasore, relief sales are being made at 10 Calcutta seers to the rupee. Here they are made at five Cuttack,= about six and a quarter Calcutta seers to the rupee, or a little more than six rupees a maund. On the other hand, costs of carriage are much higher here than in Balasore. Moreover, a large quantity of inferior rice has just arrived, which will have to be sold at eight or nine Calcutta seers for the rupee, at least in the relief shops. The cost price of this rice has been less, it is true; but, upon the whole, the relief sales of it will show no profit. The following, I think, is a fair estimate for Cuttack.

Average cost price, including all costs of carriage, &c., *Rs.* 5. 8. per maund (taking bad and good rice together); 75,000 maunds at *Rs.* 5. 8.= 412,500 rupees, say four lakhs; 35,000 maunds at 6 rupees (present market rate is nearly 7 rupees, so we may take 6 rupees as a probable average for the next month) = 210,000 rupees, say two lakhs. Suppose the committee to adopt even the Balasore proportion, and distribute as much as they sell, then we have 20,000 maunds sold at an average of 5 rupees (as I have said above, it is now somewhat over 6 rupees) = 1,00,000 rupees, say one lakh. The remaining 20,000 maunds is all lost to the fund. Here, then, we have four lakhs of expenditure and three lakhs of recoveries, or one lakh lost per mensem. Add 35,000 for Balasore, and as much more for Pooree, and there is a nett expenditure of 170,000 rupees per mensem in the division.

The relief fund, I imagine, will with private subscriptions cover this for three months. If the harvest turns out well, all operations might be curtailed to one-half of the scale here estimated, after the end of August.

(signed) *D. J. M'Neile.*

Cuttack, 27 1866.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1400 T.), dated Darjeeling, 9th August 1866.

I AM directed by the Lieutenant Governor to submit herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of a telegram dated the 6th, and received on the 8th instant, from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, and of my telegraphic reply of the latter date thereto, having reference to a requisition made by the leading members of the European community of Calcutta on the Sheriff to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants on Monday, the 13th instant, to take into consideration the measures required to relieve the present distress.

2. I am also to submit a copy of a letter, No. 1398 T., which has been this day addressed to the Board of Revenue, containing his Honor's views generally on this subject.

TELEGRAM.

From Calcutta, dated the 8th August 1866.
From Junior Secretary, Board of Revenue.
To Darjeeling.
To Lieutenant Governor.

A REQUISITION upon the Sheriff is in circulation signed by all leading members of European community here, for a public meeting on Monday, 13th, to consider measures required for relief of present distress. The requisition is general, but is believed to have special reference to Calcutta. In the first instance demand will be made on Government to double all public subscriptions for expenditure in Calcutta. Board's decided opinion is, that Government should not do this, but provide public works for able-bodied applicants for relief, who abound; and they recommend immediate commencement of Circular Canal new (now) cut. Distinct instructions as to intentions of Government are requested, to be notified at the public meeting; senior member is writing.

TELEGRAM.

From Darjeeling, dated the 8th August 1866.
From Secretary.
To Calcutta.
To Junior Secretary, Board of Revenue.

YOUR telegram of the 6th received. The Lieutenant Governor is glad to hear that it is the intention of the community generally to organise measures for the relief of those suffering from want in Calcutta. But every precaution should be taken to avoid the adoption of any description of relief tending to draw labourers from the interior, where they are required for the purpose of cutting the crop which is now being gathered.

Instructions have been given to the Public Works Department to push on public works in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, so as to afford employment to the able-bodied. The community of such a town as Calcutta may reasonably be expected to support the infirm and those unable to labour. The funds at the disposal of the Government are required in places in which the people are not able to afford such assistance.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 1398 T.), dated Darjeeling, 9th August 1866.

IN continuation of my telegram of yesterday, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to request that the Board will give every encouragement to the objects of the meeting which has been convened to devise measures and collect subscriptions for the relief of the poor in Calcutta.

2. This object has hitherto been attained through the private liberality of the native gentlemen of the town, aided and directed by the Commissioner of Police and his establishment, as well as by the officers of the municipality, and assisted with means provided in the way of shelter, hospital accommodation, and medical attendance by the Government and the Municipality. But the number of destitute people who come from the neighbouring districts to seek employment and relief in Calcutta seems to be increasing, and it appears probable that a more perfect organisation and more abundant means are necessary to meet the growing evil, and to provide for the suppart of those who, having come to Calcutta, cannot find work or food there, and are unable, while the present scarcity lasts, to return to their homes.

3. This can best be accomplished by the formation of a committee to collect subscriptions from all classes of the community, and to distribute relief on a regularly appointed system, and the Lieutenant Governor does not doubt that sufficient means will be readily provided,

and that a committee working in concert with the Commissioner of Police and the other town authorities, will apply these means to the best advantage.

4. Whatever further is required in the way of medicines and medical attendance for the sick poor, will be supplied by the Government, and the Municipalities will doubtless provide what additional shelter and hospital accommodation is needed; and as far as possible employment will be found for the able-bodied poor on public works in the neighbourhood.

5. The Lieutenant Governor anticipates that in this way the wants of Calcutta and the suburbs will be amply met from local resources, and that there will be no occasion to afford the town any pecuniary assistance from the remaining balance of the Famine Fund, which is required, and may possibly hardly suffice, for the rural districts, of which the suffering inhabitants are more dependent on such aid than those of the metropolis.

6. The committee, in extending relief to all who really need it, will doubtless appreciate the importance of so regulating their proceedings as not to encourage the resort of able-bodied persons in Calcutta in the hopes of obtaining pecuniary alms or subsistence of any kind without labour. It is said that the somewhat necessarily indiscriminate character of the relief already so generously afforded by private charity has to some extent had this effect; and it is obvious that the consequences must be injurious, not only in drawing labourers from the districts where they are wanted to cultivate their lands, but in attracting a crowd of suffering people into a thickly-populated city, and in laying upon the community of Calcutta a greater burden than they ought to bear. Relief, therefore, should be confined as much as possible to cooked rations, and some labour suitable to their condition should be required from all to whom relief is extended.

7. The Lieutenant Governor has hitherto felt himself unable to accede to the wish which has been expressed in some quarters, that the Government should appoint a central committee in Calcutta to collect funds for the general relief of the present distress, and to superintend its distribution. So long as the balance of the old Famine Fund appears likely to be sufficient to afford the means of such relief, by supplementing local charity and throwing in supplies of rice where private trade has failed to meet the extraordinary demand, the Lieutenant Governor deems it inexpedient, especially at a season of commercial pressure and difficulty, to appeal on the part of Government to the public for aid which is not likely to be wanted. If the resources at the command of the Government for these purposes were even greater than they are, it is not supposed that any larger amount of aid than has already been given could be afforded without drying up the springs of local charity. Every well supported demand for succour that has been made upon the Famine Fund has been promptly met, and there is no reason to fear, so far as the Lieutenant Governor is informed, that the balance in hand will not be sufficient to aid the District Relief Committees until long after the approaching harvest, which, throughout the distressed districts, is reported to be of abundant promise.

8. It has also appeared to the Lieutenant Governor that so long as the old Famine Fund suffices for these objects, the responsibility for its proper distribution should rest upon the Government and its officers, and though he has availed himself of the valuable assistance of two independent gentlemen, most obligingly and promptly rendered, in superintending the relief operations, he has not felt justified in shifting that responsibility upon a committee.

9. If, however, it should appear to the meeting, upon any information that may be brought before it, that the balance of the Famine Fund will not be sufficient to supply rice to the poor of the rural districts gratuitously, or at a cheap rate, during the probable continuance of scarcity, and if a strong feeling should be expressed in favour of raising additional funds for the relief, not only of the poor of Calcutta and the suburbs, but of those of the districts in the interior, the Lieutenant Governor would gladly take advantage of such a desire, and welcome the appointment of a mixed committee comprising, among other official gentlemen, the Members of the Board, who would undertake the collection of general subscriptions, and the administration of the united funds arising from such subscriptions or remaining from the old Famine Fund, and thus relieve the Board of the duty which has hitherto devolved upon it.

10. The subscribers to any new fund for general purposes would of course be entitled to appoint those whom they may desire to undertake its management, and it is certainly not desirable that the two funds should be administered by different bodies, or on different and possibly conflicting principles.

11. I am directed to request that this letter may be laid before the meeting by one of the Members of the Board, and that the meeting may be assured that the Government is prepared to co-operate heartily in any course of action that may be determined upon.

(No. 1339 T.)

COPY forwarded for the information of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1366 T.); dated Darjeeling, 8 August 1866.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of a letter No. 1856 B., dated the 4th instant, from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, forwarding the Board's narrative No. 9 of proceedings for the relief of the present distress from scarcity. The report is, in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion, very satisfactory.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Darjeeling (No. 1856 B.); dated Fort William, 4 August 1866.

IN continuation of letter No. 1679 B., dated 28th July, I am instructed by the Board of Revenue to forward herewith, for submission to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, a copy of their narrative No. 9, of proceedings for the relief of the distress arising from the present scarcity of food.

NARRATIVE No. 9 of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—No reports have been received from the relief committee this week. A sailing vessel of 700 tons is under despatch from Rangoon, with a full cargo of rice, and will be unloaded at Pooree if considered advisable by the Commissioner. The unloading of the "Gibb" is progressing.

Cuttack.—Abundance of rain has fallen, and the rivers are again rising. An average daily number of 3,432 persons were relieved during the week ending the 14th July. Steps had been taken to open 17 more centres of relief. Rice has been forwarded from False Point to the interior, since the 7th July, at the rate of nearly 800 bags a day. The bazaar price has fallen to nearly six Calcutta seers per rupee.

Balasore.—Returns for the week ending 21st July give a daily number of 17,734 persons relieved. The number of deaths was reported at 703. Every possible step is now taken to despatch both rice and money into the interior; the expenditure for the week amounting to 4,428 rupees. The bazaar price was five seers per rupee. The "Tubal Cain" has arrived; but bad weather and the absence of the "Nemesis" has hitherto delayed her discharge.

Midnapore.—An average daily number of 7,842 were fed in the week ending 21st July; the total expenditure in the district being 14,769 rupees, out of 19,150 rupees received. In calculating the number fed, two children were taken as equivalent to one adult. Sufficient employment is now available on the public works, in the fields, and in indigo factories. A harvest of early rice is being gathered. The Collector has been empowered to make local arrangements for importation of rice for gratuitous distribution, or sale below cost price; all funds required for the purpose being supplied to him.

Maunbhoom.—Rice is arriving in the district by the hands of private traders, and selling at six and a half to seven seers per rupee. It is not thought necessary to send up any Government stock. A supply of medicines for the temporary hospital at Purulea has been ordered up.

24-*Pergunnahs.*—Great benefit has resulted to the young rice crop from the opening of the *khâls*, and cutting of the embankments along the river bank. For the relief of the distress reported to prevail in this part of the district, 2,500 rupees have been sent to the collector; several of the landholders having also taken steps to raise subscriptions, of which a first instalment of 1,300 rupees is now being collected.

Nuddea.—A systematic plan of relief has now been generally organised by the Commissioner at such of the out-stations as were in this respect deficient, and a further sum of 5,000 rupees has been sent to the Collector. Large quantities of rice are coming into the district from Kooshtea, where the wholesale price is now four and a quarter to four and a half rupees per maund, and will probably be less within another fortnight.

Moorshedabad.—The deputy collector sent down to the distressed tract has been supplied with money raised at a public meeting held on the 24th July, when 5,000 rupees were subscribed, since increased to 7,000 rupees. Rice is being distributed from the factories of Watson and Co., and cooked food in large quantities at Berhampore, Moorshedabad, Baloochur, and Azimgunge. Accounts of the crops are good, and an abundant harvest is expected in a few weeks.

Jessore.—Some distress has been experienced at the station itself, and private subscriptions have been made to relieve it. At first all applicants were indiscriminately relieved, but such aid being afterwards restricted to those who were unable to work, the necessity

for assistance has become very slight, and no help is required further than that already locally supplied.

Bancoorah.—The distress still continues, and a further sum of 5,000 rupees has been placed at the disposal of the Collector, for the use of the committee, who are now employed in relieving upwards of 5,000 people daily.

Shahabad.—There is considerable distress, though no actual starvation; an average of 850 people were daily relieved by gratis distribution of food, and 909 were daily employed on road works at a cost of 414 rupees during the week ending 23rd July.

Chumparun.—The numbers seeking for relief by gratuitous distribution of food have sensibly decreased, and consist entirely of women, children, and old men, whilst more labourers are working on the roads, and in much better condition. A money advance is not required by the Collector. There are relief stations at about every 15 miles in the distressed parts of the district, supported by local subscriptions.

Published for general information, by order of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

(signed) *T. B. Lane,*
Junior Secretary.

Fort William, 3 August 1866.

STATEMENT showing the Disbursements made by the Board of Revenue up to the 3rd August 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By last Statement.	Since Assigned.	Total Assignment.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
CASH REMITTANCES.			
(Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)			
To Balasore	15,000	-	15,000
„ Cuttack	15,000	-	15,000
„ Pooree	20,000	-	20,000
„ Bancoorah	5,000	5,000	10,000
„ Midnapore	15,000	-	15,000
„ Nuddea	20,000	5,000	25,000
„ 24-Pergunnahs	-	2,500	2,500
„ Chumparun	7,000	-	7,000
„ Gya	1,000	-	1,000
„ Sarun	10,000	-	10,000
„ Tirhoot	4,000	-	4,000
„ Hazareebaugh	500	-	500
„ Burhee	1,000	-	1,000
„ Maunbhoom	8,000	-	8,000
„ Singhbhoom	1,000	-	1,000
„ Pakour	100	-	100
„ Ganjam	25,000	-	25,000
TOTAL *Rs.*	1,47,600	12,500	1,60,100
DESPATCHES OF GRAIN.			
(Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree	4,56,663	1,21,294	5,77,957
„ Dhamra	24,171	-	24,171
„ Balasore	60,566	622	61,188
„ Maunbhoom	20,165	-	20,165
TOTAL *Rs.*	5,61,565	1,21,916	6,83,481
ABSTRACT.			
Cash	1,47,600	12,500	1,60,100
Grain	5,61,565	1,21,916	6,83,481
TOTAL *Rs.*	7,09,165	1,34,416	8,43,581

Orders out to Rangoon and Akyab. General order to go on purchasing so long as rice can be put on board ship for 3½ rupees a maund.

(Revenue.—No. 1537 T.)

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department; dated Darjeeling, 16 August 1866.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of the 10th Narrative of the Board of Revenue of their proceedings for the relief of the present distress arising from scarcity of food.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE No. 10 of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—DURING the fortnight ending 20th July, steps were taken to open six more relief centres, and the assistant-collector at Khoordah was expected to apply for means to carry on six centres, also in his subdivision. Small-pox was prevalent amongst the destitute at Pooree, but arrangements were at once made to send the sick into hospital, a temporary shed being erected there for the reception of the increased number of patients. The cargo of the "Arracan" had been cleared, and although the weather has continued very stormy, the unloading of the "Gibbs" is slowly progressing. Boats had been obtained also to unload the brig. Bazaar price of rice on the 4th of August nearly six seers, and heavy rain had fallen.

Cuttack.—From Sumbulpore 2,000 maunds of rice were reported to have been despatched by traders for Cuttack, and 300 maunds on account of Government. The private despatches were expected to increase. At False Point, an average daily quantity of 1,000 bags could be landed, and Mr. McNeile was about to proceed there to perfect the arrangements for forwarding the stocks into the interior, as fast as landed. The price of rice in the bazaar was last quoted at five and seven-eighths seers per rupee.

Balasore.—The unloading of the "Tubal Cain" had been most unfortunately delayed by bad weather, until she was at last driven first to the sand-heads, and then out to sea. As soon as she can be brought up to Hidgelee, the "Nemesis" will unload her and land the cargo at Balasore; the "Nemesis," however, which had arrived with the "Dolphin," at the Balasore river, was on the 4th August river-bound. To replenish the Government shops the "Celerity" and "Teesta" are now under orders to start with 1,000 bags of rice to meet the "Nemesis" at Hidgelee, pending the arrival there of the "Tubal Cain." The "Celerity," weather permitting, will run on to the Balasore river. During the week ending 8th August, private subscriptions were received of *R.* 1,351 6 A., the quantity of rice to be daily distributed at the Dhurmsalla was increased to 80 maunds. Bengalee class native doctors had been appointed to Balasore and Jellasore. The "Guide" was unfortunately still delayed in making her way up the Dhamrah. The "Feroze" left Calcutta on the 4th instant, to carry rice from Akyab to Balasore. The Bhudruk sub-divisional officer has arranged to carry away weekly from Sohroh a large quantity of grain to be sent there by the Collector. Heavy rain had fallen, but the last rate in the bazaar was only four seers per rupee.

Midnapore.—Such of the sick destitutes, as it was deemed advisable to keep in a separate place, have been received into an infirmary, under Rev. Dr. Phillips' care. Other sick are sent to the charitable dispensary and hospital, and those suffering solely from starvation are cared for in an asylum, established by private subscriptions for the purpose. Four rest houses are also provided for the shelter of the starved poor, at night and in wet weather. The Collector had described the stocks of rice as very low, and had been directed by telegraph to make immediate arrangements for buying what he requires, the necessary funds being supplied by the Board. Meanwhile he had bought a small supply in Calcutta.

Nuddea.—A full report by the Commissioner has been just published, and details of the system of relief at the different centres given. Mr. Dampier is of opinion that although an abundant dos crop is now being cut, and extended measures for relief will not be required round Nischindipore or Kishnaghur after three weeks more, the distress in the western part of the district will be severely felt, and must be relieved for a longer time.

Bancoorah.—During the week ending 26th July, more difficulty had been felt in procuring grain, but this was removed by the immediate grant of 5,000 rupees, as notified in the last narrative. The Commissioner's attention was further called to the urgent necessity of extended relief arrangements at Bishenpore and other places in the district, so as to avoid driving people thence for help to Calcutta.

Patna.—Favourable reports of the weather and crops have been received. Public works are in

in progress, on which employment is found for those in distress, and the Collector writes very hopefully.

Gya.—Good accounts of the crops are given. Measures for relief and for proper treatment of the sick poor are now in full operation. Cholera, however, was very severe, and the mortality great.

Shahabad.—The distress is reported to be decreasing slightly, though cholera prevailed. A relief committee was formed on the 25th July at Buxar, where food and labour were supplied according to necessity.

Tirhoot.—The crops of Indian corn and rice are well spoken of, and the Collector hopes that the distress will be much decreased by the end of another month. He has been desired to establish as many additional centres of relief as possible, and to apply for money and medicines when necessary. The local subscriptions are still unexhausted.

Calcutta.—The proceedings taken by the Board to check immigration into Calcutta have been separately reported.

Published for general information by order of the Board of Revenue, L. P.

(signed) *T. B. Lane,*
Junior Secretary.

Fort William, 10 August 1866.

Number of Persons relieved Daily in the above Districts during the week under Report.

Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.
Pooree	1,120	2,203
Cuttack	Returns not received.	
Balasore	20,416	3,207
Midnapore	7,065	547
Gya	892	239
Chumparun	2,638	2,371
Sarun	5,780	2,972
Shahabad	1,563	679
Tirhoot	7,126	345
Patna	Returns not received.	
Bancoorah		
Nuddea		

STATEMENT showing the Disbursements made by the Board of Revenue up to the 10th August 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By last Statement.	Since Assigned.	Total Assignment.
CASH REMITTANCES. (Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
To Balasore	15,000	- -	15,000
Cuttack	15,000	- -	15,000
Pooree	20,000	- -	20,000
Bancoorah	10,000	- -	10,000
Hooghly	- -	5,000	5,000
Midnapore	15,000	- -	15,000
Nuddea	25,000	- -	25,000
24-Pergunnahs	2,500	- -	2,500
Chumparun	7,000	- -	7,000
Gya	1,000	- -	1,000
Sarun	10,000	- -	10,000
Tirhoot	4,000	- -	4,000
Hazareebaugh	1,500	- -	1,500
Manbhoom	8,000	- -	8,000
Singbhoom	1,000	- -	1,000
Sonthal Pergunnahs	100	5,500	5,600
Ganjam	25,000	- -	25,000
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	1,60,100	10,500	1,70,600
DESPATCHES OF GRAIN. (Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree	5,77,957	1,80,031	7,57,988
Dhamra	24,171	- -	24,171
Balasore	61,188	89,250	1,50,438
Manbhoom	20,165	- -	20,165
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	6,83,481	2,69,281	9,52,762
ABSTRACT.			
Cash	1,60,100	10,500	1,70,600
Grain	6,83,481	2,69,281	9,52,762
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	8,43,581	2,79,781	11,23,362

ORDERS OUT.

To Rangoon and Akyab.—General order to go on purchasing, so long as rice can be put on board ship for *Rs.* 3. 8 *a.* a maund.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 62 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 18 September 1866.

WE have received your Despatch No. 61, dated the 16th July, in which you request to be furnished with information regarding the famine which is prevailing in portions of the Bengal and Madras Presidencies.

2. In reply, we would draw attention to the fact that a report on the state and prospects of the crops in the Lower Provinces of Bengal was forwarded by us in January last,* and that our proceedings relating to the famine which has since raged in parts of the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, together with the reports received from the Government of Bengal, in which mention is made of the state and prospects of the crops in the afflicted districts, have been regularly transmitted to Her Majesty's Government with our Despatches noted on the margin.†

* Revenue Despatch, No. 2, of 1866, dated 3rd January.

† Public, to Secretary of State, No. 32, dated 16th June.
Ditto - ditto - No. 36, dated 27th June.
Ditto - ditto - No. 39, dated 11th July.
Ditto - ditto - No. 46, dated 26th July.
Ditto - ditto - No. 51, dated 9th August.
Ditto - ditto - No. 56, dated 27th August.

3. We also notice that the proceedings of the Madras Government relating to the distress prevailing in Ganjam, have been reported direct by the Madras Government.‡

‡ Revenue (Madras), to Secretary of State, No. 31, dated 7 July; No. 35, dated 11th August.

4. We have, nevertheless, communicated a copy of your Despatch, No. 61, dated the 16th July, to the Governments of Bengal and Fort St. George, in view to special reports being furnished, as desired by you, of the state and prospects of the crops in Bengal and Orissa, and in the adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency.

5. We also enclose for your information a copy of a communication § which we have caused to be made to the Government of Bengal, in which we have called for a fuller and more particular report of the distress which has prevailed and which is still prevailing in Orissa. The result of this reference will be duly communicated to you.

§ No. 4237, dated 3rd September.

6. Meanwhile we enclose for your information, in continuation of our Despatch, No. 56, dated the 27th August, copies of further narratives furnished by the Government of Bengal ‖ of the state of the famine districts, including the narratives of the Board of Revenue.

‖ From Bengal No. 1753 T., dated 27 August 1866, and enclosures.
From Bengal, No. 1809 T., dated 30 August.
From Bengal, No. 1914 T., dated 3 September, and enclosure.

7. We also forward a report ¶ of the measures adopted for the relief of the destitute in and about Calcutta, together with copies of other documents specified on the margin,** relating to the famine.

¶ From Bengal, No. 1808 T., dated 30 August 1866, and enclosure.

** To Bengal, No. 3449, dated 8 August.
From Bengal, No. 1710, dated 24 August, and enclosures.
From Bengal, No. 1806, dated 30 August, and enclosures.
From Bengal, No. 1841 T., dated 30 August, and enclosure.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Laurence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal (No. 4237); dated Simla, 3 September 1866.

The weekly narratives furnished by the Bengal Government regarding the distress in Orissa and other districts from want of food, are so far satisfactory that they seem to indicate a gradual improvement and some general mitigation of the calamity. But these narratives do not convey very full information, nor do they give any very distinct idea of what the actual amount of suffering is; and there seems to the Governor General in Council, judging from statements made in the newspapers and in private letters, to be a general impression that the distress in some districts, and especially in one or two of the Orissa districts, is a good deal more severe than might be inferred from official accounts. His Excellency in Council, I am to say, will be very glad to receive a fuller and more particular report of the distress which has prevailed, and which is still prevailing in Orissa, whenever the Lieutenant Governor shall be in possession of detailed information on the subject, either from the Commissioner, or from Mr. McNeile, or from any other source.

2. The Governor General in Council feels assured that no effort has been spared, or will be spared by the officers above-mentioned and those acting with them, to afford relief as far as may be possible to all the really distressed, and to help the people to the utmost in the grievous calamity which has fallen upon them.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1753 T.; dated Darjeeling 27 August 1866.)

In continuation of my letter, No. 1589 T., dated the 20th instant, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, the 10th weekly narrative of this Government on the subject of the present distress arising from scarcity of food.

Narrative.

Government of Bengal.

The copy of the narrative No. 11 of the Board of Revenue, herewith forwarded, gives particulars regarding the distress in the districts of the Lower Provinces, and contains information received subsequent to the date of the last weekly summary of this Government, forwarded with letter No. 1589 T., dated 20th instant. Later advices from the Cuttack division, communicated by telegraph on the 24th idem, state that in Cuttack the price of rice was 5¼ seers per rupee. The "Asia" had reached False Point and commenced unloading; but the weather had been very severe, and four large cargo-boats with 540 bags of rice had been lost, and other boats had been damaged. In Pooree rice was selling at six seers for the rupee. Great distress had been caused by the inundation which swept away whole villages. Food had been sent out in boats. The unloading of the "Gibbs" was progressing, and the weather had become finer. In Balasore the bazaar price was 5¾ seers per rupee; constant supplies were pouring in. The "Royal Bride" and the "Arracan" were expected with cargoes, and the "Tubal Cain" was to discharge at Hidgellee 13,000 bags of rice out of her cargo which were still good. The crops were flourishing.

In Sattparah sanction has been given to the expenditure, from the Government Estates Improvement Fund, of *Rs.* 1,108. 2 *a.* in the construction of an embankment to reclaim a piece of waste land. A deduction of jumma to the extent of 10 rupees per annum has been allowed to the original leaseholder on account of the land given up by him for this purpose; but the measure, besides affording employment and relief to the distressed now, will eventually increase the revenue of the estate by *Rs.* 62. 4 *a.* per annum.

In contradiction of the reports published in the public papers as to "fearful loss of life and complete destruction of the rice nurseries" in the Burdwan division, consequent on the heavy rain during the early part of July, the Commissioner forwards a letter from the magistrate of Beerbhoom. Only eight lives appear to have been lost: the inhabitants of the inundated villages having escaped by betaking themselves to the high ground. There has been no wholesale loss of cattle, and though a large number of sheep and goats have been missed, the loss is much less than was expected. The damage done to houses has been great, some brickhouses have been swept away, and the Collector estimates the number of mud-houses destroyed at 6,000. The crops for the most part have escaped injury, and having since been planted out, promised well. The principal damage to cultivation has been caused by the bursting of bunds, and the deposit of sand along the course of the pent-up water, which will impair the fertility of the land for two or three years.

For the Nuddea division measures have been taken by the Public Works Department for irrigating the country about Diamond Harbour, where the condition of the crops was very discouraging owing to want of rain, and have already produced good results. Grain robberies had also commenced in this quarter, but energetic measures have been adopted by the Commissioner to check the crime.

In Ooloobarea a full Local Relief Committee, with ample funds, is in active work. Incapables are fed and medically treated, and employment is found for all fit for labours.

(signed) *A. Eden*,
Darjeeling, 27 August 1866. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Narrative, No. 11 of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The landing of the cargo from "Gibbs" has proceeded but very slowly, the weather during the week being still stormy. Bazaar price was nearly six seers per rupee. No reports have been received from the Relief Committees, the arrival of the post being delayed by the inundation following on the breach of the Pooree road and embankments.

Cuttack.—The boats with rice belonging to private traders have begun to arrive from Sumbulpore, and the stock is selling at 6½ seers per rupee. From False Point no further report

report has arrived, but the passage of boats thence into the interior had been much hindered by bad weather. Mr. McNeil had started for False Point.

Balasore.—During last week the "Tubal Cain" was reported to have been driven away to Akyab. Fifteen hundred bags had been thrown overboard to lighten the ship, and fears were entertained regarding the condition of the remainder. The "Nemesis," which arrived at Calcutta on the 11th, was at once sent off with a sloop in tow, carrying 1,800 bags to replenish the Balasore stock. The "Teesta" followed to Hidgellee with another cargo to fill the "Nemesis" on her return, for further despatch to Balasore. This step will be repeated until Balasore stocks are sufficiently supplied. Owing to the temporary falling off in the Government stock, the bazaar rate rose to 3¼ seers per rupee. The "Arracan" with 2,000 bags left Madras on the 25th for Balasore. The cargo of the "Guide" was made over to the Bhudruck sub-divisional officer on the 29th July, through most praiseworthy exertions on the part of Mr. Thomas, master of the "Nemesis, and those under his command. The "Conqueror" has been engaged, with a sloop in tow, to carry 2,600 bags into the Dhamrah, where Mr. Shortt will be prepared to unload her at once; she should arrive there on the 23rd. The inundation before referred to has given cause for fears for the safety of the Bealee crop. At Bhudruck the grain golahs were in great danger, but the greater part of their contents were saved.

Midnapore.—Collector reports that he has arranged for supplying a sufficient stock of grain to feed those requiring relief in his district, and amounting to a daily average of 10,000 in number.

Moorshedabad.—The measures adopted in this district for relief of the distress, have been most complete and successful. Landholders, planters, and officials have alike exerted themselves to the utmost, and any fear of severe suffering is entirely at an end. The Commissioner's report has been published for general information.

Maunbhoom.—In the country borderingo n the Grand Trunk Road centres of relief have been established, and are supplied with rice by private traders. To the south of Maunbhoom distress still prevails to a great extent, and a further despatch of rice has been made on Government account. Full provision has been made at Purulia for the reception of all sick and orphans. In Hazareebaugh there is no distress calling for special mention, and in Lohardagga no assistance is required.

Singbhoom.—The last accounts are less favourable, but there is sufficient work for all who will take it, and the landlords and respectable natives in the district have shown great activity in relieving distress.

Gya.—Considerable improvemeut has taken place in the state of the district. The crops promise well, and the numbers applying for relief are decreasing. The Collector, however, does not seem satisfied that the improvement is more than temporary. The mortality in the town of Gya still continues great.

Shahabad.—Measures have been organised for giving relief in the different portions of the district in which it is required. Save in the southern part, the prospects of the crops are good.

Sarun.—An abundant harvest is anticipated; but the mortality has not as yet been checked. Full reports on its extent have not been received.

Tirhoot.—Twenty-one centres of relief are now in full operation, and the crops, with one exception, promise well. The paddy on the low lands has, however, suffered much from the heavy rains, and some loss in the out-turn is feared. The general mortality and distress have not yet abated; but application for another native doctor has been made, and relief gratis or for work done is given whenever required.

Chumparun.—In the north and east of the district the crops are promising, but the southern part has been visited with a heavy inundation from the Gunduk, which has done much damage to the rice crop. Relief will therefore be called for at Bettiah for a longe time than was expected. With this exception the prospects of the district have improved.[r]

Published for general information.

By Order, &c.
(signed) *T. B. Lane,*
Junior Secretary.

Board of Revenue, Fort William,
17 August 1866.

NUMBER of Persons relieved Daily in the above Districts during the Week under Report.

Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.	Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.
Pooree - -	Returns not received.		Nuddea - -	12,059	—
Cuttack - -	- - ditto.		Tirhoot - -	6,632	527
Ballasore - -	20,269	3,503	Sarun - -	5,352	2,794
Midnapore - -	Returns not received.		Chumparun -	2,700	445
Hazareebaugh -	450 to 500	—	Gya - - -	840	265
Maunbhoom -	500 to 600	—	Shahabad - -	1,529	349

STATEMENT showing the Disbursement made by the Board of Revenue up to the 17th August 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By Last Statement.	Since Assigned.	Total Assignment.
CASH REMITTANCES. (Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
To Balasore - - - - - - - - -	15,000	5,000	20,000
„ Cuttack - - - - - - - - -	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Pooree - - - - - - - - -	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Bancoorah - - - - - - - -	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Hooghly - - - - - - - - -	5,000	- -	5,000
„ Midnapore - - - - - - - -	15,000	5,000	20,000
„ Howrah - - - - - - - - -	- -	500	500
„ Nuddea - - - - - - - - -	25,000	- -	25,000
„ 24-Pergunnahs - - - - - - -	2,500	- -	2,500
„ Chumparun - - - - - - - -	7,000	2,000	9,000
„ Gya - - - - - - - - -	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sarun - - - - - - - - -	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Tirhoot - - - - - - - - -	4,000	- -	4,000
„ Hazareebaugh - - - - - - - -	1,500	- -	1,500
„ Maunbhoom - - - - - - - -	8,000	- -	8,000
„ Singhbhoom - - - - - - - -	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sonthal Pergunnahs - - - - - - -	5,600	- -	5,600
„ Ganjam - - - - - - - - -	25,000	- -	25,000
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	1,70,600	12,500	1,83,100
DISPATCHES OF GRAIN. (Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree - - - - - -	7,57,988	475	7,58,463
„ Dhamrah - - - - - - - - -	24,171	- -	24,171
„ Balasore - - - - - - - - -	1,50,438	11,203	1,61,641
„ Midnapore - - - - - - - - -	- -	14,000	14,000
„ Maunbhoom - - - - - - - - -	20,165	- -	20,165
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	9,52,762	25,678	9,78,440
ABSTRACT.			
Cash - - - - - - - - - -	1,70,600	12,500	1,83,100
Grain - - - - - - - - - -	9,52,762	25,678	9,78,440
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	11,23,362	38,178	11,61,540

Orders out.—To Rangoon and Akyab. General order to go on purchasing so long as rice can be put on board ship for *Rs.* 3. 8. a maund.

NARRATIVE, No. 12, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The weather has improved since the 16th, and the landing of the "Gibb's" cargo will probably be soon completed. Great distress has been caused in the interior by the heavy floods, and it has been necessary to send relief out in boats; the rivers, however, are now subsiding, and the damage done to the crop can now be ascertained. Rice is selling at 6¼ seers per rupee. No reports have been received from the committee this week.

Cuttack.—The "Asia" reached False Point on the 10th instant, the commander reporting that she encountered very severe weather crossing the Bay. At False Point the weather has been very bad, and the landing of cargo and its despatch to Cuttack has been in consequence greatly hindered. Four large cargo-boats, with 540 bags, were lost, and the remaining cargo-boats have all suffered more or less damage. The rivers are reported to be still in full flood. The bazar price of rice stood at 5¼ seers per rupee.

Balasore.—At the date of the last narrative, the Government stock of rice had fallen very low; but on the 18th, the "Nemesis" arrived with 3,600 maunds, and left again for Hidgelee, where she was again loaded, and will be back at Balasore to-day. The arrival of a vessel, believed to be the "Royal Bride," with 16,400 maunds on board, is also reported by telegram of the 23rd. The "Arracan," with 4,000 maunds has probably also reached Balasore from Madras by this time. The "Tubal Cain" will be towed up to Hidgelee by the "Feroze" with 13,000 maunds on board, which will be unloaded and gradually removed to Balasore by "Nemesis." The crops in the district are reported to be flourishing. The returns of the Relief Committee for the week have been received.

Midnapore.—The numbers applying for relief throughout the district have generally increased. Deputy Collector Hem Chunder Ker has been specially engaged in visiting the various relief depôts, and in addition to those already existing, 13 in number, has opened two more at Nayagram and Kessiarree. In Midnapore itself all possible means are used to relieve the sick, but the mortality is still heavy. The collector has been desired to apply for more medical aid, if required, in the northern part of the district. The aos crop is a good average crop.

24-*Pergunnahs.*—In the portion of this district bordering on Nuddea, the distress has hitherto been relieved by private subscriptions, but steps have now been taken to give further assistance through a deputy collector specially deputed to the neighbourhood. In the Barripore sub-division, a relief committee at Muzzilpore is engaged actively in distributing food, and providing shelter for those in need of it. From Diamond Harbour bad accounts had been received, and the collector had proceeded to the spot to organise proper relief measures; his report has not yet reached the Board. To meet the distress in this district, funds have been supplied to the collector, and the Commissioner's attention has been called to the necessity of urging the wealthy zemindars of the district to contribute to the relief operations.

Nuddea.—Relief works are in full progress through the parts where distress is most severe. The new crop is now coming into the market; the bazar rate having fallen to four rupees per maund; and although it cannot be just yet stated when relief operations will anywhere cease, the retention of some depôts is expected to be no longer needed by the end of this month. The next week's return will probably show a large decrease in the number of recipients of relief.

Howrah.—In the town itself the magistrate, in communication with the Commissioner of Police, has arranged for the supply of food and medicines to the destitute who have come in. Both here and at Ooloobarea, the Calcutta Committee are willing to supply funds for expenditure by the local committees. To the latter place a deputy collector proceeded on the 17th; and from the reports of the committee organised by him, it appears that measures have been taken to provide cooked food for all those incapable of work, and labour (paid for partly in food and partly in money) to those who are strong enough. An unfinished bungalow is being fitted up as a hospital, and sheds are in course of erection to house 500 persons. A native doctor, with a supply of medicines, has also arrived at Ooloobarea, and is working under the committee. The numbers applying daily for relief have now increased to 450.

Hooghly.—The several measures ordered to be carried out in this district, and specially in the Jehanabad Sub-division, are now matured, and that portion of the immigrants into Calcutta whose homes are in this tract, can be provided for whenever they elect to leave Calcutta again. Notice has been given to the Commissioner of Police to this effect. A special deputy collector is at Ghatul, to receive those who may thus return.

Burdwan.—Until the last week the distress prevailing amongst the destitute who have collected in the town, has been relieved by private charity, about 4,000 persons having been fed daily. Latterly, however, the pauper class has largely increased, and private subscriptions

tions have been supplemented by a grant from the Famine Relief Fund, to be expended under the supervision of a properly organised local committee. Their returns will be published from next week.

Bancoorah.—The calls on the committee for relief still continue unabated, and should their present means, supplied partly from the fund and partly by subscriptions, be exhausted, more money will be sent. The local officers are fully alive unto the necessity of providing, on the spot, for the people round Bishenpore and other places where the weaver class abounds.

Bhaugulpore Division.—The crops now coming in will relieve the little distress which exists in the Purneah District, where matters have never been bad. There has been some suffering in Bhaugulpore District, but this, it is believed, will be at an end by the third week in September. In Deoghur, though the coming crops will give great relief, partial assistance will still be required for a month or six weeks after they are cut. In the south of Monghyr and in Doomka the distress has been greatest. The stocks of grain are very low, and relief measures must be continued for some time longer. Additional funds have been now supplied to the Commissioner, and more will be sent to him when required.

Gya.—The improvement noticed last week, still continues, and the cholera is not so severe, though epidemic fever is reported as prevailing.

Sarun.—A full report has been submitted by the assistant specially deputed to make inquiries throughout the district. Much distress prevails in many parts; the principal difficulty hitherto having been to find employment for the numbers strong enough to work. Private employment in factories, and in the fields and Ferry Fund Works will provide for a large portion, and application has been made to Government by the Commissioner for grants for further public works. The collector has also been directed to take care that relief measures are not stopped for want of funds, which should be asked for when needed.

Tirhoot.—The numbers applying for relief are on the increase, but there are sufficient funds to meet present claims. Cholera has decreased at Mozufferpore itself, and another native doctor has been ordered up by Government.

Chumparun.—An additional depôt has been opened at Burhurwa for the special relief of the sufferers from the Gunduk inundation. A report as to the actual damage done is promised by collector. The mortality has not, on the average, yet decreased.

Published for general information.

By order, &c.

Board of Revenue, Fort William, 25 August 1866.

(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

NUMBER of Persons relieved Daily in the above Districts during the Week under Report.

Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.	Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.
Pooree - -	Returns not received.		Sarun - -	5,515	687
Cuttack - -			Tirhoot - -	8,585	320
Balasore - -	17,005	2,118	Burdwan - -	4,000	—
Midnapore - -	7,800	530	Howrah - -	2,028	—
Nuddea - -	8,149	1,096	24-Pergunnahs -	Returns not received.	
Chumparun -	2,218	385	Raneegunge -	250 to 300	—
Gya - - -	1,011	Apparently included in the preceding column.			

STATEMENT showing the Disbursements made by the Board of Revenue up to the 24th August 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By Last Statement.	Since Assigned.	Total Assignment.
CASH REMITTANCES.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
(Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balance.)			
To Balasore	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Cuttack	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Pooree	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Bancoorah	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Burdwan	- -	3,000	3,000
„ Raneegunge	- -	2,000	2,000
„ Hoogly	5,000	- -	5,000
„ Midnapore	34,000	6,000	40,000
„ Howrah	500	- -	500
„ Nuddea	25,000	- -	25,000
„ 24-Pergunnahs	2,500	5,000	7,500
„ Chumparun	9,000	2,500	11,500
„ Gya	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sarun	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Tirhoot	4,000	- -	4,000
„ Hazareebaugh	1,500	- -	1,500
„ Maunbhoom	28,165	- -	28,165
„ Singbhoom	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sonthal Pergunnahs	5,600	5,000	10,600
„ Ganjam	25,000	- -	25,000
TOTAL *Rs.*	2,17,265	23,500	2,40,765
DISPATCHES OF GRAIN.			
(Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree	7,58,463	1,10,095	84,68,558
„ Dhamrah	24,171	47,917	2,33,729
„ Balasore	1,61,641		
TOTAL *Rs.*	9,44,275	1,58,012	11,02,287
ABSTRACT.			
Cash	2,17,265	23,500	2,40,765
Grain	9,44,275	1,58,012	11,02,287
TOTAL *Rs.*	11,61,540	1,81,512	13,43,052

(No. 1809 T.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India in the Home Department, for information in continuation of letter, No. 1753 T., dated 27th instant.

By Order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Offg. Junior Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Darjeeling, 30 August 1866.

From *J. Geoghegan,* Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1914 T.); dated Darjeeling, 3 September 866.

IN continuation of endorsement, No. 1809 T., dated the 30th ultimo, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the 11th Weekly Narrative of this Government, regarding the present distress from scarcity of food.

NARRATIVE.

SINCE the date of the Board's Narrative, No. 12, the following particulars regarding the distress in Orissa have been received in a telegram, dated the 28th ultimo. In Cuttack the price of rice continued at 5¼ seers per rupee, and the "Asia" had probably cleared her cargo. At Pooree the unloading of the "Gibbs" was going on, but one boat with 20 bags of rice had been lost. The bunds were being repaired, and the floods were subsiding; no report had, however, been furnished of the damage done by the inundation. The bazar price of rice was six seers for the rupee. In Balasore rice was selling in the market at 5¼ seers per rupee; the "Nemesis" and the "Arracan" had landed respectively 300 and 2,000 bags on the 24th and 25th. In the Dhamrah River the "Conqueror" landed 13,000 bags for Bhudruck, and returned to Calcutta; she leaves again at once with a cargo from the "Tubal Cain," now in the River Hooghly, and more of that vessel's cargo will be taken to Balasore, by the sea route, on board the "Feroze." The crops in this district promise well.

The Board's Narrative, alluded to above, contains the latest particulars as to other districts.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Darjeeling,
3 September 1866.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (1808 T.); dated Darjeeling, 30th August 1866.

IN continuation of paragraph 6 of the Narrative (No. 9) of this Government, forwarded with letter, No. 1589 T., dated the 20th instant, I am directed to enclose a copy of a report* from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, of the measures taken for the relief of distress in and about the town.

* No. 1170, dated the 23rd instant.

2. The liberality and gratuitous aid of the gentlemen named by Mr. Hogg have been acknowledged by the Lieutenant Governor; and Mr. W. P. Davis, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, has been commended for his energy.

From *Stuart Hogg*, Esq., Commissioner of Police of the Town of Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William (No. 1170); dated Calcutta, 23rd August 1866.

I HAVE the honour to submit the report called for in the concluding paragraph of your letter No. 1511 T., of 15th August, regarding the measures adopted for the relief of the destitute in and about Calcutta.

2. From the commencement of the year paupers commenced to increase slightly, but the numbers did not assume any alarming proportions till the end of June, when the necessity for taking extraordinary measures received consideration. It was then found that the wealthy Indian gentlemen were desirous of providing for their destitute countrymen by opening charities, and it was therefore held to be advisable not to check the endeavours of private individuals by any direct action through the agency of the executive authorities, and it was determined not to move in the matter, except by affording all possible assistance and encouragement, until the number to be dealt with exceeded the power of private individuals to cope with.

3. Though the distribution of food was left to private charity, the necessity for increased hospital accommodation to meet the expected influx of paupers received the consideration of Government in February last, when a report was called for, which resulted in orders being issued for increased accommodation to be provided by erection of sheds in the Pauper Hospital, and unlimited authority was given to the Inspector General, Medical Department, to increase the establishment to the extent he might consider necessary. Another hospital in Amherst-street, for the reception of paupers, was also opened, in communication with the justices, Government agreeing to provide the establishment and medicines, and the justices paying for the dieting.

4. The suburban authorities also organized a charitable dispensary at Chitpore, and Government, to assist the institution, gave the services of a sub-assistant surgeon, and agreed to supply all English medicines free of cost, and the justices also accorded liberal aid to the dispensary, by a donation of 750 rupees, and a monthly subscription of 250 rupees, as long as the distress lasted.

5. In July the necessity of providing shelter for the paupers became apparent, and his Honor the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to place a portion of the Strand Bank at the disposal of the justices and private individuals for the construction of sheds, and arrangements were then made for accommodation of 4,000 persons.

6. During July the daily increase of famine-stricken paupers into Calcutta was very great, in fact from all quarters paupers were seen flocking into this town, attracted hither by the wide spread reports of the munificent scale on which charity was being distributed.

 7. This

7. This sudden increase was anxiously watched by the executive authorities under the direction of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, as the object desired was to abstain from direct interference as long as possible, because the desire amongst the natives of all classes was to be allowed to meet and provide for the emergency themselves; and, moreover, it was held to be more advisable to encourage the destitute to seek relief from the local committees, established under Government orders all over the country, than to attract them to this densely-peopled metropolis by opening a large public charity.

8. At the end of July the paupers in Calcutta actually dependent on charity for food were estimated at about 15,000 souls, and although up to that time there was not a pauper in Calcutta who did not receive a liberal meal from the charities established in the northern portion of the town, yet it was apprehended lest some of the charities might soon fail for want of funds, and it was held to be necessary, on sanitary grounds, to adopt measures with a view of organising relief outside the town.

9. On the above grounds it was determined to organise a mixed committee of official and non-official members, for the purpose of raising funds and adopting measures to organise a pauper camp outside the town, the object in view being to check mendicancy by giving labour to the able-bodied, and to supply shelter and relief to those incapable of working, and also to co-operate with the Board of Revenue in assisting paupers to return to their homes.

10. While the committee was being formed by me an influential body of European gentlemen, not knowing the measures determined on by Government, requested the sheriff to convene a public meeting, for the purpose of considering the measures which should be adopted to relieve the existing distress. A meeting was accordingly called on the 13th instant, when the committee organised by Government was unanimously accepted, and some additional members added to it.

11. The Government, in order to provide labour, directed that a contemplated canal should be commenced at once in the vicinity of the pauper's camp at Chitpore, and also sanctioned a proposal made by the justices to dig a tank in the northern part of the town. The Inspector General, Medical Department, was also directed to supply, in communication with me, medical assistance and medicines for all hospitals opened in Calcutta and its suburbs.

12. The action of the committee since its formation has been most vigorous. The paupers' camp is now in full working order, owing entirely to the extraordinary exertions of the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr. W. P. Davies, who throughout the crisis has displayed great discretion, activity, and forethought. The committee have already recognised the necessity of increasing the hospital accommodation, and two large hospitals, viz., at Cornwallis'-square and in Manicktollah-street, capable of containing 600 patients, have been now open for the last week and placed in charge of Dr. D. Baird Smith, who kindly placed his services at the disposal of the committee. Another large hospital, for 300 persons, is now about to be opened at Alipore, close to the Government Dispensary, of which Dr. Shircore has offered to take the management; and a fourth hospital is to be opened in Circular-road, on the premises lately known as the Tivoli Gardens, for the accommodation of 250 persons, and Dr. Walter Bourne has generously volunteered his services and a gratuitous supply of medicine for this hospital. In connection with the paupers' camp at Chitpore, a hospital for 250 patients has also been established, for which the gratuitous services of Dr. Naylor have been secured. The sites selected for all these hospitals have been approved of by the Inspector General, Medical Department.

13. With a view of checking the increase of paupers into Calcutta, it has been arranged, in communication with the Board of Revenue, to establish a camp in the vicinity of Howrah, and also at Ooloobariah, and the committee propose granting liberal support to this undertaking, which is to be carried out by the magistrate of Howrah.

14. I cannot conclude this report without bringing prominently to notice the extensive charity of one gentleman in particular. Numbers have come forward and performed their duty nobly towards relieving the distress of their famishing fellow countrymen, and amidst so many whose services deserve recognition, to mention any particular names might seem both invidious and inadvisable; but, nevertheless, I think all would desire that the name of Baboo Rajendro Mullick should be placed on official record, as the gentleman who first commenced feeding large crowds of destitutes, and set an example which was immediately followed by numbers of his countrymen.

15. I also desire to bring to the notice of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor that Baboo Rajendro Mullick has most kindly placed, free of rent, at the disposal of the committee, for hospital purposes, several extensive and valuable godowns in Colootollah, only just built, and valued at a monthly rental of 1,600 rupees, and also the premises and land belonging to the late Tivoli Gardens.

16. The godowns the committee do not propose to avail themselves of, as they are situated in a crowded part of the town; but the late Tivoli Gardens are, as before mentioned, being converted into a hospital.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 3449); dated Simla, 8 August 1866.

The attention of the Governor General has been drawn to a letter signed "Truth," and dated Cuttack, July the 26th, which appeared in the colums of the "Englishman" newspaper of the 1st instant, and containing the paragraphs noted in the margin.*

2. The Governor General in Council presumes that if these paragraphs have come under his Honor's notice, that inquiries will have been made as to the accuracy of the assertions above quoted, as well from the Commissioner of Cuttack as from the special officer deputed to that province to superintend the relief operations.

3. His Excellency would wish to see any reply which may be received, especially as regards the averment that no more than eight annas' worth of rice is allowed to be sold to any one family.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1710 T.); dated Darjeeling, 24 August 1866.

With reference to your letter, No. 3449, dated the 8th instant, I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a communication† from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and to say that the rules and forms of account prescribed in connection with the sale of rice from Government stores, and the operations of the relief committees, have been approved by the Lieutenant Governor. The Board have, however, been informed that an account of the rice supplied to relief committees should be promptly rendered.

† Memorandum No. 2039 B, dated 14 inst., and correspondence, rules, and forms therewith submitted.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner, to the Secretary of the Board of Revenue, Fort William (No. 392); dated Cuttack, 30 July 1866.

In forwarding the enclosed copies of correspondence‡ regarding sales of rice from Government stores, and distribution by relief committees, I have the honour to state that the instructions now issued have been carefully considered, in communication with Mr. McNeile. The forms have been prepared in supersession of all former ones. They are as simple as is compatible with due record of all relief transactions, and will, I trust, meet with the Board's approval. It will be observed that these rules are, with few exceptions, almost precisely the same as those which have been heretofore submitted.

‡ From D. J. McNeile, special collector,—
To Cuttack, No. 15-362½ } dated 26 July 1866.
To Balasore, No. 16-139½ }
To Pooree, No. 17-181½ }
To Collector of Balasore, No. 19-140, dated 27 July 1866.
From special collector, No. 22-362¾ and No. 37.

From *D. J. McNeile*, Esq., Collector on Special Duty, to the Collectors of Cuttack, Balasore, and Pooree (No 15–362½, 16–139½, and 17–181½); dated Cuttack, 26 July 1866.

By the Commissioner's direction I have the honour to forward, for your guidance, amended rules for the management of the grain trade now carried on in your district on the behalf of Government. To the rules are appended forms of account, and an amended form of Weekly Statement, No. 1, required under previous orders for transmission to the Board of Revenue.

The Commissioner desires me to communicate to you the following remarks in connection with these rules:—

1. The rules prescribe, you will observe, the system on which grain is to be issued and expended from the Government stores, and from them only. The operations of the relief committee

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"* But, would that such an inclination had never got into my head or heart, for the sights I have witnessed are more than I can describe to you. No accounts have yet reached the press of such a character. Suffice it to say that in four villages, not more than 40 or 45 miles outside of Cuttack that I went to visit, there were not ten houses that there were not from one, two, three, and in some four dead bodies in it; in fact, Sir, the officials in Cuttack know nothing about it, or if they do, they do not care, as a plague must eventually set in sooner or later from the state of things at present. In a place called Tauldundah, I found upwards of 400 or 500 dead, and most of them in houses. It was nearly as bad in Jeypore and Juckai as it was in any of the places I visited. I spoke to the head-man of one of the villages, and asked him how many people there were in his village before the famine, and how many there were left who had escaped death by sickness and starvation. He told me there were 400 in the village last November, but there were not now 100. Another man in another village I spoke to, told me out of 700 that were in his village there were not now 160 left.

"Sir, said he to me, the Government is bringing food into our country to let us see it only, as we cannot procure it; for they will only sell me eight annas' worth, and my family amounts to 34, including my mother and mother-in-law, my sister and sister-in-law, with my wife, children and myself; and though I have the means to buy it, yet I cannot get it, and have to die in sight of food; as on inquiry from a youth at Tauldundah who was acting as relieving officer, he informed me his orders were not to sell more than eight annas' worth of rice to any person."

committee of your district are in no way affected by them. A separate communication will shortly put you in possession of the Commissioner's views on the subject of these operations, and of his wishes in regard to the forms of account to be adopted in future in conducting them.

2. Your special attention is requested to Rule 7. The principle to be observed in fixing the rate at which the Government retail sales shall be made is, that that rate should fall below the rate previously current in the bazar, only to the extent which is justified by the actual increase in the total quantity of grain in the market, caused by the Government importations. Where those importations supply a small portion of the whole market stock, the bazar traders will command, and should be allowed to command, the market. Where a large portion of the market stock is the property of Government, you will yourself command the market, and the rate fixed by you will inevitably become the bazar rate. You should in such cases be careful to lower that rate gradually, and not suddenly, so as to avoid the risk of driving private traders out of the market. If the rate be suddenly lowered, retail traders who have purchased their stock in hand from wholesale dealers at the previous wholesale rates, will find themselves unable to dispose of that stock, except at a great sacrifice. But if the reduction of rate be made gradually they will have time to get rid, without loss of their stock in hand, and then procure fresh supplies at the lower prices at which the general reduction in rates, to which the present operations will tend, will oblige the wholesale dealers to sell. The object of encouraging the retail traders, so far as it can be done compatibly with the main object of relieving the public distress, must be kept steadily in view; for it must not be overlooked that the present interference on the part of Government is of an exceptional and temporary character, and that serious consequences will ensue if, when the bazar rates shall have been reduced to their normal figures, the Government shall find itself unable to withdraw from the trade without producing a recurrence of the previous high prices and consequent distress.

3. In reference to Rules 8, 9, 10, the Commissioner observes, that only small quantities of grain should be made over at a time to traders employed as Government agents; for, if a large consignment be made over at once to any such trader, it may be found necessary to alter the rate of sale before it is all expended, an alteration which, as the whole consignment will have been paid for in cash at one and the same rate, would lead to much confusion, and give facilities for dishonesty.

4. The separate set of rules forwarded for the use of officers in charge of Government depôts will be found to tally exactly with the general rules. They have been prepared in a separate form, for simplicity and clearness' sake.

From *D. J. McNeile*, Esq., Collector on Special Duty, to the Collectors of Balasore, Cuttack, and Pooree (No. 19-140); dated Cuttack, 27th July 1866.

In continuation of my letter, No. 15, of 26th July, I am directed by the Commissioner to forward three forms of account, in which he is desirous of having the operations of your relief committee recorded in future. I also enclose amended forms of Weekly Statements, Nos. 2 and 3, required for transmission to the Board of Revenue.

The Commissioner understands that the committees in this division are now conducting retail sales of grain at low rates on two separate systems. Persons considered by the committees to be fit objects of such assistance are allowed, by special written permission, to purchase at some of their shops for less than market price; and there are also other shops, supervised by the members of the committees in person, where grain is sold at low rates in very small quantities only to all applicants of whose need of such relief the member of the committee conducting the sales can in each case satisfy himself by observation and inquiry on the spot.

The Commissioner has no wish to interfere with any of these operations of the relief committee, but he desires strongly to impress upon them the necessity for the greatest caution in their management of these sales. The proper remedy for the general dearness of the market is now provided by the trade opened on the part of Government, the great object in the management of which will be to secure the gradual and healthy reduction of market rates by throwing a large quantity of grain into the country, and thus raising the value of money. The committee's operations are properly restricted to the relief of those whose means are so small that, pending the hoped for reduction of rates, they must, unless they receive gratuitous assistance in some form, be reduced to actual want. The Commissioner hopes that the committees will keep this point steadily in view, and carefully reject the applications of those who are able to maintain themselves by purchasing grain at the current rates. The Commissioner suggests for the adoption of the committees the general rule, that no person in the receipt from any source of eight rupees or upwards per mensem, shall be considered a fit object of relief in any form. This rule will exclude a class who, it is to be feared, at present, to some extent unworthily benefit by the relief operations to the exclusion of many who really require charitable support to save them from starvation.

The

The Commissioner, with a view to the correct preparation of the Returns required by Government, particularly requests that the committees will adopt the following rule in reference to sales made by members of their bodies on the second plan alluded to above, viz., that all grain removed by any member of the committee from the relief stores for sale, shall be paid for in cash at the time of removal (at the same rate, of course, as that at which it is to be subsequently sold), or, at any rate, that each member shall pay in, not later than Saturday evening of each week, the whole value of the grain disbursed to him during the week. A glance at column 3 of Statement No. 2, and at columns 2 and 4 of Account Book D., from which the entries in the statement must be drawn, will show the absolute necessity for this precaution.

You are requested to communicate the above remarks to the committee in your district, and to report the action taken by them upon the last paragraph.

MEMORANDUM, No. 37–399.

COPY forwarded to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Commissioner of Cuttack (No. 2038 B.); dated Fort William, 14 August 1866.

IN reply to your letter No. 392, dated the 30th July, and Mr. McNeile's dockets, marginally cited, I am directed to say that the Board of Revenue approve of the rules and the forms of account prescribed in connection with the sale of rice from Government stores, and the operations of the Relief Committees in your division. No. 22, dated 21 July, No. 37, dated 30 July, } with Enclosure

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RULES for the guidance of Officers in charge of Government Depôts.

1. All grain stored in the depôt will remain in the custody of the officer appointed for the purpose. The officer so appointed will act under the orders of the collector of the district, or of the nearest sub-divisional officer as the collector may direct.

2. The officer in charge shall disburse grain in unopened bags to the Relief Committee and the various Government Departments, upon a written order from the collector or the sub-divisional officer, as the case may be, and on no other authority whatsoever.

3. The officer in charge shall disburse grain by weight to traders or other private individuals upon written order from the collector or sub-divisional officer, and on no other authority whatsoever.

4. The officer in charge shall, whenever he may be so directed by the collector or sub-divisional officer, and not otherwise, open shops at or near his depôt for the sale of grain by weight to the public. Such sales shall be made at the rate per maund, and in the quantities which may be prescribed by the collector or sub-divisional officer.

5. The depôt will be kept open daily (Sundays excepted) during the hours which may be prescribed by the collector or sub-divisional officer.

6. The officer in charge shall keep the following books:—

A. Stock Account.
B. Ledger of Sales to the public under Rules 3 and 4.

These accounts will show the total daily amount (or value as the case may be) of the debits and credits under each separate head (*vide* specimen entries in forms of account appended). The books will be balanced weekly, showing the results of the week's transactions from Monday to Saturday inclusive.

7. All grain stored at the depôt will be credited, and all disbursements debited, in Account Book A. All retail sales under Rule 4 will be recorded in Account Book B. In the same book will be debited all disbursements under Rule 3.

Whenever such disbursements under Rule 3 are entered in Account Book B., the "price" figures borne upon the orders upon which the disbursements are made shall be entered in column 6.

8. The officer in charge will carefully file all orders from the collector or sub-divisional officer presented to and honoured by him, keeping the file of trader's orders executed under Rule 3 separate from the file of orders in favour of the Government Departments and Relief Committee.

9. The officer in charge will disburse no cash on any account out of the money received by him by the sale of grain. He will remit the whole of the amount to the Sudder or Sub-divisional Treasury.

10. The officer in charge will send in his cash balance, as shown by column 5 of Account Book B., to the Sudder or Sub-divisional Treasury daily or weekly, as he may be directed by the collector or sub-divisional officer. For every such remittance he will obtain a receipt from the treasurer. He will carefully file these receipts.

11. The officer in charge will send in every Monday to the collector or sub-divisional officer, certified *verbatim* copies of the whole entries in his accounts for the preceding week.

12. If the collector or sub-divisional officer shall see fit to make any cash disbursement on any account through the officer in charge of the depôt, he shall supply him with special funds for the purpose, and the depôt officer shall furnish separate and distinct accounts of the expenditure of all such sums.

(signed) *T. E. Ravenshaw,*
Officiating Commissioner.

Rules for the Management of the Government Grain Trade.

1. All grain imported by Government will be held by the collector for disposal under the restrictions hereinafter laid down. It will be stored under his direction in golahs either at the Sudder Station or at one or more places in the interior.

2. Golahs established at the Sudder Station will remain under the immediate supervision of the collector; golahs established in the interior will, at the discretion of the collector, be kept under his own supervision, or placed under the orders of the officer in charge of the nearest Government Treasury. The golahs at each depôt, whether at the Sudder Station or in the interior, will be placed under the aforesaid supervision, in the charge of an officer specially appointed for the purpose.

3. The collector will sell grain from the depôts under his own immediate supervision in unopened bags to the various Government Departments at the full cost price, calculating the price of each bag according to its nominal weight, viz., two maunds. These sales shall be made for cash only. The Relief Committee shall be supplied with grain free of charge.

4. The collector shall effect the disbursements provided for in the last preceding rule, by means of orders upon the officers in charge of the depôts. Such orders shall be granted by him, in the case of cash transactions, upon previous payment of cash into his treasury, and upon such previous payment only. Orders shall be granted to the Relief Committee on application from their secretary, or other recognised agent. The orders shall be drawn up in the forms appended.

5. Any Government Department purchasing grain under the two last preceding rules, shall remove the purchased grain from the depôt at its own expense. Grain made over to the Relief Committee will be carried at the expense of the collector to the place where they may elect to take delivery of it.

6. The officer in charge of each depôt under the immediate superintendence of the collector, may be directed by the collector to open one or more shops at or in the neighbourhood of his depôt for the sale of grain by retail to the public.

7. Such retail sales shall be made at the rate prescribed by the collector, which rate shall be as a rule the rate current for grain of the same quality in the bazar. In no case shall it be fixed at a lower figure than one seer in the rupee cheaper than the market rate. It is to be distinctly understood that this is a maximum difference, and that the bazar traders are to be undersold to this extent only in cases when it is beyond doubt that they are in possession of grain, for which they are demanding usurious rates from the public. Grain shall be sold under this rule to each customer at the discretion of the collector, in any quantities up to half a maund in weight, or three rupees in value per diem; the standard of weight or of value being respectively adopted under the collector's orders as may be found more convenient. The limit imposed by this rule must under no circumstances be exceeded.

8. The collector shall be at liberty, in any case in which he may deem it expedient, to employ private traders as Government retail agents, either at the Sudder Station or in the interior. Whenever any such trader may be so employed, the grain shall be supplied to him by the collector by order upon one of the depôts, as provided in Rule 4 above. The collector shall fix, on the same principle as that laid down in the last preceding rule, the retail price at which the trader shall sell to the public, and shall make over the grain to the trader for cash at the same price, allowing him a small commission to be deducted from the cash payment made by him in purchase of the grain. Any trader purchasing grain under this rule shall be bound to provide the means of conveying it from the depôt to the place of public sale; but the cost of carriage shall be paid by the collector at the standard rates, the amount being deducted with the trader's commission from the cash payment made by him.

9. The trader shall give in a written agreement upon stamped paper, binding him under specified penalty to sell the grain to the public in quantities not exceeding per diem one rupee in value to each customer, at the rate prescribed by the collector, and to keep a notice exposed in front of his shop to inform the public of the rate and quantity aforesaid.

10. Grain

10. Grain disbursed to retail sale agents under the last two rules, shall be made over to them by the officer in charge of the depôt according to its actual weight.

11. The depôts will be open daily, Sundays excepted, from A.M. P.M.

12. The officer in charge of the depôt shall keep the following account books:—

(A.) Stock Account.
(B.) Ledger of retail sales to the public.

These accounts will show the total daily amount (or value as the case may be) of the debits and credits under each separate head (*vide* specimen entries in forms of account appended), and the books will be balanced weekly, showing the results of the week's transactions from Monday to Saturday inclusive.

13. All grain stored at the depôt will be credited, and all disbursements thereof debited, in Account Book A. Disbursements of grain to the Relief Committee will be debited in Account Book A. only. Account Book B. will constitute the record of all retail sales made under Rules 6 and 7. In it will also be debited all disbursements made under orders from the collector under Rules 8, 9, and 10, such disbursements being regarded as retail sales.

14. The officer in charge of the depôt will carefully file all orders from the collector presented to and honoured by him, keeping the file of traders' orders separate from that of orders in favour of the Government Departments and Relief Committee.

15. The officer in charge of the depôt will disburse no cash on any account out of the money received by him by the sale of grain. He will remit the whole amount, as shown in column 5 of his sale ledger, to the Treasury.

16. The officer in charge of any depôt sufficiently near to the Sudder Station, will send in every evening before p. m. to the Treasury, the whole of the cash received by him during the day, and will obtain a receipt for the amount from the Treasurer. He will carefully file these receipts.

17. The officer in charge of such a depôt shall, at the commencement of each week, either lay his accounts in original before the collector, or shall supply him with certified *verbatim* copies of the whole entries therein for the preceding week, as he may be directed by the collector.

18. The officer in charge of any depôt situated at a distance from the Sudder Station shall forward to the collector every Monday morning the certified copies prescribed by the last preceding section, and shall submit therewith the whole of his cash balance for the preceding week, as shown by the entries in column 5 of his sale ledger.

19. The collector, in communication with the Superintendent of Police, will make arrangements for the safe custody of the grain and cash kept at the several depôts, and of all consignments of grain and cash in transit in those cases in which the transit expenses are under the above rules to be defrayed by the collector.

20. All expenses of landing, carriage, and storing, whether at the coast or in the interior, all costs of establishment, and all other miscellaneous expenses, will be paid by the collector. The collector will open an account in his Treasury under the name of the Importation Fund Account, to which he will debit all such disbursements. To the same fund will be credited all cash receipts from sale of grain, whether paid by the purchasers into the Treasury direct, or remitted by the officers in charge of the depôts. All remittances from the Relief Committee of cash, the proceeds of sales effected by the committee, will also be credited in full to the Importation Fund.

21. Rules 3 to 20 will be applicable to all depôts placed under the orders of sub-divisional officers—the words "The officer in charge of the Treasury" being substituted for "The collector." Sub-divisional officers will be further guided by the two rules next following.

22. The officer in charge of the Treasury will, not later than Wednesday in each week, prepare a statement in each of the Forms A, and B., embodying the totals of the columns in that form submitted by all the officers in charge of depôts under his orders, and will forward these two statements to the collector, with a certificate that the total amount shown in column 5 of Statement B. has been actually received in his Treasury, and credited to his Importation Fund Account.

23. The sub-divisional officer will make disbursements under Rule 20 only with the previous sanction of the collector. He will supply the collector, together with the statements prescribed in the last preceding rules, with a memorandum showing the total receipts and disbursements credited and debited in his Importation Fund Account up to the previous Saturday inclusive. He will at the same time submit a contingent Bill of the expenditure.

 24. The

24. The collector will prepare from the abstract statements of account submitted by the sub-divisional officers, and from the accounts submitted by the officers in charge of Depôts kept under his own supervision, the weekly statement No. 1 required by the Commissioner for transmission to the Board. This statement will be despatched not later than one week subsequent to the week to which it refers. (*Vide* Form of Statement No. 1 appended.)

25. At the same time the collector will forward to the Commissioner a memorandum showing the total receipts and disbursements in the district, on account of the Importation Fund, up to the previous Saturday inclusive.

26. The collector shall, at the commencement of each month, submit for the Commissioner's sanction a Contingent Bill of all the expenditure incurred during the preceding month, and on receipt of that sanction, adjust the items in the usual way both in his own office and those of the sub-divisional officers.

(signed) *T. E. Ravenshaw.*
Officiating Commissioner.

INDENT FOR GRAIN.

Dated the _____ 186 .

To _____

The Collector of _____

Please deliver to _____

_____ bags of rice on account of this department for cash herewith tendered, Rupees _____

Signed _____

Received the above. Office _____

Treasurer, or Officer in charge of Treasury.

To the Storekeeper at _____

Deliver the rice _____ bags

to _____

on account of _____

value received _____

Collector.

RELIEF INDENT FOR GRAIN.

Dated the _____ 186 .

To _____

The Collector of _____

Please deliver to _____

_____ bags of rice on account of the Relief Committee.

Signed _____

To the Storekeeper at _____

Deliver the rice _____ bags

to _____

on account of the Relief Committee.

Collector.

(A.)

STOCK ACCOUNT.

Depôt at Week ending Saturday 186 .

Dr. *Cr.*

Date.	Whence Received.	Number of Bags.	Date.	To what Department Disbursed.	Number of Bags.

(B.)

LEDGER of RETAIL SALES to the PUBLIC.

1. Date.	2. Number of Bags Sold Daily, Total.	3. Rate per Maund.	4. Estimated Value of Stock Sold at Two Maunds to each Bag.	5. Actual Cash Receipts.	6. Value of Grain supplied to Traders upon Order from the Collector or Sudder Officer.	7. Total of Columns 5 and 6.	8. Loss from Short Weight and Damaged Grain, being Balance of Columns 4 and 7.	9. Remarks.

(C.)

STOCK ACCOUNT.

Relief Committee. Week ending Saturday the 1866.

Dr. *Cr.*

Date.	Whence Received.	Number of Bags.	Date.	Number of Bags Sold at Low Rates.	Number of Bags Disbursed for Gratuitous Distribution.	Total Number of Bags Disbursed.	REMARKS.

(D.)

SALE LEDGER.

Relief Committee. Week ending Saturday the 1866.

Date.	Quantity Sold.	Rate per Seer.	Value Received.	REMARKS.
	Mds. srs. chts.		*Rs. a. p.*	

(E.)

CASH ACCOUNT.

Relief Account. Week ending Saturday 1866.

Dr. *Cr.*

Date.	On what Account Received.	Amount.	Date.	On what Account Spent.	Amount.
		Rs. a. p.			*Rs. a. p.*

STATEMENT No. 1.

Importation Fund Account. (To be kept by the Collector.)

STOCK ACCOUNT, showing Receipts and Disbursements of Grain from Government Stores in the District of _____ for the Week ending Saturday _____ 1866.

1. Grain, whence Received during the Week.	2. Amount in Bags.	3. Balance of Last Week.	4. Total Stock.	Quantity issued in Unopened Bags.			8. Total Number of Bags Issued.	Value Realised in Cash.			12. Number of Bags in Hand, being Balance of Columns 4 and 8.	13. REMARKS.
				5. For Cash to Government Department, at Full Cost Price.	6. For Cash Sold to Public at Market Rate.	7. Transferred to Relief Committee.		9. As per Column 5.	10. As per Column 6.	11. Total Receipts.		

STATEMENT No. 2.

Relief Return. (To be kept by the Relief Committee.)

STATEMENT showing Stock of Grain received and issued by the Relief Committee on their relieving operations in the District of _____ during the Week ending Saturday the _____ 1866.

1. Number of Bags of Rice in Hand.	2. Made over for Gratuitous Distribution.	3. Sold at Less than Market Rates to the Indigent.	4. Total Expended.	5. Estimated Value of Grain Sold, as per Column 3, at the Rate of Rupees per Bag of Two Maunds.	6. Actual Receipts.	7. Balance of Columns 5 and 6, being Deficiency from Short Weight and Damaged Grain.	8. Number of Bags in Hand, being Balance of Columns 1 and 4.
Balance of last week - -							
Received during the week -							
TOTAL - - -							

STATEMENT No. 3.

Relief Return. (To be kept by the Relief Committee.)

RETURN of Relieving Operations for District of _____ for the Week ending Saturday the _____ 1866.

(*Note.*—The calculations in Column 4 to be made by seers of 80 tolahs.)

1. Centres of Relief.	2. Number of Persons Relieved capable of performing light Labour, from whom some Work was required.		3. Physically Incapable of Labour.		Expended in relieving the Persons enumerated in Columns 2 and 3.		6. Other Expenditure, viz., Relief Establishment, &c.	7. Number of Deaths from Starvation Reported as ascertained to have taken place during the Week.	8. REMARKS.
	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	4. Grain.	5. Money.			
					Mds. srs. cks.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*		

(No. 2039 B.)

Copy of the above Correspondence forwarded for the information of the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
14 August 1866.

(signed) *T. B. Lane,*
Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, (No. 1806 T.); dated Darjeeling, 30th August 1866.

In continuation of letter No. 1710 T., dated the 24th instant, I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a report* from the Officiating Commissioner of Cuttack on the subject of the letter signed "Truth" published in the "Englishman" of the 1st idem, and to point to the obviously exaggerated character of "Truth's" statements and to the remarkable circumstance that though on the spot, and able to communicate these extraordinary and alarming particulars to the newspapers, he should never have thought of bringing them to the notice of the officers in Cuttack, whose ignorance of them he condemns, or to that of the Relief Committees. As an instance of the exaggerated character of the statements, the Lieutenant Governor desires to observe that the same man who is said to have informed "Truth" that only 160 out of 700 inhabitants of his village were left alive, is reported to have added that 34 of the survivors were the members of his own family.

* No. 515, dated 18th instant.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William (No. 515); dated Cuttack, 18th August 1866.

In reply to your No. 2420, dated the 14th August 1866, I have the honour to state that immediately on receipt of the "Englishman" of 1st instant, I directed a full inquiry to be made. The whole country being flooded, Mr. Kirkwood, who was on his way to Taldunda, had to return, the road being impassable.

2. Mr. McNeile has since gone in person by boat to Taldunda, and I received two letters from him yesterday, in which he states his belief that "Truth's" assertions were incorrect. There is much distress in that direction, but a relief centre was established at Taldunda from the first arrival of rice, and has continued up to date.

3. Sales have been restricted to eight annas worth to each person, for rice sold by the Relief Committee at reduced price, the reason being that it was found in practice that relief rice purchased at low price was again retailed in the bazar at enhanced rates. A supply of eight annas worth would have sufficed for three days' food for one person, and if there were 20 in a family, all might have obtained it.

4. In addition to relief sales there has been an unlimited amount of cooked food prepared daily for all requiring it at Taldunda.

5. The weather had been so bad, Mr. McNeile could not get to the villages in the neighbourhood, but will do so before he leaves, and report fully.

6. In the meantime I hasten to assure you of my belief that the assertions of "Truth" are not, so far as I am informed, correct.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 1841 T); dated Darjeeling, 30th August 1866.

I am directed to submit herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of the correspondence with the Commissioner of Patna, noted on the margin, having reference to a statement made in the "Englishman" newspaper of the 13th instant, to the effect that the distress in the Chumparun District is so great that mothers are throwing their children into tanks.

To Commissioner, No. 2418, dated 13 August 1866.
From Commissioner, No. 227, dated 23 August 1866.

From *A. Mackenzie*, Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 2418); dated Calcutta, 13th August 1866.

I am directed to call your attention to an article in to-day's "Englishman," extracted in the margin, and to request that you will be so good as to report whether there is any foundation for the statement made in the last sentence.

"We learn from Gya that the distress is still very severe there and is likely to continue until the crops ripen, which will probably take another month. In the district of Chumparun the mortality from the famine continues to be very great. Private letters say that mothers, no longer able to dispose of their children even for the anna or two which people were at first willing to give for them, are hourly throwing them into tanks and rivers, as the only means of providing for them."

From *J. Beames*, Esq., Officiating Magistrate of Chumparun, to the Commissioner of Patna (No. 100); dated 20th August 1866.

In reply to your memorandum No. 131, dated 16th instant, I have the honour to state that one case only has occurred of the kind described in the extract from the "Englishman." At Segowlie, a woman, who had been in regular receipt of relief from the committee, left her child on the edge of a tank, half in and half out of the water, where it was found by some Sowars, taken into the cavalry lines and fed. The mother said, on being questioned, that she thought the child was dead. As I am in constant communication with 12 centres of relief in various parts of the district, and as the police regularly report all deaths by starvation, it is highly improbable that if it were customary for children to be thrown into tanks, I should remain ignorant of it.

MEMORANDUM No. 227.

COPY forwarded to the Government of Bengal, with reference to the Under-Secretary's letter No. 2418 of 13th instant.

Patna Commissioner's Office,
23rd August 1866.

(signed) *J. W. Dalrymple,*
Commissioner.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 65 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 21 September 1866.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 62, dated the 18th instant, we have the honour to transmit copies of further narratives relating to the famine, received from the Government of Bengal, together with copy of a communication* which we have received from that Government with reference to your despatch of the 16th July, No. 61.

Letters from Bengal—
No. 1977 T, ated 6 Sept.
No. 2084 T, dated 10 Sept. and enclosure.
No. 2143 T, dated 12 Sept.
* No. 1964 T, dated 5 Sept.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey,
G. N. Taylor,
W. N. Massey,
H. M. Durand.

Note.—The documents referred to in the margin of this communication, and in the second paragraph were reported to the Secretary of State in despatches No. 56, dated 27th August, and No. 62, dated 18th September.

NARRATIVE No. 13 of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other Parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The weather has continued fine, and landing from the "Gibbs" has been effected on a larger scale. The floods are gradually subsiding, but no report of the actual damage done by them has come in, and it is hoped that the crops will have escaped very heavy damage. The Relief Committee's reports have only now arrived for the 30th July, having been delayed by the inundation in transit. Thirteen centres are now open, and fully supplied with rice, cooked food being given instead of uncooked as before. Clothing is also distributed to such as want it. The price of rice in the bazar has continued at the rate of $6\frac{1}{4}$ seers per rupee.

Cuttack.—Communication with False Point has been again opened, and supplies of rice are now coming in. The "Charles Maureau's" cargo has been all discharged. Three reports from the Relief Committee for three weeks, ending with 11th August, have been now received together. Three more centres had been established, and an additional shed has been put up near the Unnochuttur in the collectorate compound, in which those not capable of much labour will be employed in various light works. Government stores have been opened at a large number of places in the district, and with the help now arriving from False Point daily relief measures should be in the fullest activity. Old and new rice selling in the bazar at $5\frac{7}{8}$ seers per rupee.

Balasore.—Since the last narrative the "Nemesis" has delivered a second cargo at Balasore, and the "Arracan" has also discharged 4,000 maunds. The "Royal Bride" is now at Mud Point, and will be sent to Balasore, and unloaded there by the "Nemesis." The collector has denied the truth of the reports of mismanagement at the relief centres. He states that all confusion is avoided by the setting down of the recipients of food, and that the mortality has not been in excess of that detailed by him. The present bazar price is six seers for the rupee. At Bhudruck the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star" have delivered one cargo of 2,600 maunds, and are now loading again from the "Tubal Cain" at Hidgallee to return to Bhuddruck.

Midnapore.—The collector now reports that the measures of relief organised by him at the numerous local depôts spread over his district, must, in all probability, be continued for some months at a very large outlay, the number of probable applicants for relief being estimated at between 19,000 and 20,000. This report is so entirely different from the statements furnished to the Board within the last few weeks, that the Commissioner has at their desire proceeded to Midnapore to ascertain exactly what the requirements of the district are. He arrived there on the 30th August, pending the receipt of his report, the collector has been furnished with sufficient funds to keep up all his relief operations. There is great reason to hope, however, that matters will speedily and greatly improve. Baboo Hem Chunder Kur, writing on the 25th August, states that the crops at Mohapal, Nyagram, and Gopeebullubpore are "most splendid," and that charitable sales may stop at these places

places in 14 or 20 days. Generally, "after 25 days, or at least a month, the agricultural poor will be relieved." The ameen crop is also reported as very promising. The necessity for gratuitous distribution to the other classes of absolutely destitute will still continue.

24-*Pergunnahs.*—In the Sat Kherah sub-division it is estimated that relief will be required for about another week, and that the funds in the deputy magistrates' hands are sufficient. In the Barripore sub-division there is now no distress calling for extraordinary relief, the distress being chiefly amongst wayfarers who are fed by private charity. With regard to the south part of the district along the banks of the Hooghly, the magistrate has submitted a full report after making a tour of five days through the tract. Great distress appeared to prevail round Calpee, or as described in the report of the Joynuggur Committee "from Diamond Harbour to the Soonderbunds." A large increase in the number of applicants was expected as soon as the work of transplanting the young crop is finished, but the fall of rain has been insufficient, and there is much cause for anxiety regarding the prospects of a new crop. A depôt had been opened at Diamond Harbour on the 11th August, though the applicants did not exceed 100 a-day. These are principally professional beggars, aged and infirm people, women and children, and there are very few cases of extreme emaciation, save amongst some who had come from Orissa. Other depôts were opened before the 22nd at Calpee and Tangiabatcha. At the meeting at Joynugger six sub-committees were appointed, who undertook to carry out relief measures at Boroe, Mugra, Moidee, Bistopore, Luckicanthorpe, and Korinjolee. The numbers relieved at these depôts will probably appear in the next report. Generally with regard to the Diamond Harbour sub-division, the poorer class is very straightened for food, and in almost every village there are a few really destitute people. The Alipore Committee have adopted all necessary measures to supply the different sub-committees with cash in addition to local subscriptions, and with grain where the local stock is absolutely exhausted, and there are no private traders. The crops on the low lands look well; but the high lands are either unplanted or only just planted, and there is much cause for serious anxiety about the cold season crop. Relief will be probably required for the next three months, and cash expenditure will amount, it is estimated, to 3,500 a month, besides private subscriptions, and exclusive of the cost of grain to be supplied to the places where there is none left in store.

Nuddea.—The Commissioner reports that the depôts at Foolbarree, Madhubpore, Kapasdangah and Chooadanga may probably be now closed, and he has called on the Relief Committee to report their steps towards restricting their operations, and leaving them off at the above-named and other places.

Hourah.—In addition to the measures reported in the last narrative a depôt has been opened at Amphtah, where some suffering has been caused by inundation, and a committee is working there with 500 in private subscriptions, and 1,000 from the fund. Baboo Moheschunder Surma of the Sanscrit College has been very active in promoting proper relief.

Beerbhoom.—Distress prevails in this district, but only to an inconsiderable extent, relief for which is amply met by private local subscriptions. The construction of the new road to Bukhessur affords sufficient employment for all those able and willing to labour. No actual starvation is feared in any part of the district.

Maunbhoom.—No relief reports have been received this week; but the Deputy Commissioner reports that further aid is not at present needed, as rice is on its way from Bancoorah, and there are 2,000 in hand.

Singbhoom—At Cheyebassa, Kalkapore, Porekalie, Baharagonie and Ghatsilla relief is daily given to the destitute. The mortality, however, is very severe, owing to the weakened condition of those who are collected at these depôts. The paddy crops are reported to be excellent, and will greatly relieve the market, which was very insufficiently supplied. The death of Reverend W. Strave from cholera, whilst zealously carrying on relief operations, is reported with the deepest regret. The zemindar of Dhulbharee has behaved very well, and has largely assisted in relieving distress.

Gya.—The applicants for relief are decreasing, and still further diminution may be expected as road work is now largely available throughout the district. The rice crops promise well, but rain is still wanted. Bad accounts of mortality from cholera in the interior of the district are still received, but medicine is distributed largely, and an improvement is reasonably expected. The mortality at Gya itself has almost entirely ceased.

Patna.—In the Dinapore sub-division the distress is slight only, and will be relieved by the present harvest. In the Barh and Behar sub-divisions there is much want of rain, and some distress amongst the destitute; road-work will probably relieve this in a great measure, and where necessary, local subscriptions will be raised. From the Patna sub-division, with the exception of the south-east portion, the reports are not bad, and generally the crops are in good condition.

Shahabad.—In the Arrah sub-division there are five relief depôts now open, the crops are favourably spoken of, private subscriptions are freely given, and with the additional money provided from the fund, will probably suffice for the wants of the district. In the other sub-divisions the distress has not yet abated, but the rice crop generally will be good.

Tirhoot.—With the exception of the extreme north-western part of the district, the accounts received this week are more favourable. The bazaar price of rice has fallen, and the crops generally promise very well. Both disease and scarcity, however, have continued in the parts

to the north-west, and the collector has been ordered to visit the spot, and take effectual means to relieve the distress. The numbers applying for relief appear to be generally on the decrease, and consist now mainly of women and children, whose condition also has much improved.

Published for general information.

By order, &c.

Fort William, 31 August 1866. (signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

NUMBER of Persons relieved Daily in the above Districts during the Week under Report.

Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.	Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.
Cuttack - -	6,499	1,665	Tirhoot - -	8,819	263
Pooree - -	1,753	3,163	Bancoorah -	1,920	285
Balasore - -	19,883	3,819	Beerbhoom -	200 to 300	–
Gyah - -	819	167	Midnapore -	8,423	689
Patna - -	–	353	Nuddea - -	2,201	3,488
Shahabad - -	1,280	431	Singbhoom -	127	–

STATEMENT showing the Disbursements made by the Board of Revenue, up to the 31st August 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By last Statement.	Since assigned.	Total assigned.
CASH REMITTANCES. (Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
To Balasore - - - - - - - - -	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Cuttack - - - - - - - - -	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Pooree - - - - - - - - -	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Bancoorah - - - - - - - -	10,000	2,000	12,000
„ Burdwan - - - - - - - - -	3,000	- -	3,000
„ Raneegunge - - - - - - - -	2,000	- -	2,000
„ Hooghly - - - - - - - - -	5,000	- -	5,000
„ Midnapore - - - - - - - -	40,000	- -	40,000
„ Howrah - - - - - - - - -	500	1,000	1,500
„ Nuddea - - - - - - - - -	25,000	4,000	29,000
„ 24-Pergunnahs - - - - - - -	7,500	- -	7,500
„ Chumparun - - - - - - - -	11,500	- -	11,500
„ Gya - - - - - - - - -	1,000	1,000	2,000
„ Sarun - - - - - - - - -	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Shahabad - - - - - - - -	- -	2,000	2,000
„ Tirhoot - - - - - - - - -	4,000	- -	4,000
„ Hasareebaugh - - - - - - - -	1,500	- -	1,500
„ Maubhoom - - - - - - - -	28,165	5,181	33,346
„ Singbhoom - - - - - - - -	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sonthal Pergunnahs - - - - - - -	10,600	- -	10,600
„ Ganjam - - - - - - - - -	25,000	- -	25,000
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	2,40,765	15,181	2,55,946
DISPATCHES OF GRAIN. (Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree - - - - - -	8,68,558	20,775	8,89,333
„ Dhamra - - - - - - - - -	2,33,729	20,960	2,54,689
„ Balasore - - - - - - - - -			
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	11,02,287	41,735	11,44,022
ABSTRACT.			
Cash - - - - - - - - - -	2,40,765	15,181	2,55,946
Grain - - - - - - - - - -	11,02,287	41,735	11,44,022
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	13,43,052	56,916	13,99,968

(No. 1977 T.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, Home Department, for information, in continuation of letter, No. 1914 T., dated the 3rd instant.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Darjeeling,
6 September 1866.

From the Honourable A. Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, (No. 2084 T); dated Darjeeling, 10 September 1866.

Sir,

IN continuation of endorsement, No. 1977 T, dated the 6th instant, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward herewith for the information of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, the 12th weekly narrative of this Government, relative to the present distress from scarcity of food.

NARRATIVE.

Government of Bengal.—Darjeeling, 10th September 1866.

THE latest particulars received in regard to Orissa, are contained in a telegram from the Board of Revenue, dated the 5th instant. In Cuttack, the bazaar prices were falling, and old rice was procurable at 6½ seers, and new rice at 7⅞ seers for the rupee, the market being well supplied. From the "Asia," 12,700 out of 20,000 bags of rice had been discharged. In Pooree the bazaar price was about 6 seers for the rupee. The unloading of the "Gibbs" had been finished on the 31st ultimo, and the "America" had arrived with a cargo of 7,400 bags, and had commenced unloading. The crops in Malood and Pareekood had suffered from the floods, but full accounts had not been received. The reports from Khoordah were favourable. From Balasore the only intelligence of importance was the arrival there, on the 31st ultimo, of the "Nemesis" with a third cargo of rice. Revenue.

In regard to Midnapore, the officiating Commissioner of Burdwan has reported, though full particulars have not yet been received, that the daily number to be relieved for the next two months may be estimated at 12,700, and that a monthly net expenditure of 25,000 rupees will be required.

It having been stated in the public newspapers that the officers in the Orissa districts and in Midnapore, are underhanded, and unable to attend to the relief operations, and that no measures have been taken by the Government to strengthen the local administration, it seems necessary to report what has been done in this respect, although most of the arrangements have been incidentally mentioned in previous narratives.

Early in June three special additional assistant magistrates were sent to Orissa, one for each of the three districts, and all the assistant magistrates already in the province were vested with higher powers to enable them to give more effectual help to the district officers on whom the burden of administering relief to the distressed poor chiefly devolved. Two additional deputy collectors were also sent, one to Balasore, and the other to Cuttack, for the same purpose.

On the 21st June, Mr. McNeile of the Civil Service, a selected officer of proved energy, who had directed the operations for the relief of the sufferers from the cyclone in October 1864, was sent to Orissa to relieve the Commissioner of the Division of some of the heavy duties thrown upon him in consequence of the famine, and to undertake in concert with the Commissioner, and under his authority, the general direction and organisation of the measures in progress for the relief of the destitute, and for the landing, transport, and sale of the rice imported on account of the Government. Mr. McNeile occupied, in fact, the position of a Special Commissioner, but it was thought better that he should work under the authority of the head of the local administration than that he should be independent, and this arrangement has worked well, and with satisfactory results.

Three European officers of the Public Works Department were placed at Mr. McNeile's disposal to assist in superintending the sale and distribution of rice at the main centres of relief, and he was authorised to entertain on the spot any additional establishment he might require. Two extra officers have also been sent from Calcutta, and placed under the orders of the superintending engineer of the circle to supervise the works specially sanctioned for the purpose of giving employment to the able-bodied poor.

It may also be added that, prior to Mr. McNeill's deputation, an additional judge had been sent to hold the Sessions at Balasore, a duty which otherwise would have had to be done by the Commissioner, but which he could not at that time attend to without prejudice to those imposed on him in consequence of the famine.

To Midnapore two additional deputy magistrates were sent to assist the district officer in organising relief measures.

In all these districts the police has been largely strengthened, chiefly indeed with a view to keep order among the numbers of people collected at the centres of relief, and to prevent the commission of grain robberies which had become frequent in consequence of a general want of food among the poorest classes, but these extra police have also been usefully employed in forwarding the relief operations.

Seven additional native medical officers have been despatched to Orissa, to assist in attending on the sick, who in consequence of privation and the prevalence of epidemic cholera have been very numerous.

Lastly, the local administration has received much valuable aid spontaneously and gratuitously rendered by most of the European and native gentry of the Province, who have formed themselves into local committees of relief, acting in concert with the district officers. Generally speaking, the zemindars have assisted the poor in their own villages, and large sums of money have been raised in each district by private charity, in so much, that up to May last, it was believed and reported by the local officers, that the resources of the district themselves would suffice for the support of the weak and helpless, and that no further aid would be required beyond what had then been provided by the Government in the shape of funds for the employment of the able-bodied on works of public usefulness.

In dealing with so large and wide-spread a mass of distress suddenly falling on an agricultural population, scattered over an area of many thousand square miles, and generally prevented by their habits and prejudices from either leaving their homes to seek relief, or employing themselves on the unaccustomed, and in their estimation, degrading occupation of working on the roads; it is unfortunately true that the Government, and those by whom it has been assisted, have been unable to save from starvation many for whom the means of relief were available, if only it could have been brought to their doors; but this is a feature of the calamity, which even if susceptible of any remedy within the reach of the Government, could not have been mitigated by the employment of more European officers.

A full report of the mortality in all the districts of the Cuttack Division has been called for.

At Diamond Harbour, the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs, who was specially deputed to make inquiries, reported that considerable distress exists, but proper measures have been taken to relieve it.

* Churkerdhur Sing Bahadoor.
† Rughoonath Sing.

In Singbhoom, the Rajah * of Serai Kellah has been feeding the poor on his estate, and having tanks excavated to afford employment for those willing to labour. The Thakoor † of Khursowan has also been procuring loans of grain for the ryots on his estate, on his personal responsibility, and as far as his means permit, feeds daily a number of poor. Both these chiefs have been commended. The Deputy Commissioner reports, that the scarcity of seed grain has had no effect on the extent of cultivation in the Government Colehan, though in Pergunnah Seraikallah more land seemed to be fallow than usual.

Public Works Department.

From the Public Works Department reports in regard to the inundation in the Cuttack Division state, that very little damage has been done to the Trunk Road, and none to the town of Cuttack; great injury has, however, been sustained by the embankments in the south of Pooree, and in the Mahamuddy District. No loss of life has been reported, and if the floods run off quickly no great damage will be done to the crops. A large extent of country has been relieved by opening the passage for the Chilka Lake, and the greatest efforts are being made to repair the injuries to embankments, &c. The Irrigation Company's sand bunds at Narage have given way, and also the embankment on the right bank of the Katjoorie River. The reports received are by telegram; fuller details will be given when received by Government.

In the Shahabad District a further sum of 5,000 rupees has been sanctioned for expenditure on relief works.

In Nuddea, aid, in addition to the expenditure already sanctioned for relief works has been promised, if required, and will be granted on application.

In Calcutta, the new circular canal into the River Hooghly will be commenced as early as practicable. The Public Works Department will set out the work and supervise it, and the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, will supply the labourers, receiving the estimated value of the work done, from the Public Works Department.

Apart from the proceedings of the Public Works Department in regard to relief measures in Calcutta, there is nothing to report. Papers regarding the working of the Relief Committee will be submitted separately hereafter.

It only remains to notice, that the cordial acknowledgments of this Government have been tendered to the Government of Bombay, for the action taken by it in the way of providing assistance for the relief of the existing distress.

(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE No. 14 of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers, and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—THE unloading of the "Gibbs" was finished on the 31st August, and all available boats were then transferred to the "America," which had arrived with 7,400 bags of rice from Burmah. Up to the 3rd September, 3772 bags have been landed from this vessel, and as fine weather and a calm sea are now reported, there will probably be no further difficulty in keeping the Government stocks replenished. The crops in Mahood and Pareekhood on the borders of the Chilka Lake have, it is feared, suffered greatly from the late floods, but full reports have not yet been received. The reports from Khoordah are favourable. The bazaar price of rice on the 3rd instant was still the same, from 6 to 6¼ seers per rupee. No returns have been received from the Relief Committee.

Cuttack.—The improvement in weather has admitted of the supplies of rice from False Point coming in freely. The "Asia" has discharged her entire cargo, the "Mahratta" is coming up along the coast for False Point, and the "Sparkler" with 11,000 bags is expected to arrive there about the 10th instant. No relief reports have been received this week. The market is well supplied, the price of old rice on the 4th being 6½ seers for the rupee, new rice nearly 8 seers.

Balasore.—The Commissioner had called for a renewed official report on the distress and mortality lately described in the newspapers, and the reply received from the collector has been published. The local committees, as already from time to time reported, have done all that was possible to alleviate the sufferings of the crowds of destitute who have daily applied to them for food and medicine; but the mortality has been most severe, in one week especially, causing a daily average of 126 deaths. There is not the least reason to doubt the correctness of the information received by the collector, and the unauthenticated details published in Calcutta have apparently never been brought to the notice of any of the committee on the spot. The "Nemesis" has during the last week loaded a fourth and fifth cargo of rice from the "Tubal Cain" at Hidgelee. Three sloops with private cargoes of rice on board, also arrived on the 4th from Coringa. The weather continues fine, and the crops look well.

Midnapore.—The Commissioner has submitted a detailed and clear report after full personal enquiry in the district. The number of probable applicants for relief was, as the Board anticipated, much over estimated in the report quoted in the last narrative. During the greater part of the present month, it appears that 12,700 people will require, and will receive, relief at 18 depôts, centrally placed throughout the district. This relief will be afforded, under carefully framed rules, in two ways, either by charitable sales at about two seers in the rupee cheaper than market rates, chiefly to labourers employed on various public works, but also to others who cannot pay the full price, or by gratuitous distribution to those who are too weak to labour. By the end of September, the necessity for continuing the charitable sales will cease in many places, certainly at 6 of the 18 depôts, and probably at more than six, as the labourers will be better able to earn a full day's wages, and the gathering of the harvest will bring down the price of grain. Gratuitous relief must however, be continued, at an estimated rate of 20,000 rupees a month, until the cold weather crop is gathered, and plenty once more prevails. The local subscriptions are not expected to exceed 2,000 rupees a month, and the funds required for September amount for gratuitous relief to 20,000 rupees, and for charitable subscriptions to 17,700 rupees. 35,000 rupees will have to be supplied to the collector for this month therefore, of which only 12,000 rupees will be recovered from charitable sales. For October and November, the Commissioner hopes to reduce the wants of the district to 25,000 rupees to be further diminished by sale returns. Measures are in progress by both Public Works Department and the magistrate to provide labour in all directions for the able-bodied.

Nuddea.—Prices have fallen so much in all parts of the district, that distribution of charitable relief at the expense of Government may now be gradually stopped. The few remaining destitute will be supported, as in ordinary times, by private charity, and the different public works will still afford employment to those who are able to labour, until general work is again available for them. The depôt at Kapasdangah was to close on the 1st September, and the same measure would be adopted shortly at five other depôts.

Maubhoom.—The report received this week is to the effect that Baboo Rakhal Dass Haldar had been deputed to visit the relief depôts at Burrabhoom, Manbazar, Raipore, Soopore, and Umbicanuggur; from the first named place he wrote that the depôt was not yet freely resorted to, apparently from misunderstanding amongst the poor as to the mode of affording relief. The deputy collector was doing what he could, however, to make the relief operations easily accessible to all in need of them. The crops are reported to be excellent.

Lohardugga.—Distress has appeared in the south-east portion of the district, accompanied with much mortality from cholera. Funds have been at once sent to the local officers, with directions to open further subscription lists, and establish relief depôts, at which rice will be supplied both in payment for work to the able bodied, and gratis to those unable to work. The pressure is expected to be but of short duration, however, as the grain called "gondlee" is already coming into the market, and the early rice crop is being cut.

Gya.—From the accounts received this week, the state of the district appears still to be improving. Rain has fallen heavily and generally, the crops are in excellent condition, and there is abundance of labour for the strong and relief for those who are still weak.

Patna.—Plenty of rain has fallen generally over the district to the great benefit of the rice crop, and the Indian corn crop now being cut is described as the finest seen for years. The price of rice has, in consequence, fallen to between three and four rupess a maund. 7,000 rupees have been raised by private subscription for the relief of those destitute who cannot work, and as Government will supply sufficient work for the employment of all labourers, the local subscriptions will suffice for the other wants of the distressed parts of the district.

Sarum.—The prospects of the district are much improved, and the Committee report their opinion that the necessity for gratuitous distribution will cease in the end of September. The mortality is believed to have materially decreased throughout the district, and it has certainly fallen off around Chapra. The Bhudai harvest is now coming in, and is most abundant; and the prospects of the rice crop have greatly improved.

Tirhoot.—Improved accounts have been received from all parts of the district save Durbhangah. There, from some cause not yet explained, the relief measures appear to have been neglected, although there is a large sum in hand for relief expenditure. The assistant collector has been called on for an immediate and full report, and the result will, if necessary, be specially reported hereafter.

Published for general information, by order of the Board of Revenue.

L. P.

Fort William,
7 September 1866.

(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

NUMBER of Persons relieved Daily in the above Districts during the week under report.

Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.	Names of Districts.	Daily Average of Non-Labourers.	Daily Average of Paid Labourers.
Pooree - -	Returns not received.		Tirhoot - -	7,584	Included in the preceding Column.
Cuttack - -					
Balasore - -			Bancoorah -	4,869	306
Gya - - -	810	175	Midnapore -	9,967	1,081
Patna - -	728	774	Manbhoom -	5,175	6,000
Sarum - -	5,074	917	Nuddea - -	4,106	2,379

STATEMENT

STATEMENT showing the Disbursements made by the Board of Revenue, up to the 7th September 1866, for the Relief of the Distress arising from Scarcity of Food.

ITEMS.	By last Statement.	Since assigned.	Total Assignment.
CASH REMITTANCES. (Debitable to the Famine Relief Fund Balances.)	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
To Balasore	20,000	10,000	30,000
„ Cuttack	15,000	- -	15,000
„ Pooree	20,000	- -	20,000
„ Bancoorah	12,000	- -	12,000
„ Burdwan	3,000	- -	3,000
„ Raneegunge	2,000	- -	2,000
„ Hooghly	5,000	- -	5,000
„ Midnapore	40,000	4,000	44,000
„ Howrah	1,500	- -	1,500
„ Nuddea	29,000	- -	29,000
„ 24-Pergunnahs	7,500	- -	7,500
„ Chumparun	11,500	1,000	12,500
„ Gya	2,000	- -	2,000
„ Sarun	10,000	- -	10,000
„ Shahabad	2,000	- -	2,000
„ Tirhoot	4,000	- -	4,000
„ Hazareebaugh	1,500	- -	1,500
„ Munbhoom	33,346	5,000	38,346
„ Lohurdugga	- -	1,000	1,000
„ Singbhoom	1,000	- -	1,000
„ Sonthal Pergunnahs	10,600	- -	10,600
„ Ganjam	25,000	- -	25,000
TOTAL *Rs.*	2,55,946	21,000	2,76,946
DISPATCHES OF GRAIN. (Chargeable to the Rice Importation Account.)			
To False Point and Pooree	8,89,333	78,718	9,68,051
„ Dhamra, Balasore	2,54,689	- -	2,54,689
TOTAL *Rs.*	11,44,022	78,718	12,22,740
ABSTRACT.			
Cash	2,55,946	21,000	2,76,946
Grain	11,44,022	78,718	12,22,740
TOTAL *Rs.*	13,99,968	99,718	14,99,686

(No. 2143 T.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, Home Department, for information, in continuation of letter, No. 2084 T., dated the 10th instant.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Darjeeling,
12 September 1866.

(Revenue.—No. 1964 T.)

From the Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department; dated Darjeeling the 5th September 1866.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 3948 of the 23rd ultimo, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to state for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council that full particulars in regard to the present scarcity in the Lower Provinces, such as those called for by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, have been furnished in the weekly narratives* of this Government, and in the papers forwarded with the communications noted on the margin.

* Nos. 1 to 11.
No. 1366 T. dated 8th ult.
No. 1537 T. dated 16th ult.
No. 1809 T. dated 30th idem.

2. The measures taken for the relief of distress in and about the town of Calcutta have also been reported to the Government of India in the correspondence ending with letter No. 1808 T., dated 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Public, No. 95.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 9 November 1866.

Para. 1. I have considered in Council, together with your Despatches noted in the margin*, transmitting further reports on the subject of the famine in Bengal, your Despatch, dated 18th September last, No. 62, in which you reply to my Despatch, dated 16th July last, No. 61, calling for information with regard to the famine, on which no official reports had at that time reached me, and at the same time forward further narratives submitted by the Bengal Government on the state of the famine districts.

*No 56, dated 27 August 1866.
No. 65, dated 21 September 1866.

2. The additional information furnished in these letters, like that previously supplied, consists almost entirely of brief narratives compiled under the orders of the Lieutenant Governor, or of the Board of Revenue, and is altogether insufficient to convey any idea of the actual state of the famine districts, even at the period to which the reports apply.

3. The meagre character of the information submitted by the Lieutenant Governor, led you, very properly, to call for fuller reports as to the state of Orissa, but the supply of such information will in no way supersede the necessity for the special inquiry to be instituted in accordance with my instructions of the 9th ultimo.

4. I have only now, with reference to the narratives before me, to express the hope that the indication which, as you remark, is given in them of "a gradual improvement and some general mitigation of the calamity," is really justified by the state of the districts. The incidental notices which the narratives contain of the price of rice, would not lead to the belief that the pressure on the people had as yet been materially alleviated; and, though in the absence of adequate information, I am unable to form a positive opinion on the rules laid down for the sale and distribution of the rice imported by Government into the famine districts, it seems at least questionable whether some of the rules are not too stringent while the ordinary food of the people continues at so high a price.

5. I notice with much gratification the energy and sound judgment which marked the proceedings of the Committee formed under the presidency of Mr. Stuart Hogg, for the purpose of relieving the large number of destitute persons who flocked into Calcutta from the famine districts. The measures taken by the Committee, in conjunction with the employment provided on special public works, and the efficient means of medical relief afforded under the orders of the Bengal Government will, I hope, have averted the serious consequences which might otherwise have resulted from the influx of so great a number

a number of persons debilitated by want, and thus predisposed to disease, into a large and crowded city.

6. The Government of Madras keeps me regularly informed on all matters connected with the distress prevailing in that Presidency, and I have communicated to that Government my sense of the energy shown in the measures taken for the relief of the distress, and my high appreciation of the personal exertions of Lord Napier in his visit to Ganjam.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

DESPATCH from Government of India, dated 4th October, No. 66, of 1866,

Forwards the following Narratives and Letters from the Government of Bengal:—

13TH NARRATIVE OF THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

Darjeeling, 17 September 1866.

THE latest particulras received in regard to Orissa bear date the 14th instant. In Cuttack the bazar price of rice, on the 12th, was from 6¼ to 6½ seers for the rupee. Supplies on private account are coming in from Sumbulpore. In Pooree the bazar price is the same as at Cuttack—private supplies having been received from Gopalpore. The cargo of the "America" will be unloaded as soon as ballast can be obtained. The embankments damaged by the recent floods are being repaired; but the rivers are reported to be again rising. In Balasore the bazar price is more than seven seers for the rupee. The "Royal Bride" has arrived, and will be unloaded by the "Nemesis." The weather continues favourable to the crops.

Sanction has been given to the grant of two rupees per mensem for the maintenance of each orphan child in Orissa. The allowance will be reduced to the usual rate of one rupee a head monthly when the distress ceases.

The Deputy Commissioner of Singbhoom proceeded, in company with the Rev. P. Struve, into Dulbhoom during the past month to inquire into the state of things there, and it is recorded with great regret that the Rev. P. Struve fell a victim to cholera while engaged in this work. In Dhulbhoom, Government centres of relief are open at Kalkapore, Ghatseela, Pooreehatta, and Baharagora, at each of which places cooked food is distributed to about 125 persons. The Rajah has given one rupee a day at Ghatseela, in addition to the amount supplied from the relief funds, for relief purposes. He has also sent a sum of 500 rupees for the purpose of obtaining rice from Midnapore, which is to be supplied through the medium of the Collector out of importations made for his district. The Rajah has also, after retaining a sufficient supply for his own consumption for four months, commenced selling the contents of his granaries to his ryots, and has sent 50 rupees' worth of paddy into Toreef Damparah for gratuitous distribution to the poor. The liberality of the Rajah has been acknowledged by the Lieutenant Governor. The scarcity is felt chiefly by the professional beggars and the common labourers. Both classes have received relief, but the mortality among the former is very great. The crops in the pergunnah are reported as promising, and the harvest will be very good if a little rain falls in season.

In the Patna district a further expenditure of 7,000 rupees has been sanctioned by the Public Works Department for relief works.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to
Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE, No. 15, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa and in other Parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The greater part of the "America's" cargo has been unloaded, and will be all discharged as soon as ballast can be got in. Reports have come from the Relief Committee for the three weeks ending 18th August. The mortality, which during the first week averaged daily 25 only for the entire district, increased in the second week to 91, and in the third week was 65. The destitute had overcrowded the town of Pooree, where the greatest mortality occurred, and small-pox had appeared amongst them, the weather being at the time very bad.

Steps were at once taken to erect sheds to accommodate 1,500 at a suitable place on the sands, and the other measures taken to check the spread of small-pox proved successful—the cases being now but few in number.

One new relief centre in the Sudder sub-division and three in the interior were opened. Efforts are being made to open others, but the sickness of Mr. Lacey, the superintending officer, and the closing of the communication in the Mofussil in consequence of heavy

inundation, have obstructed progress. The total number of centres actually working now is 15, and at four more the Committee are prepared to commence operations.

An inspector had been appointed to visit each centre and enforce a uniform working of the Committee's rules. It was also arranged that an additional Mohurir should be entertained at each centre, where necessary, to be of general use, but specially to take charge of the weak and dying. The bazar price was last reported by telegraph at 6½ seers per rupee.

Cuttack.—From Cuttack no relief reports have been received this week. The market price of rice is improving under the influence of private importations from the south, and from Sumbulpore. At the same time steps have been taken to keep up the Government stocks to the full extent of requirements up to the end of November. Four additional doctors have been ordered down for employment in different parts of the district. Mr. McNeile, before leaving False Point, put the inland transport operations on an efficient footing.

Balasore.—Returns have been received for the week ending 1st September, during which the mortality in Balasore averaged 103 daily. The local officers and the Committee have both reported that they have a sufficient medical staff to relieve the sufferers, and the funds required for distribution of food and clothing are supplied both from the Famine Fund and private charity. A Mahomedan lady gave 500 pieces of cloth for distribution this week.

The Committee have, however, experienced great difficulties with the Kangallees, who sell everything given to them. Clothing and talpatta hoods were at once disposed of. People of this class are accustomed to eat opium, and will sell even their food to buy it whenever they have an opportunity.

The distress in Bhuddruck is reported to be increasing for want of grain in that neighbourhood. Regular supplies have been sent down for some weeks to Dhamrah, and 25,000 bags of Burmah rice have been ordered, which will, it is calculated, suffice for distribution until the cold weather crop is reaped. Orders have been issued to open centres at Mutoh and other places whenever necessary, and another native doctor has been transferred to Bhuddruck. Mr. Shortt had unfortunately been taken ill, but his place was at once supplied by Mr. O'Reilly.

24-*Pergunnahs.*—At Saugor Island and Culpee organised relief operations are now in full action, and will be kept up until November, or as long as necessary. There being no rice on the spot, a sufficient quantity was sent down by the Collector, and, as the Deputy Collector had fallen sick, "Kumar Hurendra Krishna" had started to take his place. The Superintending Engineer will be strongly urged to supply sufficient labour to the poor in this neighbourhood by having the slopes of the new embankment turfed. The Mozilpore Relief Committee are supporting all who require relief, and labour is provided for all who are strong enough. Epidemic fever has appeared, but the sick are cared for, and shelter is provided for those who need it. In the Diamond Harbour Sub-Division the measures last reported are working well.

In Satkeerah relief operations have been almost entirely discontinued, as private charity now suffices to meet the distress. At Bahala, Kowrapookur, and Tangra, on or near the Diamond Harbour-road, depôts have been opened under the Revs. J. Payne and C. Driberg, for the general relief of those who are beginning to flock into Calcutta. Sufficient funds have been supplied by the Calcutta Committee. Mr. Driberg has also been requested to select some suitable place for opening a fourth depôt on this line of road. In Baraset the distress has ceased.

Nuddea.—As intimated in the last Narrative, the depôts are now ceasing operations, and private charity will be sufficient to relieve the remaining distress.

The *Aous* crops to the east of the Bhageerattee have been very good, as the price of *Aous* rice is from *Rs.* 3. 8. to *Rs.* 3. 12., and that of the old rice *Rs.* 4. 8.

Maunbhoom.—No reports have been received from the depôts in the interior of the district during this week, owing to the very heavy rains. Distress generally appears, however, to be increasing, and the local committee hardly expect to check it successfully till the new crops are reaped. The Commissioner will see that proper measures are throughout adopted for keeping the nine depôts now open fully supplied with food and medicine.

Gya.—Another centre has been opened at Kouch to meet distress in that neighbourhood, but general reports are still improving, the Committee being in sufficient funds to dispense with the further instalment of 1,000 rupees, which was sent to them from the Famine Fund, and has been now returned. The Bhudai crop is coming into the market at 17 seers for the rupee, and is expected to fall as low as 25 seers. The prospects of the Khureef crop are reported to be excellent. The supply of food at present prices is considered sufficient to meet all demands.

Shahabad.—The number of persons seeking gratuitous relief at Arrah itself has increased, notwithstanding the opening of centres of relief near their homes. This is attributed to a mistaken idea on the part of the applicants that more can be done for them where the authorities live than elsewhere, and, as was to be expected, the statement of mortality shows an increase in deaths from 30 to 41.

The

The Bhudai crop is a full one, and is now selling at from 25 to 30 seers for the rupee.

Chumparun.—The distress in the Sudder Sub-Division is decreasing, and at Bettiah the Sub-Committee and Mr. Shaw, the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Burhurowa, are actively engaged in the relief of the sufferers from the Gunduck inundation. Generally the state of the district will be much improved by the harvest of a very fine Bhudai crop.

Published for general information.

By Order, &c.,
(signed) *T. B. Lane,*
Secretary.

Fort William, 14 September 1866.

14TH NARRATIVE OF THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

Darjeeling, 25 September 1866.

THE late heavy inundations in Orissa have entirely upset the calculation of this Government and of the local officers, as to the date up to which it will be necessary to continue relief operations. The early rice crop on which dependence was placed for immediate relief, has suffered to such an extent that it can now scarcely be expected to affect the market, and the doubts which exist as to the effect of the floods on the cold weather crop, prevent a fall in prices. The funds at the disposal of Government, which would have sufficed for all operations had this inundation not taken place, will not be sufficient for the more extended and prolonged operations which will now be necessary.

Reports regarding the damage done to crops in the Cuttack Division estimate the loss to the early or beallee crop at from one-half to two-thirds, and the sarud or main crop, it is thought, will also suffer seriously from the immersion of the young plant. A statement and estimate of requirements has been submitted by Mr. McNeile and the Commissioner, which shows that 300,693 maunds have been already ordered for Orissa at a cost of, in round numbers, 15 lakhs of rupees. From this sum the realisations from sales will, it is estimated, give back 8¼ lakhs, and there will thus result a loss to the importation fund of 6¾ lakhs. To cover the loss there is a balance from the North Western Provinces Famine Fund, after making allowances for past and prospective disbursements, of 3,16,000 rupees, and taking into consideration charges for demurrage, it may be estimated that the actual loss will be close upon 5 lakhs. It has therefore, in consequence of these fresh and unforeseen calamities, become necessary to ask the public for further subscriptions in aid of the relief fund; and with the view of meeting this deficiency, the Calcutta Relief Committee have been asked to co-operate in collecting and distributing funds for the relief of the distress in Orissa and Midnapore, and the commissioners of divisions in the Lower Provinces have been desired to call meetings to invite subscriptions for the same purpose. Aid has also been asked for from the other Local Governments and administrations: the collections in all cases to be sent to the Calcutta Committee. A copy of the papers giving detailed particulars on these points, will be separately submitted for the information of the Government of India.

A report received by telegraph in the Public Works Department on the 18th instant states that the breaches in the Pooree embankments had been nearly all closed, and that nothing less than a very high flood would do further damage.

A further expenditure of *Rs.* 96 3. 7½. from the Government Estates Improvement Fund, in addition to the 5,200 rupees already granted for excavating and enlarging tanks in Satparrah in the Khoordah estate, has been sanctioned.

A telegram dated the 19th instant, reports that in Cuttack old rice is now selling at 6½ to 7 seers, and new rice at 8 seers for the rupee, the supply being good. Information regarding crops in parts not flooded is favourable. In Pooree the bazar price continues at 6½ seers for the rupee, and the weather is favourable to crops. At Balasore about 3,000 bags of rice have been landed from the "Royal Bride." Heavy rain has fallen, and the Soobunrikha River has flooded the adjacent country, but the crops promise well.

A report received from the Commissioner of Burdwan, through the Board of Revenue, shows that, in the 18 relief centres now open in Midnapore, 12,700 adults are daily fed gratuitously. An improved system of labour will be enforced, and this arrangement will of course diminish expenditure for purely gratuitous relief. For the current month 20,000 rupees will be required to feed the destitute, and about 18,000 rupees for the purchase of rice for charitable sales. Against this expenditure will be a set-off of 2,000 rupees from private subscriptions, so that the total expenditure will be 36,000 rupees. For the two following months it is anticipated there will be a considerable reduction of outlay, as larger sums are expected to be realised from private subscriptions, and that relief operations will be contracted, as several centres of relief will probably be closed when the early harvest, which is very favourably reported on, is gathered. Details will be found in the papers* herewith forwarded. In the Public Works Department a grant of 2,000 rupees has been sanctioned for expenditure on relief works on the Lohardugga and Sumbulpore road.

From other parts of the country the reports are very favourable.

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* Communication from the Officiating Secretary, Board of Revenue, No. 2712 B, dated 11th instant, with Enclosures.

NARRATIVE, No. 16, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa and in other Parts of Bengal.

Fort William, 22 September 1866.

FROM Orissa generally no special reports have been received during the past week. Sufficiently accurate information has not yet been obtained by the Commissioner to enable him to report the actual loss caused by the inundations in Cuttack and Pooree. The principal breaches in the embankments had been closed, and the crops in parts which have not been flooded are well spoken of. The supply of rice, both on private account and from Government shipments, is well kept up. The "Sparkler" with 22,000 maunds being now at False Point, the "America" unloading the rest of her cargo at Pooree, and the "Royal Bride" at Balasore. The bazar prices last reported by telegraph are, at Cuttack and Pooree, 6½ seers, and Balasore 8 seers, per rupee.

In the districts round Calcutta, 24 pergunnahs, Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, and Midnapore, the distress still continues, and, under the organized measures reported in former Narratives, ample relief is afforded. Beyond the details shewn in the Appendix, no special reports have been lately received.

Chota Nagpore.—The Commissioner has not furnished any details this week, but reports generally that distress still prevails in his division. In Maunbhoom the efforts of the several relief committees are much hampered by the flooded state of the country, which has checked the supply of grain. In Lohardugga there is a slight improvement in the condition of the poor, and labour is now freely provided for all who are willing to work.

Chumparun.—Much distress and mortality still prevails in the part of the district which was inundated by the Gunduck. The Maharajah of Bettia has, in this emergency, actively adopted large measures for relief in his own neighbourhood, and the opium officer at Burhurwa has been in charge of other depots. From the other parts of the district very favourable reports have been received, there being good reason to hope that, by the end of September, relief operations may cease throughout the eastern half of the district.

Patna.—The measures for general relief before reported are working successfully. It is also stated that the greater part of the Indian corn is reaped, and now selling in the market at 25 seers per rupee. The prospects of the rice crop are generally favourable, though rain is still wanted in some places.

Sarun.—The state of this district appears from the last reports to be gradually improving. The number of deaths is decreasing at all the centres, and in the interior also as far as can be ascertained, and the price of grain is daily becoming more favourable. Extensive relief works are being carried out in all directions.

Shahabad.—In this district an increase has taken place in the numbers of those relieved, and in the mortality at the central depots. These are now filled with people who are either too weak to work, or who apply for the employment offered in the neighbourhood of each depôt; and amongst these numbers increased mortality must be expected. Everything, however, is done to relieve the sick, and in numerous cases with success. The crops all promise well.

Published for general information.

By Order, &c.
(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla (No. 2295 T.); dated Darjeeling, 18th September 1866.

IN continuation of endorsement, No. 2158 T., dated the 12th instant, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter No. 254, dated the 5th idem. from the Officiating Commissioner of Cuttack, on the subject of the article in the "Hurkaru" newspaper of the 24th ultimo, regarding the distress and mortality in Balasore. The enclosure is not forwarded, as it is simply a copy of the letter from the Collector of Balasore which accompanied the endorsement above referred to.

2. In regard to the statement made by the writer of the article in question that "one gentleman, who has been a resident of Balasore for 30 years, asserts that in November last, he again and again addressed the Government of Bengal assuring it that a fearful famine was close at hand, and that time should be taken by the forelock for the purpose of shielding the province from so dire a calamity," I am to say that no such communications were received by this Government. It may be, as the collector Mr. Muspratt supposes, that Captain Bond, the master attendant, Balasore, is the resident of 30 years alluded to, but he never addressed Government, though he did apparently speak to the Collector on the subject of the deficient rice crop.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William (No. 254); dated Cuttack, 5 September 1866.

In reply to a telegram from Darjeeling, dated 27th, and to your letter, No. 1787 T., dated 28th August 1866, I have the honour to report that though the most severe pressure of famine has been and is being felt at Balasore, the local officers, by the most energetic exertions and efficient arrangement, have regularly and continuously supplied all comers with relief in food and medicine. All that human exertion, attention, and foresight can do has been and is being done to mitigate the distress.

2. No attempt at concealment of the precise position of affairs has been made, and the Board of Revenue and Government have been kept informed week by week of the state of the country, of the crops, and of the amount of relief afforded. That the mortality has been very great is true. The heavy rain and severe weather in beginning of August caused an increase in mortality, not only in Balasore, but all over the country. Every means at disposal, or that humanity could suggest, were put in force; shelter has been provided for the destitute as well as food and medicine, and the most prompt arrangements were made to remove the dead.

3. This great mortality was at the same time attended with much sickness, from which the European and official residents have not escaped; but there has been nothing like a panic; all have stuck to their work and done their duty. To Mr. Muspratt, in particular, credit is due for his energy and indefatigable attention to famine relief; he has been ably seconded by the civil surgeon, and by every member of the official staff.

4. I enclose copy of the collector's report called for by your letter under acknowledgment; and I have no hesitation in stating that the statements which appeared in the "Hurkaru" of 24th August, if not false, were greatly and unwarrantably exaggerated.

DESPATCH from Government of India, dated 12th October, No. 71, of 1866,

Forwards the following Narrative and Correspondence received from the Government of Bengal:—

15th Narrative of Government of Bengal.

Darjeeling, 2 October 1866.

Regarding the state of affairs in Orissa, a telegram, dated the 24th instant, reports the bazar price of rice at Cuttack to be about seven seers for the rupee. At Pooree, the price was 6½ to 7 seers. The "America" cleared on the 17th, and supplies were coming in from Ganjam. Heavy rain had fallen everywhere, and the rivers were again rising. At Balasore, 5,000 maunds of rice had been brought in on private account, while owing to bad weather the landing from the "Royal Bride" could only proceed slowly. Revenue.

A report received from the Board of Revenue brought to notice that the arrangements for transporting the Government rice from the coast to the centres of distribution in Cuttack, for disposing of it under the rules prescribed, and for the relief of the destitute, had not received due attention at the hands of the magistrate and collector, Mr. Cornell. The case of the sick at the Sudder station, and elsewhere, showed that a very lax supervision was exercised over relief measures, and the failure of the police to do their duty in connection with the dispatch of rice from False Point to the interior, could only be attributed to a toleration of their neglect and disobedience by Mr. Cornell. Such gross instances of mismanagement at the present crisis compelled the Lieutenant Governor to supersede Mr. Cornell in the charge of the district, and Mr. W. Macpherson has been appointed magistrate and collector of Cuttack. Mr. Cornell has been appointed joint magistrate and deputy collector of Moorshedabad, but is to officiate in that capacity at Cuttack till further orders, and two more covenanted assistants * have been sent, vested temporarily with the powers of subordinate magistrates of the first class to the Cuttack division, especially for superintending relief operations under the direction of the district officers, and also for general employment. It is hoped that these arrangements, and the stringent orders that have been issued for inquiry into and punishment of misconduct on the part of the police, will have the effect of putting a check to all the irregularities complained of.

* Balasore, Mr. Meres; Cuttack, Mr. Oldham.

In addition to the 20,000 rupees already granted, a further expenditure of 6,000 rupees has been sanctioned from the Government Estates' Improvement Fund for the completion of the relief works on the Khoordah and Piplee Road, in the Pooree district.

In Maunbhoom, Ranee Stingun Koomaree, of Panora, has been daily relieving a large number of people since the commencement of the distress from scarcity, and this, although she has to devote the greater portion of her income to the liquidation of her late husband's debts, her liberality has been commended.

In Colbarea measures have been taken to exact some sort of labour from the subjects of relief who are capable of rendering it, and for introducing a more sound system of providing meals for the destitute, so that necessaries only, and not luxuries, as hitherto, may in future be given.

A communication from the Board of Revenue, No. 4019 B, without date, submits a report from the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, regarding the distress in his division, and the measures of relief adopted. A copy is forwarded herewith for the information of the Government of India.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From *T. B. Lane,* Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 2707); dated 11 September 1866.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, a copy of letter, No. 604, dated the 30th August, from the Commissioner of Cuttack, reporting on the injury done to the crops in his division by the late inundation.

2. The account given by Mr. Ravenshaw is very distressing, but it is yet founded mainly on hearsay, and is, the Board hope, a much exaggerated view of matters. Rice often recovers to an unexpected extent from the effects of inundation, and it is the object of the zemindars to represent their loss as great. The Board are, therefore, not now prepared to take action to any great extent on Mr. Ravenshaw's letter, and prefer to wait for more detailed and reliable accounts. The Commissioner has, however, been requested to inform the collector that wherever great loss of the sarud crop is anticipated, the country should be visited, and an estimate formed of the loss by one of the deputy collectors. This must be done before the crops are cut. On receiving the reports made on such inspection, the Board will be in a position to know what measures, if any, are to be taken to meet during next year any deficiency in the sarud crop, which will form the chief staple of food of the province for the next 12 months.

3. The Board fear, however, that the reported loss to the bealee and sarud crops will prevent the fall of prices, and the relief from an influx of indigenous grain, which were expected by the Commissioner and Mr. McNeile, when they framed their estimate of the probable requirements of the province, and suggested that Government and relief sales should cease in September, gratuitous supply being continued throughout October and November. It appears to the Board that, under these altered circumstances, they may have to continue operations for the months of October and November, on the same scale as during September, that is, at an expenditure of grain for those two months of 76,500 maunds, instead of 21,500 maunds per mensem, as estimated for by the Commissioner. This will give a further requirement of 55,000 maunds per mensem, or 1,10,000 maunds for the two months. Of this quantity 62,000 maunds are provided in the excess over Commissioner's estimate, which is now on the way to Orissa. There will, therefore, remain 48,000 maunds, which, on this view of the case, will have to be provided for use before the end of November. The Commissioner has been informed that the Board are prepared to issue orders for this amount if he desires them to do so. On receipt of his reply, no time will be lost in ordering the additional quantity.

Revenue.—(No. 2340 T.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden,* Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *Stuart Hogg,* Esq., Commissioner of Police, and Chairman of the Executive Relief Committee.

Sir, Darjeeling, 19 September 1866.

BY my letter, No. 1609, dated 21st ultimo, you were requested to lay before the Calcutta Relief Committee a letter addressed to the Board of Revenue on the 9th idem, under the instructions of the Lieutenant Governor, in order that the Committee might be made acquainted with the reasons which had induced his Honor to defer making an appeal on the part of Government to the public for contribution to a general Famine Relief Fund, so long as the balance of the old North-Western Provinces Famine Relief Fund, remaining at the disposal of Government for the purposes of charitable relief, and for supplying the market with rice where private trade had failed, were sufficient to meet all probable demands.

2. At a time of general monetary difficulty and uncertainty, and when all classes were in a greater or less degree suffering from an unprecedented rise in the price of the necessaries of life, the Lieutenant Governor felt that nothing could have a stronger or more baneful tendency to check for the future that generous flow of public charity which has always especially distinguished all sections of the Indian community in times of suffering and distress, whether in this country or in Europe, than an attempt to stimulate it by appeals for aid which it then appeared probable might not be required. Had not fresh and entirely unforeseen calamities befallen the tract which has already suffered more than any other part of the country from scarcity, the anticipations of the Government, and of the officers on the spot best able to form an opinion on the subject, would, there is every reason to believe, have been fulfilled in regard to Orissa and Midnapore, as they have been in regard to other parts

of

of the country. And if, under such circumstances, large sums of money had been collected and a considerable unexpended balance had remained at the close of operations, the Government would have been justly blamed for needlessly asking for what could at such a time be ill spared.

3. At the time at which my letter was written to the Board of Revenue, it will be seen from the accompanying correspondence* that an estimate had just been submitted by Mr. McNeile, the officer specially deputed to assist the Commissioner of Cuttack in administering the relief fund, which held out every hope that the difficulty might be tided over without the necessity of further assistance from the public.

* Board's letter to Government, No. 1874B, dated 6th August, and Enclosures.

4. The Committee will, however, perceive from the Board's reports,† No. 2490 B., dated 1st September, and No. 2707 B., dated 11th September, which you will be so good as to lay before them, that just as there was every reasonable prospect of the province recovering from the effects of the draught of last year, it has been visited by fresh calamities of season of a very serious nature. One of the heaviest floods known for many years has inundated the country, and the water has at a most critical time remained on it for an unusually prolonged period. The early rice crop, which was relied upon to afford temporary relief till the cold weather harvest, has been most seriously damaged, in some places to the extent of two-thirds of the entire crop; while it is feared that the main or sarud rice crop, upon which the people are dependent for their subsistence throughout the year, has also suffered to a very serious extent by the prolonged immersion of the young plant.

† Copies.

5. These recurring calamities could no more have been foreseen than they could have been prevented, but the immediate consequence of the last flood has been entirely to upset the estimates of the Commissioner and Mr. McNeile, and it is quite clear now that in Orissa, and possibly also in parts of Midnapore, relief operations will have to be continued for some months longer, and on a more extended scale than was anticipated; and if it should unfortunately prove to be the case that the sarud rice crop has materially suffered, it must be apprehended that, though private trade will during the cold season supply the deficiency to those still able to purchase grain, there will still be a large number of paupers who will have to be supported by charity for a long time to come.

6. Under these circumstances the contingency indicated in the 9th paragraph of my letter‡ to the Board of Revenue of the 9th ultimo, must be held to have arisen. And as the Lieutenant Governor is assured that the Calcutta Committee will concur with him in thinking that every effort should be made to continue the same system of unlimited relief which has hitherto been carried out in Orissa with the funds at the disposal of the Government, I am to request that you will ask them to co-operate with Government in collecting and distributing funds for the relief of Orissa and Midnapore. It seems in every respect better that this course should be followed than that a distinct fund should be raised by subscriptions as a separate appeal from Government direct.

‡ No. 1398.

7. It is of the utmost importance that the relief operation should, at this critical period not be contracted for a single day, and the Board will be directed to make the necessary advances to ensure their continuance in anticipation of the action of the Calcutta Committee. In accordance with the principle laid down in the 10th paragraph of my letter referred to above, it appears to the Lieutenant Governor that if the Committee wish to undertake the administration of sums collected for the purpose of general relief, such administration should be left entirely with them, acting through the Local Committees who have so efficiently distributed the funds already placed at their disposal. But as large operations have already been entered into, and large advances have been, and will have to be, made by Government through the Board of Revenue, subject to adjustment from sums now collected, it will perhaps suggest itself to the Committee to add to their number the members and secretaries of the Board of Revenue, who will be able to place the Committee in a position to see precisely how matters now stand in regard to funds and the existing organization for the local distribution. Should the Committee, however, looking at the complication of accounts which change of system would now involve, not wish to take upon themselves the duty of detailed administration, they might disburse these funds on the application of the Board, who would lay before them from time to time full statements of the requirements of the Local Committee, and of all disbursements of the funds placed at their disposal by periodical grants.

8. The Lieutenant Governor has less hesitation in asking the Calcutta Committee to assist with the surplus funds already at their disposal, as the causes which have led to a diminished demand on their funds in Calcutta have, as a matter of necessity, led to a directly corresponding increase in the demands on the Local Committees in the interior, who have to receive and maintain the paupers removed from Calcutta by the Committee in correspondence with the Board of Revenue. And beyond this the Lieutenant Governor sees every reason to believe that a great proportion of the money sent to the Calcutta Relief Committee has been contributed under the impression that it would be applied, if necessary, to purposes of general relief in Bengal. This is clearly the case in respect of the contributions from the Upper Provinces, as will be seen from the enclosed advertisement§ of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces.

§ Extract from the "Pioneer."

9. Relying on the co-operation of the Calcutta Relief Committee to the extent above indicated, the Lieutenant Governor will circulate a requisition to the Commissioners of all

Divisions, except Cuttack, to call public meetings and to explain to the inhabitants of their Divisions that, owing to the late inundation in Orissa, the funds at the disposal of this Government will no longer suffice to meet the exigencies of the case, and that substantial aid to the sufferers in that province is therefore sought for from those who have not suffered in an equal degree, and are in a position to help their less fortunate fellow subjects. The other Local Governments will be addressed to the same effect, and it will be requested that all remittances may continue to be made to the Calcutta Relief Committee, who, after carrying out the immediate objects for which they originally formed themselves, will, no doubt, be able to afford very material assistance to the Local Committees.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 72 of 1866.)

(Extract.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Simla, 19 October 1866.

* * * * *

2. Adverting to your telegram of the 11th instant, authorising the advance of money from Government funds freely and immediately, we beg to state that, previously to its receipt, we had addressed the Lieutenant Governor, enquiring whether the contributions from the public were likely to prove sufficient to meet the requirement of those districts in which distress still prevailed, and in which it was expected that it might still continue to prevail for some time to come, and stating that if his Honor had ground for apprehending that the funds from this source would prove inadequate to provide for the real necessities of the case, we should be prepared to supply the means of affording such further relief as might be necessary in any district, for the purpose of alleviating the distress of the people.

3. We have now, without waiting for a reply to the above communication, authorised the Lieutenant Governor at once to double the amount of the subscriptions received from the public in India. This, with the unexpended balance of public subscriptions, will, it is believed, give the Calcutta Relief Committee about 40,000 *l.* in hand available for future measures of relief.

We have, &c.,
John Lawrence.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

P.S.—The Lieutenant Governor has telegraphed under date the 16th, that the latest report from Balasore was very favourable. Rice selling from *Rs.* 3. 2. to *Rs.* 3. 8. a maund, and the crops excellent and beyond danger.

16TH NARRATIVE OF GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL (REVENUE).

Darjeeling, 8 October 1866.

THE following particulars have been received in regard to Orissa. In Cuttack the last quoted bazar price of rice was from 7½ to 8½ seers per rupee. The inundation was subsiding, and grain in considerable quantity was coming in from Sumbulpore, and sales taking place from native craft at False Point on private account. In Pooree the market rate was 7⅞ seers for the rupee; and though the rivers were previously reported as again threatening flood, the last accounts state that the weather was bright and hot. In Balasore the price of rice was eight seers for the rupee, except at Bhudruck, where it was five seers, but measures were being taken to throw in supplies. The weather was fine.

In

In Midnapore matters are reported to be improving.

In the Nuddea district, relief operations have been very much contracted between the middle of August and that of September, so much so, that very little expenditure was anticipated during the past month. A copy of the communication containing detailed information, submitted by the Board of Revenue, is forwarded herewith for perusal. No. 4145B, dated 29th ult.

A Famine Relief Fund has been raised by the East Indian Railway Company, and 14,353 rupees collected. After expending 6,100 rupees on relief operations, including donations of 2,000 rupees, and 1,000 rupees to the Calcutta and Howrah Relief Committees respectively, the managers of the fund have intimated that out of the balance they will give further donations of 1,000 rupees each to the Calcutta and Howrah Committees, and retain the remainder to meet applications for relief from districts along the line of railway still suffering from scarcity. The Railway Company has also reduced, by one-half, the fares for paupers returning to their homes, and made a similar reduction for the carriage of grain for *bonâ fide* relief purposes. The thanks and commendations of Government have been communicated to the Board of Agency for the liberality displayed by the Company and its employés.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.

17TH NARRATIVE of Government of Bengal (Revenue).

Darjeeling, 13 October 1866.

THE latest intelligence from Orissa shows no alteration in the price of rice in Cuttack and Pooree, since the date of the 18th Narrative of the Board of Revenue. In Balasore, rice is slightly cheaper, except at Bhuddruck and Damnugger. Eight thousand bags of rice and dhal have been landed on private account, and the clearing of the cargo of the "Royal Bride" is coming to a close. The flooding of the Soobunreekha River has done little harm to the crops, and heavy rain has fallen most advantageously. The crops are reported as flourishing.

In Midnapore matters are improving generally.

In Calcutta the appointments of Mr. Sinclair and of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon have been sanctioned for the Chitpore Hospitals, as also the employment of two medical officers in apothecaries' pay for the Cornwallis and Manicktollah Hospitals. The Lieutenant Governor, however, being of opinion that these officers should be paid by the Calcutta Relief Committee, the Chairman of the Committee has been addressed on the subject.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 27 October, No. 78.

Forwards the following Documents:—

NARRATIVE, No. 19, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the relief of the distress arising from the scarcity of food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—No fresh returns have yet come in, the only report received this week being from the collector on making over charge of the district. He mentions, that to complete the arrangements in the pauper camp, now set up on the sands outside the town, a hospital has been organised, and one of the native doctors lately sent down by Government attends to look after the sick, removing those that require regular attendance to a shed on the ground, and only taking the very bad cases to the town hospital. The market is more favourable; the last price reported on the 10th being 7½ to 7⅞ seers per rupee. The weather also has favoured the crops, regarding which the Commissioner telegraphs that "prospects of crops which escaped the floods are excellent."

Cuttack.—The reports received from the Relief Committee extend up to the 7th September only. At that date an orphanage had been opened in the town, and was progressing favourably. To furnish employment to men now strong enough to labour, and to women, sheds had been erected in which light labour would be carried on, and for the women cotton had been given out to be turned into yarn. The centres in the interior had generally worked well, but great distress had been reported at Machgong and Ponza, to meet which measures were at once taken to supply rice, and a qualified man sent down to superintend the centres in that neighbourhood. The daily average of deaths reported to have occurred in the district during the week, was 119. In this district also the market price of rice is now somewhat less, ranging, on the 11th instant, from 7¼ to 8¼ seers per rupee.

Balasore.—

Balasore.—The Balasore reports bring this Narrative up to the 22nd September, during which week the weather was so bad as to increase much the heavy mortality in this district. Rain fell constantly throughout the week, and the number of deaths was reported at a daily average of 151 throughout the district. Out-door work was of course much hindered, though there has been a considerable increase in the number of paupers employed in light work.

The Return from Bhuddruck Sub-division shows a great increase in the distress in that quarter. Two more relief centres were opened at Basudebpore and Kissunpore, and the Bhuddruck Sub-Committee were requested to open a relief centre in the Pergunnah of Bherah. The supply of rice at Balasore itself is reported now to be excellent. The "Royal Bride" has discharged her cargo from the Government golahs; and in the bazar, rice imported on private account from Madras is selling at rupees 3-2 per maund. Under the weather above described the crops have progressed very much, and it is now reported that the Soobunreeka flood, from which at first much damage, it was feared, had resulted, has done little harm to the crops.

Midnapore.—The satisfactory progress already reported still continues; generally the numbers of those gratuitously fed are decreasing, and sickness is not on the increase. The deputy collector on special duty has furnished the following special details this week:—

"The Rajah of Laulgurh is the proprietor of Pergunnah Sankhakooliah, and being in embarrassed circumstances, he has not been able to give me any subscription; but I am glad to be able to report that from the month of Choit last, he has been feeding about 200 people daily, and yesterday 257 men, women and children got their boiled rice each about half a pooah.

"The subscription raised here is 122-8 rupees, which amount I have handed over to the police of Beenpore to forward to the district treasury.

"There had been distress here before the Aoos crop was reaped; but the Rajah's beneficence was equal to the emergency. The people, however, are now tolerably well off, inasmuch as the early paddy crop has been a full sixteen-anna yield.

"The old rice is being sold in the bazar at the rate of eight seers, and the new rice, 10, 11, and 12 seers to the rupee. The market does not, of course, seem to be so easy as in other years; but almost every agriculturalist has got his own crop, which he is using for himself and for his relatives."

24-*Pergunnahs.*—During the past week the Commissioner accompanied the Reverend C. E. Driberg on a visit throughout the tract lying to the south of the suburbs of Calcutta. His report has now been forwarded to the Calcutta Relief Committee, who have supplied large funds for relief in this direction, and will be published. The food appeared to be distributed at the different centres in quantities much exceeding the rates which have been found sufficient in other parts of this district, and the numbers of labouring paupers seemed to be very scanty. To both these important points the attention of the Allipore Central Committee has now been drawn, and it has been suggested that the members should in turns visit those centres, and, comparing the operations of each, keep them all as much as possible to the same standard and system of relief. At Behala the Commissioner observed that more than half the paupers are from Orissa, and nearly all the rest from Midnapore, and recommended the Committee to communicate with the Calcutta Committee on this subject. A great demand for work met the Commissioner in many places, and though, from the state of the country at present, it is difficult to carry on public works, the magistrate has been desired to give as much work as he can in repairing roads in different directions, and Government has been asked for a special grant for relief works in the south of the district. As soon as work is provided, able-bodied men will be refused gratuitous relief. For the women, too, work will be found as far as possible, though this is still more difficult. The Calcutta Committee on the 11th instant granted another sum of 10,000 rupees to the Allipore Relief Fund. The estimated daily numbers now receiving relief in the interior are given in the last Return, dated the 10th, at about 3,000 persons.

Maunbhoom.—The Relief Committee report, on the 29th September, that they have, as far as possible, given work to those who are now strong enough to labour. These works have not however succeeded very well, mainly owing to the difficulty of obtaining proper road overseers and proper supervision, as well as to the great reluctance of the people themselves to work. Road-making has been commenced at Joypore and Jhalda, in connection with those depôts, and will be carried on, if possible, at most of the depôts, as many of those who have now been fed regularly many weeks, can and should now work for their food. The 14 depôts already opened have been since increased to 19 with the aid of funds supplied by the Calcutta Committee.

Gya.—From this district the following report has been received for this week:—

Relief operations, except as far as the hospital is concerned, have been closed at the Sudder Station, and are continued only at a decreased number of centres in the interior. Most excellent accounts of the prospects of the crops continue to be received from all quarters. There is now no fear for the safety of the dhan crop.

Shahabad.—Regarding this district, the Commissioner reports, on the 4th instant, that the prospects of the crops are decidedly good; the late heavy rains stopped just in time to save the greater part of serha rice, though considerable damage was done. There will now, in any case, be a good average dhan crop in the parts near Sasseeram itself, and to the north, but to the south present prospects are not so good.

Tirhoot.—

Tirhoot.—The collector now entertains strong hopes that he will be able to discontinue gratuitous relief at the end of the month. The Commissioner has, however, desired him not to do so before he has satisfied himself by the most careful inquiry that the present recipients of relief will by that time be able to obtain a livelihood at their homes.

The account given below shows separately the expenditure of the old Famine Relief Fund balances, and of the sums received from the Calcutta Committee.

Published for general information.

By order, &c.

Fort William, 13 October 1866. (signed) *T. B. Lane*,
Secretary.

18TH NARRATIVE of Government of Bengal.

Darjeeling, 18 October 1866.

THE question of making some concession in the Cuttack division to those paying revenue to Government, has come under consideration consequent on the distress from scarcity of grain. The November instalment has been suspended for three months, and full inquiries have been ordered with a view to ascertain whether remissions of the revenue demand, or simple suspension of it, will be necessary, and whether such relief will be required generally, or only in particular estates.

In Cuttack the Commissioner having apprehended that his stock of rice would fall short before fresh supplies reached, has been authorised to purchase small portions of the cargo of the "Murianne," now at False Point, and he has also unloaded the "Coringa" there. The market price continues as reported in the Narrative of the Board of Revenue, forwarded under endorsement, No. 2147T., dated 17th instant. In Pooree the bazar rate ranges from 7½ to 8 seers for the rupee. A further report has been received of the damage done in this district by the late inundation, in which the out-turn of this year's crop is estimated at a little more than one-third of the average of other years. A copy of the report* is forwarded for perusal. Orders have been issued for the supply of seed grain for Pooree, and for raising the price of Government rice to an approximation to the ruling market rates.

In Balasore the price of rice has fallen to rupees 3-2 to rupees 3-8 per maund in the town. The people in the interior are beginning to repair their houses. To supply the place of the "Coringa," the cargo of which has been taken for Cuttack, 2,000 bags of rice will be sent at once by the "Arracan," which will also take in tow the "Conqueror," now in the Dhamra river. Other rice from Burmah is expected to arrive at the Dhamra by the end of the current month.

In Calcutta the Relief Committee are desirous of taking charge of all relief operations in Bengal under certain conditions; the subject will be discussed by the Lieutenant Governor with the Committee, who have adjourned during the holidays, on their re-assembling.

(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Public, No. 118.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 31 December 1866.

Para. 1. I HAVE considered in Council your Despatches noted on the margin, transmitting further reports and correspondence relating to the state of the famine districts in Bengal, and the measures of relief in progress.

No. 66, dated 4 October 1866.
„ 71, „ 12 „ „
„ 72, „ 19 „ „
„ 73, „ 19 „ „
„ 78, „ 27 „ „

2. I regret that, so far as the information before me enables me to form an opinion, a grievous amount of suffering continued to prevail in Orissa and in Maunbhoom, at the date of the latest advices. In Orissa, unhappily, the progress of the slight improvement which had taken place had been interrupted by the terrible inundations which occurred in the month of September, and which not only stopped the downward tendency of prices, but, by the serious damage which they caused to the crops, must have inflicted much injury on the agricultural population, and lengthened the period of suffering for the people generally.

3. The

* Letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, No. 4384B., dated 10th instant, and its Enclosures.

3. The readiness with which the Calcutta Relief Committee undertook, on the requisition addressed to it by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, on the occurrence of the inundations in Orissa, to enlarge the scope of its operations, so as to embrace all the suffering districts of Bengal and Orissa, is deserving of the best acknowledgments of Government. In accordance with the terms of my telegram of the 11th October, your Government will not, under any circumstances, allow the work of relief to fail in any quarter from want of funds; but I think it probable that, under the authority which you very properly gave to the Lieutenant Governor, to double, on behalf of Government, the amount of all subscriptions raised in India for the purposes of relief, sufficient funds will be provided for all the measures which the Relief Committee may think it necessary to undertake.

4. It is not necessary, pending the receipt of your reply to my Despatch of 9th October (No. 85) 1866, to enter further on the measures now under review, and I would only add that I shall expect, when the report of the Special Commission is forwarded to me, to be made acquainted with the names of all those individuals, whether European or Native, who have distinguished themselves by their liberality and activity in the relief of the suffering people.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 89 of 1866.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 6 December 1866.

My Lord,

We have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 85, dated the 9th October, in which you review the proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in connection with the famine, and suggest the appointment of a special officer to inquire and report fully as to the circumstances of the great calamity which has overtaken a large portion of the provinces under the Lieutenant Governor's jurisdiction, and as to the most effectual means of preventing the recurrence of such calamities.

From Government of Bengal, No. 2866, dated 5 November.
To - - ditto - No. 1005, dated 4 December
To - - ditto - No. 1006, dated 4 December.
To Mr. Campbell, No. 1007, dated 4 December.
To Colonel Morton and Mr. Dampier, Nos. 1008-10, dated 4 December.

2. We enclose for your Lordship's information a copy of our Resolution on the subject, dated the 4th instant, together with a copy of the Minute of the Governor General, dated the 20th November, on which the Resolution is founded, and of the subsidiary orders connected therewith.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(No. 2860.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *H. L. Dampier*, Esq.

Sir, Fort William, 5 November 1866.

I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to request that you will, as soon as possible, visit all the districts of Bengal and Orissa which have suffered from famine, and, after making careful inquiry from all available sources, submit a report containing a full history of the occurrences in each district from the commencement of scarcity to the present time, and a general review of the causes of the famine, of the measures taken to relieve the sufferers, of the result of those measures, and of the precautions that can be taken to prevent such a calamity or to mitigate its effects in future.

2. The

2. The points on which it is most essential that correct information should be recorded in a moderate and readable compass, and to which, therefore, your attention should be chiefly directed, are the following:—

(*a*)—The state of stocks and prices of grain, and the state of the market at the close of the rains in September 1865.
(*b*)—The first indications of approaching scarcity.
(*c*)—Quantity of grain exported from, or imported into, the district during 1865, before and after the end of September.
(*d*)—Out-turn of the Amun crop in 1865.
(*e*)—Gradual rise of prices.
(*f*)—Means of transport by land or water, to and from the district and within it.
(*g*)—Means of irrigation, and how far they were made use of.
(*h*)—Measures first taken to meet the impending scarcity—

(1.) By the people themselves.
(2.) By the local officers and other residents.
(3.) By the Government.

(*i*)—Extent to which zemindars and other residents afforded private relief.
(*j*)—Amount raised in the district and received from private sources elsewhere in the way of subscriptions.
(*k*)—Amount supplied from the general Famine Relief Funds.
(*l*)—Amount expended in the district from local funds.
(*m*)—Amount expended on Public Works from Imperial funds.
(*n*)—Quantity of rice imported by Government, and either (1) sold to the public at cost or market price, or (2) supplied to Relief Committees for sale at reduced prices or for gratuitous distribution.
(*o*)—Formation of Relief Committees.
(*p*)—Principles observed in affording relief.
(*q*)—Number of persons relieved weekly with and without labour.
(*r*)—Description of employment.
(*s*)—Measures taken for the treatment of the sick and the prevention of disease.
(*t*)—Mortality—

(1.) At the stations and centres of relief.
(2.) In the interior of the district.
(1.) From starvation.
(2.) From disease.

(*u*)—Classes of people affected by the famine, and special causes affecting each class.
(*v*)—Sufficiency and timeliness or otherwise of the measures taken to relieve the distress, and in what respects they were defective.
(*w*)—Whether any requisitions for assistance made by the local authorities were not complied with, and whether, if further pecuniary assistance had been asked for and obtained, any more extended measures of relief could have been effectually adopted.

3. In taking a general view of the whole subject, you should not lose sight of the state of the rice market in other parts of Bengal, as well as in Sumbulpore and on the north-east districts of the Madras Presidency, and the extent to which supplies from thence were available in the districts that suffered from famine. You should also consider what may have been the effect of the export of rice and other edible grains from Calcutta and the ports of Orissa by sea for the last few years, and by the Railway to Behar and the Upper Provinces.

4. There is one point connected with the Cuttack districts which requires special inquiry and careful elucidation. It was confidently asserted by the local officers up to May last, that the stock of grain in the province was sufficient for the maintenance of the population, and it is still maintained that this was the case, the deficiency of grain in the market being accounted for on the supposition that large stocks were held back under the apprehension of another short crop, and were consequently not available for purchase. On the other hand it is now generally supposed that the stocks of grain in the province were absolutely insufficient, and that if the whole had been generally available for consumption, the local supply would have been insufficient unless supplemented from abroad. It is very important that a correct opinion should be formed on this point, and also as to the causes which operated to prevent the supply of rice in the ordinary course of trade to meet the deficiency (whether real or apparent) and the consequent demand.

5. In considering the measures that can be taken to prevent the recurrence of famine, you will bear in mind the works of the East India Irrigation and Canal Company, now in progress, and those projected both for the irrigation of Orissa, including Midnapore, and for providing lines of internal water communication connecting the province with Calcutta and with the northern districts of the Madras Presidency, and also the projects which have been brought forward for controlling the waters of the Damooda and utilising them, by the construction of a navigable canal available also for purposes of irrigation. The present state and probable progress of these important works as well as of the Trunk Road, from Calcutta through Midnapore to Cuttack and Ganjam, and of the other roads in the distressed districts

tricts should also have your attention; and any measures by which their completion can be accelerated by the action of the Government should be suggested.

6. You should also observe and report whether there is anything in the Land Revenue system which has any bearing on the occurrences of the past year, whether there is any striking difference between the circumstances of those districts in which the revenue has been permanently settled and of those in which a permanent settlement has not been concluded, and whether in the former the zemindars have shown greater ability or inclination to provide against calamity of season, and to assist the poor, than in the latter.

7. The districts which your inquiry should particularly include are the following, which may be conveniently classed in three groups:—

First.—
- Calcutta.
- 24-Pergunnahs.
- Nuddea.

Second.—
- Burdwan.
- Hooghly.
- Howrah.
- Bancoorah.
- Maunbhoom and part of Singhboom.
- Midnapore.

Third.—
- Balasore.
- Cuttack.
- Pooree.

In regard to the first group, your experience, and the knowledge you have obtained, as Commissioner of the Nuddea Division, of the occurrences of the last few months, will no doubt enable you to furnish the required information without much further local investigation.

8. I am to suggest, therefore, that you proceed in the first instance to the districts comprised in the second group, where, as compared with those of the Cuttack Division, the pressure of famine has now nearly ceased, and where relief operations are likely very soon to be brought to a close. You should then visit the Cuttack districts, and having collected all available information, return to the Presidency to draw up your report.

9. The official sources from which you can obtain information are the records of this office and of the Secretary to the Government in the Public Works Department, of the Board of Revenue, of the Commissioners of Divisions, of the magistrates and collectors, of the Commissioner of Police for Calcutta, and of the several relief committees. To these you will have free access, and you will also avail yourself of all other means of correct information that may come within your reach in the course of your inquiry.

10. It is desirable that your report should be submitted so that it may be sent to England, and be in the hands of the Secretary of State before the next meeting of Parliament.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

MINUTE by the Governor General of India, dated Agra, 20th November 1866.

It has for some time past been my intention to cause inquiry to be made for the purpose of eliciting full information concerning the famine which has unhappily recently visited, with such lamentable severity, the Province of Orissa, and other portions of the Presidency of Bengal.

It could serve no useful purpose, and it might have been attended with inconvenience and injury, to cause such inquiry to be made prematurely.

Whilst the distress was at its height, the time and energy of the officers of the local administration might, with much greater advantage, be engaged in exertions to relieve it; and the season of the year and situation of Orissa, where the famine was specially sore, rendered it advisable that such inquiry should not be too early set on foot.

When, however, accounts from the afflicted districts showed that, in some parts, a decided improvement had taken place, and hopeful signs of the abatement of the distress generally appeared, I desired the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to appoint Mr. H. L. Dampier to make an inquiry and report of the nature I have indicated.

Mr. Dampier is an officer whom I had reason to believe to be well qualified to conduct the inquiry above-mentioned, and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal quite concurred in his fitness for such duty. Mr. Dampier was accordingly immediately appointed by the Lieutenant Governor, from whom also he promptly received the fullest instructions.

A Despatch has since been received from the Secretary of State, in which the deputation of an officer on an inquiry of precisely the same nature as that which has been entrusted

to

to Mr. Dampier is urged. The tenor of this Despatch, and the general feeling which appears to prevail in England on the subject of the famine in Orissa, render necessary a change in the constitution of the Commission of Inquiry.

It is evident, and it is indeed natural, that accounts which have reached England from this country respecting the distress occasioned by the famine, have produced in England an intense and painful anxiety amongst the large class of benevolent persons interested in the people of India.

A feeling of uncertainty as to the actual facts appears simultaneously to have taken possession of the public mind, whilst statements have been freely and publicly made attributing to officials in India a want of attention to the requirements of the occasion.

It is right, therefore, for the satisfaction of the Government and the public in England, and in justice to the officials concerned, that steps should be speedily taken to remove such uncertainty, and to verify or correct such statements in as thorough a manner as practicable.

On a full consideration of the subject, I am satisfied that the objects which such an inquiry has in view will be best attained by a commission composed of three officers.

It is under these circumstances, for obvious reasons, desirable, if the Commission be composed of a single officer, that, as remarked by the Secretary of State, he be "unconnected officially with the revenue administration of Bengal."

The objection to such an officer will lose its force if he be the sole officer so circumstanced in a Commission of three, whilst the exclusion entirely of officers of local experience in the revenue administration of the part of India which is to form the theatre of the inquiry, would deprive the Commission of assistance of the highest value.

On these grounds, I consider that the officer already selected to conduct the inquiry in question may, with advantage, be retained as one of the Commission.

The remaining two officers I propose shall be the Hon. Mr. Justice Campbell, an officer of the Bengal Civil Service, able, experienced, and unconnected with the Local Revenue Administration, and Lieutenant Colonel W. E. Morton, an officer of engineers, of ability and much practical experience in works of irrigation in India.

Briefly, the duty of the Commission will be to inquire carefully, and to report clearly its opinion on the following points:—

1st.—What were the causes which led to the scarcity and famine;

2nd.—Whether timely and sufficient measures were taken to meet the evil, and to relieve the distressed; and, if not, whether valid reasons exist to account for the absence of such measures; and

3rd.—In what way, if any, action may be taken by the Government to prevent the recurrence of a similar visitation, or to mitigate its effects should it recur.

The instructions already issued to Mr. Dampier, as published by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, appear to me to be very full and suitable, and of a character such as may generally guide the Commission in its investigations, though they should not be held to confine the Commission literally to the limits laid down.

There are districts under the Local Government which have suffered from scarcity, but which have been excluded from inquiry under the instructions issued by Sir Cecil Beadon to Mr. Dampier.

I understand that, as regards these (the Behar districts), it is proposed by the Lieutenant Governor to depute a separate officer to make inquiry.

The distress in Behar has not, I believe, approached in severity and extent that which prevailed in Orissa and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

The circumstances, too, of Behar differ entirely from those of Orissa, whilst the field of inquiry indicated in the Lieutenant Governor's instructions is already sufficiently extensive.

It appears to me, therefore, that a separate officer may unobjectionably make inquiry into the scarcity in Behar, the officer selected not being connected officially with the Revenue Administration in Bengal.

The inquiry should be commenced and completed as speedily as may be consistent with the work being thoroughly done.

John Lawrence, 20–11–66.
W. R. M., 20–11.
W. G.
G. N. T., 20–11.
W. N. M., 21–11.
H. M. D., 1–12–66.

(No. 1004.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Home Department (Public), under date the 4th December 1866.

READ again the correspondence relating to the Famine in Orissa and other parts of the Bengal Presidency:—

1. Revenue Proceedings, January 1866, No. 1.
2. Public Proceedings, June 1866, Nos. 13 and 14.
3. Public Proceedings, July 1866, Nos. 1 to 15.
   Nos. 19 to 25.
   Nos. 67 to 73.
4. Public Proceedings, August 1866, No. 8.
   Nos. 31 A and 31 B.
   Nos. 72 to 83.
5. Public Proceedings, Sept. 1866, Nos. 70 to 84.
   Nos. 102 to 108.
6. Public Proceedings, October 1866, No. 8 to 19.
   Nos. 45 to 48.
   No. 56.
   Nos. 73 to 79 A.
   Nos. 94 to 102.
   Nos. 137 to 151.
7. Public Proceedings, Nov. 1866, Nos. 9 to 11.
8. Endorsement from Bengal, No. 2811, dated 31st October 1866.
9. Endorsement from Bengal, No. 2825, dated 1st November 1866.
10. Endorsement from Bengal, No. 2985, dated 13th November 1866.
11. Endorsement from Bengal, No. 2866, dated 5th November 1866.

Read also the following Despatches from the Secretary of State:—

1. Public, No. 61, dated 16th July 1866.
2. Public, No. 67, dated 16th Au
3. Public, No. 85, dated 9th Oct

Read a Minute by the Governor General, dated Agra, the 20th November 1866.

RESOLUTION.

IT has for some time past been the intention of the Governor General in Council to cause inquiry to be made, for the purpose of eliciting full information concerning the famine which has unhappily recently visited, with such lamentable severity, the Province of Orissa, and other portions of the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal.

2. It could have served no useful purpose, and it might have been attended with inconvenience and injury to cause such inquiry to be made prematurely.

3. Whilst the distress was at its height, the time and energy of the officers of the local administration might, with much greater advantage, be engaged in exertions to relieve it, and the season of the year and the situation of Orissa, where the famine was specially sore, rendered it advisable that such inquiry should not be too early set on foot.

4. When, however, accounts from the afflicted districts showed that in some parts a decided improvement had taken place, and hopeful signs of the abatement of the distress generally appeared, his Excellency the Governor General desired the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to appoint Mr. H. L. Dampier to make an inquiry and report of the nature above indicated.

5. Mr. Dampier is an officer whom his Excellency had reason to believe to be well qualified to conduct the inquiry above-mentioned, and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal quite concurred in his fitness for such duty. Mr. Dampier was accordingly immediately appointed by the Lieutenant Governor, from whom also he promptly received the fullest instructions.

6. A Despatch has since been received from the Secretary of State, in which the deputation of an officer on an inquiry of precisely the same nature as that which has been entrusted to Mr. Dampier is urged. The tenor of this Despatch, and the general feeling which appears to prevail in England on the subject of the famine in Orissa, render necessary, however, a change in the constitution of the Commission of Inquiry.

7. It is evident, as is indeed natural, that the accounts which have reached England from this country respecting the distress occasioned by the famine, have produced in England an intense and painful anxiety amongst the large class of benevolent persons interested in the people of India.

8. A feeling of uncertainty as to the actual facts, appears simultaneously to have taken possession of the public mind, whilst statements have been freely and publicly made, attributing to officials in India a want of attention to the requirements of the occasion.

9. It is right, therefore, not less in justice to the officials concerned than for the satisfaction of the public, that steps should be speedily taken to remove such uncertainty, and to verify or correct such statements in as thorough a manner as practicable.

10. On

10. On a full consideration of the subject the Governor General in Council is satisfied that the objects which such an inquiry has in view will best be attained by a commission composed of three officers.

11. His Excellency in Council considers that the officer already selected to conduct the inquiry in question may, with advantage, be retained as one of the Commission.

12. The Commission will be composed as follows:—

President.—The Honourable Mr. Justice Campbell.

Members.—{Colonel Morton, Royal Engineers.
{Mr. H. L. Dampier, Civil Service.

13. Briefly, the duty of the Commission will be to inquire carefully, and to report clearly its opinion on the following points:—

(1.) What were the causes which led to the scarcity and famine.

(2.) Whether timely and sufficient measures were taken to meet the evil and to relieve the distressed, and if not, whether valid reasons exist to account for the absence of such measures; and

(3.) In what way, if any, action may be taken by the Government to prevent the recurrence of a similar visitation, or to mitigate its effects, should it recur.

14. The instructions already issued to Mr. Dampier, as contained in the communication from the Government of Bengal, No. 2866, dated the 5th November, appear to the Governor General in Council to be very full and suitable, and of a character such as may generally guide the Commission in its investigations, though they should not be held to confine the Commission literally to the limits laid down.

15. There are districts under the Local Government which have suffered from scarcity, but which have been excluded from inquiry under the instructions issued by Sir Cecil Beadon to Mr. Dampier.

16. As regards these (the Behar districts) the Lieutenant Governor has deputed a separate officer to make inquiry.

17. The distress in Behar has not, the Governor General in Council believes, approached in severity or extent that which prevailed in Orissa and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

18. The circumstances, too, of Behar, differ entirely from those of Orissa, whilst the field of inquiry indicated in the Lieutenant Governor's instructions to Mr. Dampier is already sufficiently extensive.

19. It appears to his Excellency in Council, therefore, that a separate officer may unobjectionably make inquiry into the scarcity at Behar.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 1005); dated 4 December 1866.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, the accompanying copy of a resolution of the Government of India, appointing a Commission to inquire into the circumstances of the famine which has prevailed in Orissa and other parts of the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal, and to state that instructions have been this day issued to the members of the Commission, requesting that they will proceed to the immediate prosecution of the inquiry.

A copy of the letter addressed to Mr. Campbell is enclosed, and I am to request that the Lieutenant Governor will be good enough to direct that any records which the Commission may wish to refer to shall be placed at their disposal, and that he will instruct all local officers to give the Commission every information and assistance in their power.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 1006); dated 4 December 1866.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor, a copy of the Despatch from the Secretary of State to which reference is made in the 6th paragraph of the Resolution sent to you with my letter, No. 1005, of this date.

The Governor General in Council does not desire that this Despatch should, at present, be made public, for it is obvious that it can only be fully replied to by the report of the Commission which has been appointed; but if the Lieutenant Governor should wish to offer at once an explanation on any of the points commented on by Lord Cranborne which do not fall within the scope of the inquiry ordered in the 14th paragraph of the Despatch, I am desired to say that the Governor General in Council will be glad to forward any communication he may receive from the Lieutenant Governor to the Secretary of State.

(Home Department.—No. 1007.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Honourable *George Campbell*; dated Fort William, 4 December 1866.

Sir,

I AM desired to forward to you the accompanying Resolution of the Governor General in Council, and to request that you will place yourself in communication with Colonel Morton and Mr. Dampier, and arrange for the immediate prosecution of the inquiry indicated by the Resolution; and his Excellency in Council trusts that the inquiry will be conducted as speedily and brought to as early a conclusion as may be consistent with the work being thoroughly done.

2. I am desired to enclose herewith a copy of the instructions which are referred to in the Resolution as having been already given by the Lieutenant Governor to Mr. Dampier, and also a copy of the Secretary of State's Despatch, adverted to in the 6th paragraph of the Resolution. This Despatch, I am to inform you, the Governor General in Council does not intend at present to make public.

3. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal will be requested to place to your disposal any records to which you may desire to refer, and to instruct local officers to give you the fullest information and assistance in their power.

4. You are authorised to charge in contingent bills the expenditure that may be necessary for the efficient conduct of the inquiry, and for the record of your proceedings.

I have, &c.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *H. L. Dampier*, Esq. (No. 1009), and to Colonel *Morton*, R. E. (No. 1010); dated 4 December 1866.

I AM directed to forward, for your information and guidance, the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to Mr. George Campbell, together with the Resolution of Government enclosed therein.

(Public.—No. 4.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, London,
25 January 1867.

Sir,

Para. 1. I HAVE had under my consideration in Council your Despatch dated the 6th ultimo (No. 89) communicating the proceedings of your Government in consequence of my Despatch of the 9th October (No. 85) 1866, on the subject of the recent famine in Orissa and in parts of the Province of Bengal.

2. Under the circumstances stated in your Excellency's Minute of 20th November last, I approve the composition of the Commission appointed by your Government, in pursuance of the suggestion contained in the Despatch above referred to, for the purpose of investigating the circumstances connected with the recent famine, and of offering suggestions for the prevention of such calamities in future.

3. The instructions drawn up for the guidance of Mr. Dampier, when it was proposed to intrust the duty of inquiry to that gentleman alone, might properly form the basis of the inquiries of the Commission; but it must be distinctly understood, as indicated by your Resolution of the 4th December, that the Commission is not to be confined to the points specified in those instructions, but that it is essentially necessary that the inquiry should be of the broadest possible character, such as will enable Her Majesty's Government to form a distinct opinion on all points connected with the famine (which, I trust, is now passing away), as well as on the measures likely to prevent a return of such visitations.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 16 November (No. 80) of 1866.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Documents :—

19th NARRATIVE of Bengal Government.

IN the Narrative of the 18th ultimo it was mentioned that the November instalments of revenue in Orissa would be suspended for three months; the Board of Revenue have since reported that effect has been given to this measure in the Districts of Cuttack, Pooree, and Balasore. It was also stated that orders had issued for the supply of Pooree with seed grain, but this measure has been found unnecessary, as the Collector had obtained a supply from the Collector of Ganjam.

2. The Board have brought to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor two articles which have appeared in the London newspapers, the "Times" and the "Pall Mall Gazette." Those articles appear to have been written under the impression that certain orders had emanated from the Board of Revenue, which was not the case. Mr. Chapman, the Board's secretary, in his private capacity of member of a relief committee, intimated to the Calcutta newspapers that public subscriptions were no longer required. The Board had nothing to do with those measures. They, however, agreed with Mr. Chapman that, at that time, public subscriptions were not required. A copy of the Board's explanation* is annexed, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council.

* No. 4556 B., dated 18th October 1866.

3. The Lieutenant Governor has approved of the expenditure by the Collector of Pooree of (3,500) three thousand five hundred rupees on the road from Ballighur to Madhub *viâ* Gope, with a view of affording labour to the distressed population in that locality.

4. A further sum of 2,500 rupees has been placed at the Commissioner of Patna's disposal, for expenditure on useful works in Shahabad, in aid of the labouring poor.

(signed) *J. Geoghegan*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
5 November 1866.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 4556 B); dated 18 October 1866.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Board of Revenue to submit their remarks on one or two passages in articles contained in some of the English papers, on the "Indian Famine," received by a late mail, which seem to require official contradiction. These are quoted in the margin.

"Times."

"The Board of Revenue said there was 'no necessity' for help, when, as we are told, the deaths known to have occurred were 2,500 a week."

"Pall Mall Gazette."

"The Board of Revenue in Calcutta declining so long to import rice, and warning the public against subscribing."

2. These remarks are, the Board believe, founded on a letter addressed to the "Englishman," in May last, by Mr. Chapman, in his private capacity. His honour is well aware that the Board had nothing to do with this letter, which was so misconstrued by the local press at the time, and which may well, therefore, have misled the English press. The letter was addressed to the public by Mr. Chapman, as the trustee of certain private subscriptions, which, on learning that 6¼ lakhs of the old North Western Famine Fund were available for the Orissa emergency, Mr. Chapman at once advertised his wish to stop. The letter was worded somewhat unguardedly; but on learning that it was looked on as an official announcement, Mr. Chapman did his utmost, to the knowledge of the Board, to undeceive the editors of the several newspapers, and to explain the unofficial capacity in which he had written to them. Such being the case, the Board thought it unnecessary to take any action in the matter.

3. At the same time it does not seem necessary to inform his Honor how entirely the Board agreed with Mr. Chapman that, with such a large fund at the immediate command of Government for meeting the pressure in Orissa, there was no occasion for attempting to raise further subscriptions from the general public.

DESPATCH of the Government of India, dated 1 December (No 81) of 1866.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Documents :—

NARRATIVE, No. 20, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The local reports for the week ending the 22nd September contain little more than the number of people relieved and the rate of mortality. In the latter there is a very marked decrease, though the daily average of 88 throughout the district is still high. In a telegram received this morning the Commissioner states that the crops are considered safe, though

though another fall of rain would increase the yield; and he adds that distress is decreasing and the condition of the paupers improving. The price of rice last reported is at the rate 7 to 7¾ seers per rupee.

Cuttack.—The relief returns date up to the 15th September. The Commissioner's final estimates of the requirements of this district and of the division, as regards supplies of grain, have been now received. Up to the end of November it will be necessary to continue the Government sales of rice at the market rate, and the sale by Relief Committees at low rates, gratuitous supply to those who cannot buy being kept up throughout until the end of this year. A careful calculation of the quantities of grain required for the above purposes, based on past results, shows that, for the whole province, the importations already made must be supplemented by shipments sufficient to bring up the whole supply from the commencement to 3,57,000 maunds. Out of this quantity there have been already landed at Pooree 44,000, at Cuttack 1,50,000, and at Balasore 62,000, leaving in round numbers a lakh of maunds to be still supplied. At Pooree the "Asia" will leave 20,000 maunds, and a similar quantity at Cuttack, where also the "Dundas Castle" will land 26,000 maunds. For Balasore the "Robert Henderson" is now starting from Rangoon, with a cargo of 24,000; and the "Thurso" follows with 16,000 maunds more. In addition to these shipments the Commissioner of Cuttack has been authorised to buy a portion of the cargo from the "Charles Maurean," now lying at False Point, if necessary, pending the arrival of the "Asia." From Calcutta the "Arracan" has taken 4,000 maunds for the Bhudruck subdivision. In the letter from the Commissioner above referred to it is further reported, "So far as I am at present informed the rice crops, though partially injured on low lands, which have been swept by the late inundations, promise well, and much of the inundated lands are susceptible of cultivation for a cold-weather crop, for which purpose seed grain and pulse arriving from Sumbulpore is being eagerly bought up. I trust the most severe pressure of famine has passed. Our relief operations are carried on systematically, and on a more extended scale, and will maintain the destitute population until the season for harvesting arrives, when they will be dispatched from relief centres to their villages, and I propose calling on the local zemindars to afford them assistance and employment."

Balasore.—From this district the Relief Committee, reporting on the 29th September, are able to state that a large number of those who have been receiving relief have now sufficiently recovered to be fit for work. Such persons are accordingly not relieved at the Dhurn Sala, but are employed either by the Public Works Department, or on the works which are under the supervision of the committee and local officers. The weather has become so much finer, and the market price of rice has fallen so low, that many paupers will be able to earn sufficient for their support. The last price reported of old rice is *Rs.* 3. 8. per maund, but new is selling at two rupees. The mortality is still very high, though the daily average of the week, 133, throughout the district, shows a decrease of 20 deaths daily since the last return.

Midnapore.—The state of this district has so much improved, that by the 1st October, with the exception of Dantoon and Kessiaree, all the charitable sale shops had been closed. The sale shops for labourers employed by the Public Works Department at Samlee and Khurruckpore are still open.

The returns for the week ending 29th September show that almost everywhere the number of those gratuitously fed is decreasing, and that prices are falling. Including even the independent depôt of Jambunee a decrease of 1,212 in the daily numbers fed throughout the district has occurred, as compared with last report.

The mortality, however, is still great, and at Dantoon, from the 3rd to the 16th September, there were 104 deaths in the hospital, established in a house which the Local Relief Committee had rented there.

Hooghly.—In the Jehanabad subdivision the local officers are still actively engaged in relieving the distress and in finding employment for the ablebodied. As each set of paupers arriving from Calcutta is received by the Deputy Collector in special charge of the relief measures, a detailed report of the manner in which he disposes of them is sent up and forwarded on to the Calcutta Committee. At Pundooah there has been some distress lately, which is, however, at present relieved by private charity; the Collector being prepared to extend assistance to the local committee, should it be found necessary to do so. A number of destitute people are reported to have collected in Serampore, and the Deputy Collector has been directed to convene a meeting, should he find that private charity is unequal to the occasion.

Patna.—From this district the Collector reports that, if the weather continues favourable to the crops, and the usual *Huthiya* rains fall, it may be possible to discontinue gratuitous relief in the Sudder station by the end of next month, as many of the people who have been receiving gratuitous relief are already leaving the city for their homes in the district.

Sarun.—In the week ending September 26th there was a considerable decrease in the number gratuitously relieved at the different stations, though the rain which had fallen in the north of the district still prevented road works being undertaken on the extensive scale proposed.

Shahabad.—The Jugdespore centre has been closed, and at the remaining depôts, with the exception of Peeroo, the returns show a decided decrease in the number of persons.

The

The mortality is generally decreasing. The prospects of the crops are good; the late heavy rains stopped just in time to save the greater part of the Serha crop. The Commissioner adds, that on the whole the distress may be said to have decreased considerably, and this will show itself in the gradual closing of centres of relief.

(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

NARRATIVE, No. 21, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Orissa.—No returns have been received from the relief committees at Cuttack or Pooree this week. From the telegrams sent by the Commissioner, it would appear that the famine has not yet abated along the coast of the Cuttack district, where Government rice must still be supplied, and its sales and distribution extended. Provision has already been made for continuing sales throughout November, and gratuitous distribution of food until the end of December. At Cuttack the bazaar prices remain at from 7½ to 9¼ seers per rupee; at Pooree about seven seers.

From Balasore the relief committee report, for the week ending 6th instant, that the general health is now improving with more favourable weather, the daily average of deaths throughout the district being 107. There is every hope of an abundant harvest this year; and as prices fall, and the weather becomes settled, the committee will do their utmost to provide employment for the large body of paupers now sustained by them, until the ripening of the harvest renders it possible for them to return generally to their homes.

Manbhoom.—From Manbhoom a report, also dated the 6th October 1866, has been received. At the Pooroolia depôt many of those who have now for some time been regularly fed, having become fit for work, have been sent from the depôt to the roads, where work is provided; the number fed being now reduced to 1,425 people, from whom work could not yet be expected. There were six deaths at the hospital, and four at the depôt during the week. There are now at the Orphanage 74 children, 42 of whom being able to work are employed in cleansing the circuit-house compound. Different members of the Committee had arranged to visit each of the depôts in the interior of the district during the holidays. The number of deaths reported at Joypore depôt is four; work is there given to those fit for it, on the Ranchee road, the Mohurrir having received strict orders to send able-bodied men from the depôt to the road. At the Jhaldah depôt road work is also provided for all able-bodied paupers. The number of deaths reported at the Manbhoom depôt during the week is 56; at Raepore, four; and Barrabhoom, 129, cholera having prevailed here to some extent. From Umbicanuggur, Dubra, Torany, Chass, and Illoogarzo, no reports of the mortality had reached the committee. At Heslah depôt the number of deaths reported was five. There was a larger proportion here of paupers not fit to work; but Mr. Macdougal, who visited the depôt, describes the arrangements for relief as being very good, and that all applicants get a full meal of well-cooked food, served out in an orderly manner, without confusion or noise. The mismanagement which prevailed at the opening of this depôt has been effectually checked by the committee as soon as they became aware of it. The total numbers relieved throughout the district are shown in the usual Appendix.

Detailed reports from the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore and the Collector of Midnapore have been forwarded for separate publication; and, owing probably to the intervening holidays, no reports of relief operations have been received from any other districts than Shahabad and Tirhoot. In the former the number seeking daily relief are greatly on the decrease as compared with the last week, and the return of mortality also shows a much smaller number of deaths. Prices are falling, and rice can now be procured in Sasseram at 14½ or 15 pucka seers for the rupee. In Tirhoot the returns from the different centres continue to show a decrease in the number of persons relieved, but the Collector expresses much anxiety for the safety of the crop in the north of the district. He has been desired to give further early information on this point; and the manager of the Durbhunga estates has been directed to show such indulgence towards the farmers of the property in that part of the district, in the event of any further failure of crop, as will enable them to keep their ryots from deserting their holdings as they did, to a great extent, last year.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces,

27 October 1866. (signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

DESPATCH of the Government of India, dated 5th December (No. 87), of 1866.

Forwards the following Document:—

NARRATIVE, No. 23, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue and the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other Parts of Bengal.

Poorce.—FROM Pooree the relief returns have been now received, at one time, for the three weeks ending 13th October, and it is gratifying to find that the heavy mortality which has so long prevailed through the district is now perceptibly abating. The deaths reported daily during each of these weeks were 87, 81, and 64 respectively, the last return showing a decrease of one-half the number reported in the week ending 15th September. The "Arracan" reached Pooree on the 1st instant, with a cargo of 3,189 bags. The bazaar price last reported was 7½ to 8¾ seers per rupee.

Cuttack.—From Cuttack returns have come in up to the 22nd September only; and the Commissioner explains that this is owing to the great delay at Kendraparah sub-division in submitting reports. It is in this sub-division that the distress is greatest, and when the remainder of the district has been freed from famine it will still, the local officers fear, be necessary to continue the relief operations over the low lying lands above the coast. The Collector had lately submitted a report to the chairman of the Calcutta committee, which has been now made over to this office, and will be separately published. The average mortality is there estimated to have been 1,000 a week, but the returns show a great decrease; the total number of deaths reported during the week being less than one-half of this, or 421, and giving a daily average of 60. The bazaar price of rice, reported on the 16th instant, was from 7¼ to 9¼ seers per rupee.

Balasore.—From the relief committees of this district, also, returns have been now received for the two weeks ending 20th October. It is stated that the numbers relieved at the town centres have considerably decreased, owing to the departure of many of the poor to the centres near their own villages, and the Collector hopes that, when rice becomes plentiful, the majority of those now fed will go home and receive from their zemindars what assistance they require. Much of the Beallee rice is reported to have been reaped and stored, and the market has improved very suddenly, the price falling from 11 to 16 seers for the rupee in many parts of the district, and at Bhudruck selling so low as 24 seers. During each week in November, the Collector anticipates a considerable decrease in the number requiring relief, and the committee will, doubtless, now find themselves justified in dismissing many who will be able to maintain themselves by independent labour. The Commissioner remarks that the fall of prices in the south of this district is attributed to the opening of stores of old rice. The news is very encouraging, both as a proof that such stores have not been exhausted and as evidence of the confidence with which the prospects of the in-coming crop are regarded. Indeed there seems to be great probability of the entire disappearance of famine in Balasore as soon as the crops shall be reaped. The health of the poor is generally improved, the daily mortality reported throughout the district having decreased from 133 in the week ending 29th September to 70 in the week ending 20th October.

Bancoorah.—The committee have reported that a further remittance of 2,000 rupees will enable them to carry on all the necessary operations until the distress has ceased. Regarding Bishenpore specially they report that the suggestions of Mr. Richards, the civil medical officer, for clearing jungle at Bishenpore and repairing the "moosafirkhanah," with the view of converting it into a hospital for the sick and houseless and accommodating foundlings, are now in progress. Arrangements have also been made for repairing roads and thoroughly cleaning the town, with the aid of the paupers who are willing and able to work. Upwards of 450 men, 200 women, and 100 boys are daily employed on this duty, and paid at the rate of 1 anna for men, ¾ anna for women, and ½ anna children, with one meal a day of rice and dahl.

Maunbhoom.—The details of the several relief depôts in this district have been received for the week ending 3rd November. The Commissioner has remarked on the returns for the preceding week:—"The Deputy Commissioner is requested to furnish a full report regarding the great mortality in the depôts during the past week, said to have been caused by change of weather. The mortality reported from Maunbhoom and Burrabhoom is also very lamentable. The Deputy Commissioner should lose no time in visiting Boorabhoom, not included in his recent tour of depôts, and doing all that is needed to render the relief operations more effective there. The operations of the relief committee, as distress ceases in other places, should be concentrated on those places where the population appear to be still suffering so much."

Purulia Depôt.—During the succeeding week 28 died at the depôt and hospital. In the Orphanage there were 19 fresh admissions and four deaths; two boys ran away, and the number remaining was 82. The committee report that distress in and about Purulia is rapidly on the decrease, as rice is reverting to its ordinary prices; the moodies are now selling in the bazaar at 20 seers per rupee, and rice can be got from the neighbouring villages at 25 seers per rupee. At Joypoore depôt the number of deaths reported is six.

At

At Jhaldah depôt, in consequence of the heavy rains which fell on the 24th and 25th, cholera had again broken out, and there were 10 deaths. From Heslah Begconkadur, Ilojargo, Raipoor, Manbazaar, Simlapal, Dhadka, Umbicanuggur, Soopoor, Hoora, and Doobra, the deaths were reported to have been 111 during the week, and from eight other depôts no reports have been received. The Assistant Commissioner of Govindpoor has reported the arrival of the 1,000 maunds of rice sent up from Calcutta by the Board for the depôt in that sub-division, but has not submitted any further report of the working of the depôt.

Sarun.—The report received from this district is here given in full, and may be considered very favourable:—

"I have the honour to inclose reports for the week ending October 3rd.

"You will observe that the number of persons gratuitously relieved has again considerably decreased, whereas the number of persons at work somewhat exceeds that shown in my report of last week.

"We have now arrived at that transition period when it is universally admitted that the system of gratuitous relief should be brought to a close as soon as possible. It will be the special duty of the committee to see that the abolition of the system is attended with as little inconvenience and hardship to the present recipients as possible; and to provide for each individual case in whatever manner may seem to them best.

"Accordingly, on the 7th instant, as an experiment to see whether gratuitous relief could be entirely stopped at Chupra, where nearly all the recipients were professional beggars, food for four days was given to each recipient, who was told to go to his home, and informed that there would be no general distribution of food in future; I am happy to say that the experiment promises to be successful, no one having yet come again to the well-known place of distribution. Of course, any really deserving case will still be provided for out of the remaining stores.

"Further distribution of gratuitous relief having been reported to be unnecessary at Digwara, that centre has been closed, and, to those who cannot get work elsewhere, work is offered in the Sonepore road.

"The arrangements for bringing the system to a close in the interior of the district have hitherto been left almost entirely to the discretion of the gentlemen in the sub-committees. I hope, during the vacation, to go round the district, and, after giving the matter my best attention, to report what measures have been taken at the different centres."

Tirhoot.—The Collector reports on the 31st October as follows:—

"I am happy to be able to report that there has been a very general and satisfactory fall of rain throughout the district.

"I expect to receive detailed information in a day or two from the north, but there is no doubt that the apprehensions expressed on all sides a fortnight ago are no longer felt.

"I propose to put a stop to all gratuitous relief gradually, as soon as possible."

Published for general information.

By Order, &c.

(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 5th December (No. 88), of 1866.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Document:—

From *T. Bruce Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Darjeeling (No. 4558 B.); dated 18 October 1866.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter (No. 2490 B.) of the 1st ultimo, I am directed to forward a letter,* and enclosures, received from the Commissioner of Cuttack, submitting, as far as possible, correct answers to the several questions contained in your letter (No. 1514 T.), dated the 15th August last.

* No. 820, dated 5th instant, and two enclosures in original.

2. The quantities of rice actually expended up to the 1st September have been now correctly given by Mr. McNeile, and he estimates (paragraph 16) that throughout Orissa Government and relief sales must be maintained at the highest point up to the end of November, and gratuitous relief until the end of December next. The following abstract will, therefore, show how far the importations, already provided for, will suffice.

3. In Cuttack, up to the 1st September, 44,000 maunds had been expended, in round numbers. During September, October, and November, the requirements at the September full rate of 48,000 maunds would amount to 1,44,000 maunds. For December, the September rate of gratuitous supply, or 12,000 maunds, would suffice; the total requirements of Cuttack, from the commencement, being thus 2,00,000 maunds.

4. The

4. The arrivals at Cuttack have been—

	Maunds.
From Calcutta:	
By "Court Hey"	6,000
„ "J. Forrestier"	14,532
„ "C. Maurean"	17,000
„ "Gustave"	20,000
From Burmah:	
By "Bushire"	15,000
„ "Gibbs"	5,252
„ "Asia"	40,230
„ "Sparkler"	22,000
„ "Coringa"	10,000
TOTAL arrived	1,50,014

For the balance of 50,000 maunds the "Asia" is now under dispatch with 28,000 maunds for False Point, the "Dundas Castle" has been chartered at Rangoon for False Point with 26,000 maunds, and the "Pie IX." at Chittagong is loading with 22,000 maunds on private account, of which the Board have already secured 8,000 maunds. Besides all these, the "Maurean" is now at False Point with 16,000 maunds also on private account, and the Board have authorised the Commissioner of Cuttack, if he finds it necessary, to purchase sufficient to meet his requirements, pending the arrival of any of the above-named vessels which may be expected at False Point between the 24th October and 10th November.

5. In Pooree, up to the 1st September, 16,000 maunds had been expended, and adding to this for a full three months' expenditure 36,000 maunds, and for December 4,500 maunds, the total quantity required will be 56,500 maunds. Out of this there have already been received—

	Maunds.
By the "Gibbs"	24,748
„ "Arracan" (first trip)	5,200
„ "America"	14,800
TOTAL	44,748

To supply the balance of, say, 11,800 maunds, the "Asia" will discharge 12,000 maunds at Pooree, after her visit to False Point.

6. In Balasore, up to the 1st September, 21,000 maunds were expended, and according to the estimate for September consumption, to be continued in October and November also, 49,500 maunds must be added. For December's gratuitous supply 10,000 maunds, and for the additional wants of the Bhudruck sub-division, which have much increased since Mr. McNeile's first estimate was framed, 20,000 maunds will, in the Board's opinion, complete the total stock required throughout the district; the aggregate quantity for Balasore being thus calculated at 1,00,500 maunds. The quantity already received at Balasore and Bhudruck has been—

	Maunds.
From Calcutta	30,059
From Madras:	
By "Tubal Cain"	12,000
„ "Arracan" (second trip)	4,000
„ "Royal Bride"	16,400
TOTAL	62,459

7. The Board had provided for the transport of 22,500 bags, or 45,000 maunds, by the "Coringa," "Oriental," and "America," for Bhudruck sub-division specially; but by a mistake of the commander of the first vessel 10,000 maunds of this quantity have been landed at False Point, and Messrs. Gisborne & Co. have just reported that the commanders of the two other ships refuse to go to the mouth of the Dhamrah River. That firm has, therefore, chartered the "Robert Henderson" and the "Thurso" specially for the Dhamrah and Balasore, with cargoes of 24,000 and 16,000 maunds, respectively; so that the wants of the district of Balasore have been amply provided for. As, however, by the change in the arrangements of Gisborne & Co. some delay will ensue in the arrival of the Burmah rice at Bhudruck, a sloop with a cargo of 1,200 bags on private account, and the "Arracan" with 2,000 bags, have been secured to keep the sub-division in supply until the larger ships arrive.

8. In addition to the above stock, 1,500 maunds from the "Tubal Cain" and 8,600 maunds from the "Feroze" have been supplied to Midnapore, at an average cost of 4 rupees per maund, thus saving the Collector a further expenditure of about 2 rupees a maund, which he had been paying in excess for rice forwarded to his order from Calcutta.

9. On

9. On consideration of the above accounts, it appears to the Board that no further importations of rice will be called for beyond those now ordered. A final account has not yet been received from Messrs. Gisborne and Company, through whom the Burmah shipments have been made; but it is not necessary to await the account before adjusting the relations of the Famine Fund and Importation Fund. The accounts now received from Mr. McNeile are up to the 1st September only, but the Board have ascertained by telegraph the total quantity of rice expended in Orissa, according to the accounts last made up, as well as the total receipts credited to the Fund. From Balasore they have received a further message, giving the exact sum at debit of the Relief Committee. On the above information, the balance of the Famine Relief Fund, after reserving about 11,000 rupees to meet estimated cheques from Midnapore, has been divided as follows:

	Rs.
To Cuttack - - - - - - - -	1,24,000
„ Balasore - - - - - - - -	1,26,000
„ Pooree - - - - - - - -	50,000
Total - - -	3,00,000

10. Transfer receipts for the above sums will now be sent to the collector of each district, with instructions to adjust the accounts of the Relief Committees with the Importation Fund as far as those remittances will enable him to do so. Each collector will be at the same time directed to submit, through the Commissioner, a careful estimate of the funds required by the Relief Committees of his district for the continued purchase of the imported grain. These estimates, when received, can be passed on to the Calcutta Relief Committee, on whom it will be necessary to call for the sums required.

11. Mr. McNeile in his present estimate, paragraph 17, calculates that a loss of 6,80,000 rupees will result to Government on the operations of the Importation Fund, or, deducting from this sum the balance transferred from the Famine Fund, of three lakhs, a total loss of 3,80,000. The Board estimate the total loss, in round numbers, at not less than four lakhs.

12. The return of the original papers, when done with, is requested.

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 7 December, No. 90, of 1866.

Forwards the following Document:

NARRATIVE, No. 24, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Pooree.—The returns of the Relief Committee have been received for the fortnight ending 27th October, but contain little more than statements of the numbers relieved. The health of the general body of paupers has greatly improved, the daily rate of mortality reported being only 25 and 26 in each week. The bazaar price of rice on the 10th instant was from $\frac{7}{8}$ths to $\frac{23}{16}$ths seers per rupee.

Cuttack.—The report for the week ending 28th September shows that the daily average of mortality had then fallen to 69, but the Committee have been urged to complete their returns up to the end of October without further delay, so as to show the present relief operations in the district. In the Sudder station an additional shed for the paupers at night had been erected. The native orphanage was doing well, the children being employed on cleaning cotton, but three deaths occurred during the week. The Government monthly grant of two rupees for each orphan having been found by the Committee to be insufficient for the support of the Mission and Native Orphanages, it was arranged that sufficient money should be provided, in addition, from the relief funds. The bazaar price on the 12th instant had fallen to 10½ for old rice, and between 11½ and 13 for new.

3. To meet all possible demands for grain in this district, under the continuance of distress along the coast, the "Tynemouth" has been chartered to take 32,000 maunds to False Point in addition to all former shipments, and, pending the arrival of the "Asia" and "Dundas Castle," 8,000 bags have been sent from Calcutta, and the "Thurso" despatched from Dhamrah back to False Point with 16,000 maunds.

Balasore.—During the week ending the 27th October the mortality had fallen to a daily average of 49. There was also a decreased consumption of rice made over for gratuitous distribution, fairly attributable to decrease of general distress. The heavy rain and floods during the week threatened to damage the crops, but it has since been ascertained that very little loss was sustained. Prices of new rice rose temporarily in consequence, but have since then again fallen considerably, and on the 12th instant were reported at between 16 and 18 seers per rupee generally through the district. Relief sales have almost entirely ceased.

With a view to ascertain whether zemindars would generally undertake to assist their ryots in obtaining employment, all persons in charge of relief centres were requested to make a classification of the paupers under their charge. The letters thus addressed to them have been translated into Oorya, and circulated among the zemindars of this district.

Midnapore.—The Relief Committee reported on the 6th instant, that the price of rice now ranged from 9 seers at Gopeebullubpore, and 11 at Dantoon, to 13½ at other places in the north, and 16 at Kessiaree; and that in Midnapore itself it was selling from 11 to 14 seers. Increased rations of 10 chittacks for men and eight for women were ordered to those about to be discharged, to fit them for independent labour. The local committees of Kessiaree and Dantoon, where the distress had been greatest hitherto, have proposed to close operations by the end of this month, and from Contai it was reported that rice was selling at nine and 10 seers to the rupee there, and that distress was decreasing in that subdivision. It was therefore resolved to take measures to close relief operations in the district, and arrangements have been made to close the depôts at once, giving each adult cloth and pice to the amount, on the average, of not more than eight annas, and a quantity of rice not being more than enough to support him, at six chittacks a day up to the 30th November, children receiving half the same quantity. The local committees at the large depôts were requested to carry out the same system if deemed prudent. Steps were taken to break up in the same way the labour compound at Midnapore immediately, there being very few men there, and the women and children belonging for the most part to the families of artisans and labourers for whom it is unnecessary to provide labour on public works. The different infirmaries and hospitals at Midnapore and Dantoon will be maintained till further orders, and the managers have been requested to report on their present state and the advisability of discharging the patients.

Notice has been generally given in the district that the distribution of charity by the local committees from funds collected and paid out by Government agency will cease on the 30th November, and that the poor will after that date depend on the liberality of their neighbours as before.

24-*Pergunnahs.*—The collector has submitted a report which is separately published below, from which it appears that the distress, though still great, may be expected gradually to decrease, and to cease when the new crop is reaped. From Diamond Harbour the deputy magistrate has specially reported on the high tides of the 24th and 25th ultimo. He states that the water rapidly subsided as soon as the ebb set in.

In three or four weeks he expected that all the crops would be reaped, and no further help needed; but a further rise in the river which might damage these crops is feared during the next spring tides. The inundation did no injury either to the ryots or cattle, but the rice crop has suffered from the salt water.

Gya.—The collector has reported as follows on the 3rd instant:

"The number of persons relieved during the period under report amounted, according to the returns at present received, to 156, the relief being distributed as follows:

Futtehpoor - - - - - -	78
Sherghotty - - - - - -	10
Aurungabad - - - - - -	68
Total - - -	156

"It will be noted that in addition to the closing of the Sudder station centre as previously intimated, relief operations had also ceased to be conducted at Konch, and I have now to add that they have been similarly discontinued at Futtehpoor since the 24th ultimo. From Nowadah no further returns have been received.

"The expenditure on account of the fund during the period under report is shown in the accompanying memorandum, which also exhibits a balance of *Rs.* 349. 1. 8.

"Mr. Costley has now reported the closing of the Sherghotty centre of relief on the 19th ultimo. The 10 persons shown as still remaining are under medical treatment.

"Mr. Merington writes, that affairs have materially improved during the last fortnight, and that he is now taking gradual measures for closing the relief operations at Aurungabad.

"The timely fall of the anxiously expected rain has removed the apprehensions previously entertained with regard to the dhan on the high lands, and the prospects of the crops are now understood to be all that could be desired."

From Nowadah the deputy collector has reported that he proposes gradually to send the remaining paupers to their homes, giving each of them a supply of one, two, or three days' allowance, according to the distance to be travelled.

The rice crop is, he states, as good as it can possibly be during the most favourable season, while the crop of the rohur is the best he ever saw. He also observed that the ryots were busy sowing the rubbee crop, which they expect to be as good as the rice and rohur crop.

Patna.—The collector reports on the 2nd instant as follows:

"The number of the paupers applying for relief in the Sudder subdivision appears to be steadily decreasing. The daily average fed during the first week of the month was 2,918, while during the last three weeks up to 28th October it appears to have sunk to 1,438. One of the relief centres in the town, that at Goolzarbaugh, has in consequence been discontinued.

"The daily average of those employed on public works was 1,621 for the week ending October 11th, and 1,509 for the 10 days following, viz., up to October 21st, the latest date to which I have received reports. The Government grant of 7,000 rupees will enable us to carry on the works during the current week only, after which we must have recourse to the Ferry Funds.

"The last report received from Behar was for the week ending the 11th October. The daily average employed on works was 312, and about 300 were receiving rations. Rice is now selling there at 13 seers.

"No rain fell during the early part of the month, and some fear was beginning to be felt for the safety of the rice crop, but on the 23rd and following days we had abundance of rain, and I hear that the rice crop is coming on well in all directions.

"No report has been received from Barh, but I have written to inquire as to the state of things there, and the deputy magistrate's report shall be sent you as soon as it arrives."

Maunbhoom.—The Deputy Commissioner has visited the following depôts:

"Manbazaar, Soopore, Bhelaideeha, Simlapal, Raipore, Phoolkoosmah, Samsoonderpore, Umbica Nuggur, and Jhaldah, and gave the following account of each.

"*Manbazaar.*—481 were fed at this depôt the day I was at Manbazaar. This was after the able-bodied had been rejected. The working of this depôt is good, and its management everything that can be desired. The moonsiff who constantly visits it takes great interest in the work. There were very many deaths from starvation in this pergunnah, and also very many from cholera; most, however, from the latter cause. Deaths from starvation in and near Manbazaar itself, I am assured, decreased considerably with the opening of the depôt.

"There are some four annas all round of the rice lands in this pergunnah not cultivated from want of seed, but the remainder bears, for the most part, a plentiful crop, and when it is cut distress should cease.

"This depôt should be kept open till the middle of December; the numbers who go to it will decrease daily as those who get strong are sent on to the roads."

"*Soopore or Khatra Depôt.*—I saw 517 fed at this depôt, each getting a fair meal. Of the whole number assembled, I could only reject 10 as fit for work. All the rest were a starving, miserable-looking set, about the necessity of feeding whom there could be no doubt.

"There were some 400 women and children to 100 men.

"This depôt, like the Manbazaar one, should be kept open till the middle of December, and allowed to close itself gradually. There can be no doubt that it has saved many from death. The number of deaths in this pergunnah has not been over-estimated; 200 are said to have died in Khatra itself, which is not a large bazaar, and the appearance of the Bawree and Bhoomij Tollas, where many of the houses were deserted, bears this out.

"From four annas to six annas of the cultivated lands in this pergunnah are said to lie fallow; from what I saw myself I should say only four annas lie fallow, and the rest will yield a splendid crop.

"Bhelaideeha is a small pergunnah, and the distress in it has been very great. In Khas Bhelaideeha, a village of some 80 houses, I was given the names of 66 people who had died of starvation and cholera.

"The pergunnah is a rich one, and the promise of crops this year is something splendid. Very little land lies waste, and there has been a good Aoos crop. The zemindar takes an interest in his ryots, and has himself advanced to them seed dhan.

"I saw 712 fed at the depôt, of whom I could only turn out 12 children. Those fed were all people with starvation stamped on their faces. The food was good, and plenty of it was given; all the arrangements were good, and the zemindar takes much interest in the depôt.

"This depôt should be kept open till December. By that time those now fed will be able to work, and there will be plenty of employment in the fields. There is but little mortality at present in this pergunnah, and the depôt has undoubtedly had a very good effect."

"*Simlapal.*—The Silye has to be crossed five times between this and the Bhelaideeha depôt. The zemindar calculates the deaths in this pergunnah, from cholera and starvation, at 600, and from the inquiries I made in several villages this is no over-estimate. About four annas of the lands lie fallow this year for want of seed, but the remaining 12 annas bear a magnificent crop. The Aoos crop was not very good. The zemindar has done much to assist his ryots in advancing seed dhan, &c. He has also given employment to many on four bunds he has been making in different parts of his zemindary.

"The daily average fed is 500, and I saw 500 poor starving creatures fed. The zemindar takes much interest in the depôt, and said he hoped it would not be closed till the harvest. It should be kept open till December.

"The daily average fed at this depôt is 300, and these were a really starving-looking set; the arrangements were orderly and good; the food well cooked, and plenty of it given to each.

"The Doob Raj, on part of the Ranee, takes much interest in the depôt, as is evident from his having it situated within easy distance of his own residence, instead of near to the Raipore Bazaar.

"This depôt will have to be kept open till the middle of December, and there is almost sufficient Government grain in store for this purpose.

"A little over five annas of the lands in this pergunnah lie fallow through want of seed, but the remainder bear a magnificent crop.

"I saw 705 fed, many applicants having been rejected as able-bodied."

"*Shamsoonderpore.*—Another of the new depôts. The zemindar takes great interest in his estate, and but little land lies fallow, as he has advanced seed to his ryots, and the crops promise a magnificent yield. I am assured that the opening of this depôt greatly alleviated distress which at the time was severely felt. The Aoos crop here was good, and as this zemindaree is now in a state to provide for its own poor, and the number fed at the depôt is small, I closed it. This depôt is so near to Phoolkoosmah that those who really cannot obtain food here can easily go there for it."

"*Umbica Nuggur.*—The distress in this pergunnah has been very great, and from the inquiries I made in the villages it is clear that the mortality was not over estimated. The zemindar has done nothing for the people or for his own ryots, and seems utterly apathetic. Notwithstanding my repeated orders as to the erection of a new shed at the depôt, I find it not yet put up, the zemindar's excuse that he could not get material being simply false.

"I saw 240 fed, all of whom got a good meal of well-cooked food; the Mohurir has managed the depôt well, and everything was orderly.

"Last year 10 annas of the crop were lost in this pergunnah. This year only about four annas of the land lie fallow, and the remaining 12 annas bear a crop which should make up for this want of cultivation, as it will in most places be more than a 16-annas crop."

"*Jhaldah.*—I saw 425 collected to be fed, of whom I could only reject 25. The remainder got a good meal of well-cooked food, and the arrangements were orderly and satisfactory. Rice new sells at 14 to 16 seers the rupee in the bazaar, and distress is rapidly on the decrease.

"The result of my visits to these depôts is, that I am perfectly satisfied with their working, and am of opinion that they cannot be closed till December; one or two will close about the commencement, some at the end of that month. The good they are doing is great, and without them many would doubtless still die of want of food. Work is everywhere provided for those able for it, and the applicants at the depôts are daily inspected, and the able-bodied rejected."

The Deputy Commissioner, in a letter dated the 30th ultimo, states that rain having fallen in abundance, no further apprehension is entertained as to the safety of the crops; prices have in consequence reverted to their former rate, and new rice has fallen to 16, 17, and 18 seers for the rupee. A further sum of 10,000 rupees has been obtained from the Calcutta committee for this district.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

Fort William, 17 November 1866.

(Public, No. 5.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 31 January 1867.

Para. 1. I have considered in Council your Despatches noted on the margin,* forwarding narratives of the proceedings in the several districts visited by famine in Bengal, and am very glad to perceive a gradual diminution of the distress of the inhabitants after the late rainfall, and consequent reduction in the prices of provisions.

* No. 30, dated 16 November 1866.
No. 31, dated 1 December „
No. 87, dated 5 „ „
No. 88, dated 5 „ „
No. 90, dated 7 „ „

2. There is no subject in the Despatches calling for any other observation than an acknowledgment of their having been received by me, and the expression of a hope that care will be taken not to close the sources of relief in the distressed districts too suddenly.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Cranborne.*

DESPATCH of the Government of India, dated 20th December, No. 92 of 1866.

Forwards, among other papers, the following documents :—

NARRATIVE, No. 25, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Cuttack.—The relief returns for the three weeks ending 20th October have been received, the daily average of mortality in each week being given at 87, 60, and 67 respectively. The Committee had given a further grant of 1,000 rupees to the Mission Orphanage, which now numbers nearly 300 children, three-fourths of whom are girls. As it was found that any number of coolies can now be employed in the works of the Irrigation Company and Department of Public Works, arrangements have been made to weed the light labour gangs of all those persons able to support themselves elsewhere. The Committee had also determined to close the Kafeelah Unno Chuttro on the 20th, the occupants, numbering about 100, being removed to the Lal Bagh and Buxee Bazaar Unno Chuttro. The Jobra Unno Chuttro had been also closed. The bazaar has now become much more favourable, rice selling on the 20th instant, at 13 to 14½ seers per rupee. The "Thurso" reached False Point on the 15th, and in addition to the cargoes specified in the last narrative, the "T. A. Gibb" has been chartered to take 30,000 maunds from Chittagong, and the "America" to take 20,000 maunds from a port to be hereafter determined. The "Asia" left Rangoon on the 21st, and the "Dundas Castle" had finished loading at Bassin on the 19th instant.

Balasore.—From the return submitted by the Committee for the week ending 3rd November, there appears to have been a decrease of 1,400 in the average number applying for relief, and the daily mortality had also fallen to 44. Small-pox had, however, broken out at Santipore, to which place two vaccinators were at once despatched. Many of the poor in that neighbourhood are now working on the Santipore-road, which will give them employment for some time. The Commissioner has reported an advance of 3,000 rupees made by his order to the ryots of the Government estate Noanund, in Bhudruck subdivision, for purchase of seed-grain for the Kartick sowings. He has also since been informed that many people have left the relief centres and returned to their homes, and that the price of food having fallen considerably, there is every prospect of relief operations in Balasore being speedily contracted. The last telegrams report that the harvest of the new crops is going on very favourably, and that the general price of rice through the district is from 14 to 20 seers per rupee.

Midnapore.—The returns from this district up to the 10th November show a total mortality throughout the district of 219 and 200 in the weeks ending 3rd and 10th instants, or a daily average of 31 and 29. As noticed in the last Narrative, operations will close at the end of the present month. The cheaper sort of rice is now selling at 22 seers per rupee.

Howrah.—The Ooloobariah Relief Committee reports on the 14th instant, as follows:—"During the past week we have been rapidly despatching the paupers to their homes. They have all gone willingly and thankfully, and when we first commenced to despatch those to the nearest stations, the others were clamorous to be sent away also. Each and every one, to the smallest child, has been provided with a cloth, and all adults with rice and dall and sufficient funds, according to the distance they have to go. Not a single pauper is now to be seen in or about Ooloobariah, and only 23 persons are in the hospital." The Commissioner has been requested to thank the committee and their chairman, Mr. Thoms, for the unceasing exertions shown by them in conducting the Ooloobariah relief measures.

From Hooghly and Maunbhoom reports have been received which are published at length below.

Bancoorah.—The last returns from this district show that the relief operations were gradually closing, the applicants at Bishenpore having fallen from 2,000 to 250, and the Raneegunge relief being confined now to the maintenance of the temporary hospital. A similar hospital was also still kept up at Keshiakole, small-pox having appeared there.

Gya.—The collector reports on the 15th instant, that the applicants for relief had decreased to 150 throughout the district. The price of rice had fallen considerably, and the prospects of the coming crops were reported from all quarters to be excellent.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces,

Fort William, 24 November 1866. (signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

20TH NARRATIVE OF BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

THE Lieutenant Governor has, during this week, received the 10th Report of the Bengal and Orissa Famine Relief Committee. In prosecution of the measures for transferring to the committee the future management of relief operations in the distressed districts, a member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. Schalch, was instructed to place himself in direct communication with the committee. Mr. Schalch accordingly attended their first meeting after

after the holidays, and explained to them the Lieutenant Governor's views in regard to the joint operations of the Board of Revenue and Relief Committee. The committee had, however, in anticipation of the action of Government, issued a telegram to the collectors of the districts of Cuttack, Midnapore, Pooree, Balasore and Bancoorah, to send in their future reports to the committee. This measure was disapproved by the Lieutenant Governor as tending to create confusion. His Honour was of opinion that the channel of communication with the local authorities should be through the Board of Revenue, who would continue to exercise over the local authorities the same control as hitherto, in matters connected with relief operations, looking to the committee for their co-operation, and for funds to meet the wants of the Mofussil districts. The aspect of affairs intermediately changed. The Secretary of State for India having directed the unrestricted advance of the public money to meet the wants of the distressed districts, the Lieutenant Governor found it wholly inexpedient to relinquish the direct control over the Government funds to be so appropriated. It was proposed to the Committee that the Board of Revenue, to be represented by Mr. Schalch, should receive from the local authorities all reports, and communicate them to the committee, and should dispose of them in communication with Mr. Hogg, the chairman of the committee. The committee concurred in the views of the Lieutenant Governor, but declined the proposed amalgamation with the Board of Revenue, and have determined to maintain their present position, continuing to manage the relief operations in Calcutta and the towns and villages in its vicinity, making over all surplus funds not required for such operations to the Board of Revenue, on the conditions; and in accordance with the arrangements, now in force.

By order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

A. Eden,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 5 December 1866.

NARRATIVE, No. 26, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Cuttack.—No returns have been received from the committee. The telegrams of the week report the discharge of nearly all the cargo of "Thurso," and the unloading of the "Rohomoniah," which two vessels took down 24,000 maunds. The visit paid by the Commissioner to Kendrapara, and the country along the coast, has confirmed him in his opinion that, owing to failure of crops, the distress, which is still great, must be relieved for some time longer, and a special further report has been called for regarding the necessary measures to be here adopted. In other parts of the district, rice is now selling at 13 seers of old, and 16 seers of new, for the rupee. The relief committee has ordered from Calcutta a supply of 200 rupees worth of medicines, which Messrs. Scott, Thomson, and Co. have most liberally provided free of charge.

Pooree.—The collector has submitted a report, dated the 16th November, showing a marked change in the circumstances of his district. The bealee crop is generally coming into the market at 12 or 13 Cuttack seers to the rupee, equal to about 16 Calcutta seers; and these favourable prices are expected to last. The sub-assistant surgeon, who had visited Khoredah dispensary, had described the state of the villages through which he passed as "greatly improved." It has been found unnecessary to continue Government sales at many of the relief depôts. Generally the health of the people has improved, and new cases of diarrhœa and dysentery are fewer, though those previously attacked do not seem to recover quickly, and many of them sink. There is still small-pox in the town and district, though less prevalent than before, and unless extended by the influx of pilgrims, may be hoped to speedily disappear. For the week ending 3rd November, the daily average rate of mortality was 32; and for the week ending 10th November, 22; showing a great decrease. The relief committee have now determined to consider some plan for the consolidation of centres, and their restriction to places where supervision can be more effectually exercised, and work more effectually exacted, as far as is consistent with relieving those who are in want of relief, but the Commissioner has been requested to see that their operations are conducted so that any one still requiring aid may find it at once. From the latest telegrams, it appears that the "Asia" reached Pooree on the 26th November, and was fast discharging the cargo of 20,000 maunds, which it has been estimated will enable the committee to afford all further relief until distress is at an end.

Balasore.—The returns for the week ending 10th November show the satisfactory result of a marked increase in the numbers able to work. There has also been a great decrease in those applying for relief, attributed to the departure of many of the women and children to their own homes, where the men have now reaped the crops, and can support their own families. Great numbers left their homes in the Gurjhats, and came to the town of Balasore for relief. These people arrived in a very emaciated condition, and the major portion were so reduced that they did not long survive. There are about 300 of them in Balasore now, and as they wish to return to their homes, they will be forwarded under the care of two officers of police to persons appointed by the rajas to receive them on the borders of their ghurs. They will be supplied with five seers of rice each; the Nilgiri people with four annas each besides, and those from Mohurbhunj with one rupee each in cash. The return

return of deaths does not show a great reduction this week, owing to the great increase in the death rate at Jellasore. Small-pox has broken out virulently in the neighbourhood of Jellasore. Vaccinators were despatched without delay, and fresh lymph was telegraphed for from Calcutta. The daily average of deaths reported during the week was 42. The prices of rice on the 29th November were from 22 to 32 seers in different parts of the district.

Maunbhoom.—Mr. Dacosta had been specially deputed to visit some of the depôts, from which inaccurate returns had apparently been submitted. At Pooncha he found that the Mohurir being unexpectedly visited, attempted to collect people to represent the number supposed to have been receiving food daily; but when all were collected, there were only 140 who were really fit for relief on the 11th November, instead of the 315 reported to have been fed on the 7th and previous days. At Doobra depôt there are now only 112 applicants, of whom 55 are children, all said to be orphans, and 57 are professional beggars. Mr. Dacosta reports the appearance of the crop here as very fine, and the condition of the people good. The committee have accordingly determined to close this depôt immediately; the orphan children who are not claimed will be brought into Puruliah to the orphanage, and as Mr. Dacosta reports all those he saw to be well enough to travel, carts will be supplied for the carriage of all the kangalies who wish to come into the Puruliah depôt under the escort of the Mohurir and peons, by whom they will be fed and taken care of on the road. The Mohurir will be directed to provide clothing for them immediately. At Hislah Mr. Dacosta found 165 paupers, of whom he only considered 50 to be really deserving of relief, viz., 15 men, 25 women, and 10 children, the others being able-bodied. The 50 who should receive relief were all fit to travel, and the committee determined to close this depôt also at once. The crops about Hislah are stated to be very bad, only yielding about 10 annas in the rupee. The committee had arranged to give five yards of cloth to each woman, four yards to each man, and blankets for the old and infirm amongst the paupers. In the neighbourhood of Puruliah distress continues to abate rapidly, and the returns from the other 14 depôts show a great decrease in the numbers applying for relief. The committee hope, as the crops are coming in rather earlier than usual, to be able to close some of the depôts sooner than they expected.

Gya.—The last report, dated 14th November, states that new rice is selling in places at 16 or 17 seers the rupee. The prospects of the rice crop everywhere are most satisfactory; the rain which fell towards the end of October having saved the crop on the higher lying grounds as well as the coming rubbee crop. Consequent on the improved state of affairs, the relief operations at Aurungabad have stopped, and the few paupers remaining have each received food enough to take them to their villages, and when needed, a piece of cloth. The funds remaining in hand have been kept for the relief of such as may hereafter require it.

Shahabad.—The relief returns show that the distress is daily lessening. The collector reports that from what he had seen in parts of the district himself, and has heard from others, the dhan crop promises to be more abundant than it has been for years. The early dhan has been cut, and the latter crop is rapidly ripening; prospects generally are good.

Two reports received from Sarun and the 24-Pergunnahs are published below at length.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue, L. P.,

(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

Fort William, 1 December 1866.

Despatch of the Government of India, dated 4th January (No. 1) 1867.

Forwards, among other papers, the following documents:—

21st Narrative of Bengal Government.

On a report received from the Board of Revenue, the Lieutenant Governor has requested that there may not, on any account, be a failure in the supply of imported rice for Cuttack, so long as it may be necessary to supply grain to any portion of that division, and the proceedings of the Board in ordering an additional 20,000 bags of rice from Rangoon for this purpose, were approved.

2. A sum of 200 rupees has been advanced to the ryots of the Government estate in the district of Pooree for the purchase of seed-grain.

3. The Lieutenant Governor has had the satisfaction of learning during this week that relief operations had ceased in Hooghly, and in Baucoorah they are being gradually brought to a close.

4. 4,834 rupees have been sanctioned for the repairs of roads in the Burdwan division, as a means of assistance to the working poor.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 13 December 1866.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 5410 B.), dated 8th December 1866.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter, No. 5311 B., dated the 4th instant, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to forward herewith, for submission to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, a copy of their Narrative, No. 27, of Proceedings for the Relief of the Distress arising from the present scarcity of food.

Narrative, No. 27, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue and the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the scarcity of food in Orissa, and in other parts of Bengal.

Cuttack.—Returns have been received for the week ending 27th October. The Committee had found it necessary to weed out from those employed on light labour numbers who were found to be capable of earning their food without difficulty. All who are able to work can find ready employment now in the Irrigation Company's works, but the dislike to engage in independent labour was so universal that the Committee, with the Commissioner's sanction, reduced light labour rations to nine chittacks to induce the able-bodied to take proper work. The temporary orphanages at Juggernathbullub and Cazee bazaar had been closed, the buildings being unhealthy and otherwise unsuitable, and the entire body of orphans, more than 500 in number, have been placed under the charge of Messrs. Brooks and Buckley. The "Asia" and "Dundas Castle" arrived together on the 29th November, and all the coast centres where relief is most now wanted were supplied with rice. The Government steamer "Teesta" is found of great use in towing boats some miles inland. The price of coarse rice, as reported on the 5th instant, was nearly 19 seers per rupee at the river side at Cuttack. The daily rate of mortality, during the week under report, was 81 throughout the district.

Pooree.—From the relief returns for the week ending 17th November, it appears that there is an evident general improvement, and a decrease in the number of applicants for relief. The Committee have in consequence, with the sanction of the Commissioner, arranged to distribute liberal rations much in excess of the scale ordinarily sufficient for relief, and the departure of the entire body of paupers in good health to active employment may be in a few weeks looked for. During the fortnight ending with the above date, the daily rate of mortality reported throughout the district has been 25 only. From the late telegrams it appears that the "Asia" had landed 10,000 bags by the 27th; and the Commissioner having reported that a further quantity of 6,000 bags would suffice for the entire wants of the district, a vessel is now under despatch from Calcutta with 10,000 bags to meet all contingencies. At the end of November rice was selling in Pooree from $11\frac{3}{4}$ to $15\frac{3}{4}$ seers per rupee.

Balasore.—The returns for the week ending 17th November show in this district also an improvement in the general health, and especially at Santipore and Jellasore, where small-pox had existed. At each centre throughout the district a considerable reduction in the numbers fed, as being physically incapable of labour, is reported. The daily average of mortality during the week was 41. In compliance with a telegram from Bhuddruck, 10,000 blankets had been shipped for Dhamra, and will leave to-day in the "Agitator." The prices of rice, as reported on the 6th, showed an average of 28 seers per rupee throughout the district.

Shahabad.—The Relief Committee, in submitting their report on the 28th November, ask for an additional grant of 1,000 rupees, which will, they state, be sufficient to meet the requirements of the district; and this sum has been accordingly despatched to them.

No returns have been received from other districts than those below mentioned.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue, L. P.,

T. B. Lane, Secretary.

Fort William, 8 December 1866.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 4 of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, Fort William, 7 January 1867.

We have the honour to transmit for your information a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, regarding the effects of the famine, and the present position and prospects of the country and crops in each district of the Orissa province.

From Bengal, No. 3202, dated 5th December 1866, and enclosures.
To ditto, No. 1788, dated 31st December 1866.
To the Honourable G. Campbell, No. 1790, dated 31st December 1866.

2. You will observe that we have authorised the Lieutenant Governor to make the remission of revenue recommended by him.

We

We have also assured his Honor that whatever recommendations he may find it necessary to submit, with the view of affording adequate relief to the people, wherever needed during the present year, shall receive the prompt acquiescence of the Government of India.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 3202.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department).

Sir, Fort William, 5 December 1866.

I AM directed to submit, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of a letter, No. 5002 B., dated the 20th ultimo, and of its enclosure, from the secretary to the Board of Revenue, reporting on the effects of the famine and on the present position and prospects of the country and crops in each district of the Orissa Provinces, and also a copy of my reply, No. 3201, of this date.

2. I am desired to solicit the authority of the Government of India, to remit the entire kist now due in all temporarily settled estates, and to make such remissions in the Peshkash Mehals as inquiry may show to be necessary.

3. The Lieutenant Governor considers that it would be premature to remark fully on the past, until the report of the Commission of Inquiry has been received. There can now be no doubt that earlier steps should have been taken by the Government to import rice largely into the province. Whether the state of things, as reported up to the middle of May, was such as to justify the Government in omitting sooner to adopt this exceptional policy, is a question on which his Honor proposes hereafter to offer his remarks. All that need here be said is, that the state of the provinces occupied the Lieutenant Governor's careful attention from a very early date after the failure of the usual rains in September 1865; that provision was then made for the employment of the people on works of public utility to the extent of 50,000*l.* from imperial funds, beyond the outlay sanctioned in the Budget, and to a further considerable extent from local funds; that weekly and daily returns of the price of food prevailing in each district were published, with a view to attract traders to the local markets; that local relief committees were organised for the relief of the poor, and that when it became apparent that local and other private subscriptions were insufficient, the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Relief Fund, amounting to upwards of 60,000*l.*, was applied to the purpose.

4. From the time that the magnitude of the calamity was seen, every possible endeavour has been made to throw large supplies of rice into the province, to convey them to the very centres of relief, and to maintain a stock sufficient for the use of those who could afford to purchase it, at something less than the excessive rate prevailing in the market, and gratuitous relief both in grain and money has been afforded to the utmost extent to which the efforts of the local officers of Government, aided by the relief committees, have enabled them to reach the distressed. At no time from the commencement of scarcity, has the assistance afforded to the people been limited by anything but the ability of the local officers and relief committees to reach the sufferers, and the means of transport in the province. Food and money have been freely distributed to all who could be brought to the centres of relief, work has been provided for all who were able and willing to work, the requisition of the relief committees for money have in all instances, without exception, been promptly complied with, and, measured by the possibility of reaching the distressed, the funds at the disposal of Government for charitable relief have been practically unlimited.

5. But though the local administration was strengthened by the appointment of a special officer to assist the Commissioner in organising relief measures, and by the appointment of several additional English officers to each district; though authority was given to the Commissioner to employ whatever local agency he might require; though ample and unlimited funds were available; notwithstanding the most devoted and unceasing endeavours of all the local officers of every grade and department in the province, and of the members of the relief committees, to grapple with the difficulties of this crisis, it is lamentable indeed to find that the assistance afforded to the people in these districts both by the Government and by the public, great as it has undoubtedly been, has been insufficient to prevent the frightful amount of starvation, sickness, and death which this report discloses. Allowing fully, for the imperfection of the data on which the Commissioner's estimates are based, there appears to be no ground for doubting the fact that one-fifth of the population of the province of

Cuttack have perished in this great calamity, and that while in some parts the mortality is less, in others it has been much more excessive.

6. It may be that many have emigrated from their villages, but it is to be feared that few of those have survived, or that any great deduction from the apparent loss of life can be made on this account.

7. It will be observed that by far the greatest loss both of life and property has occurred in the districts bordering on the sea coast, and was caused chiefly by the flood of August supervening on the lamentable effect of the previous drought and scarcity. This could only have been prevented, and its recurrence can only be provided against, by an entire reconstruction of the present faulty system of embankments throughout the province, and it is hoped that the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the subject, will enable the Government to take effectual measures for the protection of the country from future inundation. Even if the Government of India had agreed to the plan submitted by the Irrigation Company in 1863, very little progress could have been made in the work, and nothing material could have been done to prevent what has actually happened in 1865.

8. In reflecting on the wide-spread devastation and misery with which Orissa has been visited, we may happily dwell with thankfulness and hope on its immediate and future prospects. Already the abundant crop of winter rice, now ripening for the sickle, has had the effect of bringing hoarded stores into the market, and cheapening food to a degree which would hardly have been expected; and the approaching harvest will provide ample means of employment, and place the whole population throughout four-fifths of the province far beyond the reach of want. The Irrigation Company's canals will, in the course of another season, ensure the safety of the crops over many thousand acres from the effects of drought, and before long provide internal water communication, available at all seasons, for the transport of grain from Bengal in seasons of scarcity. The mortality, frightful as it has been, has fallen chiefly on the aged and weak, and on the non-agricultural classes, and except along the coast, it is not apprehended that there will be any diminution in the breadth of land under cultivation, or that the food-producing power of the population has been impaired. The Lieutenant Governor has been informed by Colonel Rundall, that though the supply of labour available for the canal works has much diminished, the lands throughout the upper part of the Delta are fully cultivated, and that it is only on the coast line, when the winter crop was entirely destroyed by the inundation, that the productive resources of the province are seriously impaired. For the support of the people in these parts, food and employment will be provided by the Government, as long as such assistance is required, and the utmost efforts of the local officers are, and will continue to be, given to the alleviation of the still prevailing distress.

9. Although there can be no doubt that the effects of the drought of 1865 were not foreseen by the local officers, until it was too late to afford such extent of relief as might otherwise have been possible, the exertions of Mr. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, and all the officers of the province in every department, as well as of the gentlemen who acted on the relief committees, and of many others, to relieve and mitigate the distress have been unremitting, and such as to entitle them to the warmest thanks of the Government and of the public. In like manner the Board of Revenue, through whose agency the supplies of rice from abroad have been provided, have undoubtedly applied the resources, and carried out the instructions of the Government with the utmost zeal and devotion, and considering the enormous difficulties to be surmounted in obtaining and importing large quantities of food by sea after the monsoon had set in, with a great measure of success.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Revenue.—No. 3201.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L.P.

Sir, Fort William, 5 December 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your communications noted on the margin, and to request that the Board of Revenue will be so good as to report what amount of revenue is involved in the proposed remissions in temporarily-settled estates, and whether such remissions should not be made conditional, not only on the zemindars allowing a corresponding remission of rent to their under tenants and ryots, but on the exemption of the ryots from all demands on account of the second kist, either by the zemindars or their under tenants. The Board should also report whether, and by what means, this condition, if imposed, can be legally and practically enforced, especially in regard to the demands of the intermediate holders on the ryots.

Letter No. 5002 B., dated 20th November 1866, submitting a report from the Commissioner of Cuttack on the present position and prospects of the country and crops in each district of Orissa.

Memorandum, No. 2633 A., dated 29th November 1866, submitting correspondence with the Commissioner of Cuttack regarding the remission of kists in the districts which have suffered from famine.

3. The

2. The Board should, after the proposed inquiry has been completed, make a special report on the condition of the Peshkush Mehals, and the measures necessary in respect to them.

3. The measures reported in paragraph 13 of the Board's letter (No. 5002B.), and in Memorandum (No. 2633A.) above mentioned, are entirely approved by the Lieutenant Governor, and I am to request that effectual steps may be taken to supply the people, within the tract described, both with food and seed grain, as long as the distress continues, and such assistance is required. Whatever expenditure is required for the employment of the people on the road to Kendrapara, and its extension to Aul, has been sanctioned. His Honor understands that the Irrigation Company's works on the Kendrapara Canal will also afford work and wages to a considerable number of the labouring population in that quarter.

4. The subject of embankments will be considered in the Public Works Department.

5. I am directed to enclose, for the information of the Board and communication to the Commissioner, a copy of a letter* addressed this day to the Government of India.

* No. 3202, dated 5 December 1866.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Home Department.—No. 1788.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 31st December 1866.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3202, dated the 5th instant, and its enclosures, regarding the effects of the famine, and the present position and prospects of the country and crops in each district of the Orissa Province.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council authorises the Lieutenant Governor to make the remission of revenue recommended in the 2nd paragraph of your letter. His Excellency in Council is glad to perceive, from your letter to the Board of Revenue, that the Lieutenant Governor desires that this remission should be conditional on the exemption of the ryots from all demands on account of the second kist, either by the zemindars or their under tenants; and he trusts that means will be found to ensure the fullest effect being given to this intention. The Governor General in Council is aware that measures for affording adequate relief, wherever needed during the ensuing year, are already under consideration by the Lieutenant Governor, and his Honor may be assured that whatever recommendations he may find it necessary to submit for this purpose, will receive the prompt acquiescence of the Government of India.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. C. Bayley*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 5, of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 8th January 1867.

My Lord,

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 89, dated the 6th ultimo, we transmit for your information, a copy of a Minute recorded by the Lieutenant Governor, and dated the 5th instant, describing the action of the Government of Bengal, in connection with the recent famine in Orissa and other parts of the Bengal Presidency.

2. We postpone any remarks which we may have to make on the subject of the Minute until we receive the report of the Commission we have recently appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the famine.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

Minute by the Lieutenant Governor.

The Secretary of State's Despatch, dated the 9th October last, commenting on my proceedings, and those of the officers of this Government, in connection with the late famine in these provinces, especially in Orissa, has been sent to the Board of Revenue and the local officers for any remark they may have to offer. In the meanwhile it seems necessary that, in accordance with the invitation of the Government of India, I should furnish, in anticipation of such remarks, and of the reports of the Commissioners who have been appointed to inquire into the whole subject, a separate and immediate explanation. I beg that this paper may be regarded only as a personal justification of my own proceedings, and a defence of my conduct against some of the principal charges brought against me by the press both here and in England, and that it may not be supposed either that I desire to take credit for more than having endeavoured throughout this painful emergency to do all that it was proper and necessary for a Government to do, or that I wish to shift upon others one iota of the responsibility which rests in a special and peculiar degree on myself. I shall confine my present observations generally to the period embraced in the documents before the Secretary of State when the Despatch was written, trusting that I shall have an opportunity of offering further explanations, if any should seem to be necessary, when the reports of the Commissioners are delivered.

2. The periodical rains of 1865 suddenly ceased on the 15th September. The crops were then very fine, and as it was expected that rain would fall in October, no particular anxiety was felt till after the middle of that month, when the crops had begun to suffer for want of rain, and, as there were no signs of it, the price of food, already higher than usual, began to rise further.

3. The first indication I received of the approach of scarcity in Orissa was in a telegram from the Commissioner of Cuttack, dated the 21st* October. In this it was reported that, owing to the bad prospect of the rice crops, the bazar had opened in the morning at eight (Cuttack) seers for the rupee, and that since noon the shops had all closed, and no rice was procurable. The next day the Commissioner again reported by telegraph † that the closing of the bazar was owing to a combination of the dealers; that the shops and bazar were open; that the price had again fallen to 12 (Cuttack) seers for the rupee; and that all was quiet. Upon this the Commissioner was desired, on the 23rd October, ‡ to submit a full report on the scarcity prevailing in Cuttack. The Commissioner reported the same circumstances by letter on the 22nd October,§ adding that in consequence of the failure of rain the crop would be short, but that it was expected that one-half would be gathered, and that the object of the dealers was to make things worse than they really were.

* Rev. Pro., Dec. 1865, No. 49.

† Ditto, No. 50.

‡ Ditto, No. 48.

§ Ditto, No. 53.

4. Before this the Commissioner of the Patna division had, on the 12th October, ‖ reported the existence of serious distress in Tirhoot, owing to the high price of food; but it was stated that the crops almost all over the district were good; that a plentiful harvest, especially of rice, was expected, and that prices would probably fall. On this the Commissioners of Patna and Bhaugulpore were, on the 17th October,¶ desired to report generally on the present state and prospects of the crops in all the districts of those divisions, as well as on the price of food and the condition of the poor. A similar report was called for, on the 21st,** from the Commissioner of the Nuddea Division, in consequence of an article which appeared in a native newspaper.

‖ Ditto, No. 45.

¶ Ditto, No. 46.

** Ditto, No. 47.

5. On the 31st October †† I addressed the Board of Revenue, calling for a special report on the present state of the crops and markets, and the prospects of the country throughout the Lower Provinces, and desiring them to suggest any measures by which the Government might aid with advantage in mitigating the effects of the scarcity. I had been made aware by demi-official communications that the subject had already occupied the attention of the Board, and that they were in possession of regular and late information from all parts of the country; but I felt, and so I informed the Board, that the time had come when it was necessary "that this information should be made the basis of a comprehensive consideration of the question, and of a general report upon which it can be safely determined whether any, and what, measures of relief are called for and are practicable."

†† Ditto, No. 54.

practicable." The Board were at the same time desired to obtain daily by telegraph, wherever possible, a price current of the principal articles of food at the chief stations and towns in each district, and to publish it as received in the daily newspapers.

6. On the 27th October * the Commissioner of Cuttack again reported. Since the 22nd prices had again risen, and on the 26th the shops were again closed, though small quantities of rice had been sold at from eight to six (Cuttack) seers the rupee. There was great difficulty in procuring rice in the town of Cuttack. The trade in rice from Pooree to Ganjam (in the Madras Presidency) had ceased. Both at Pooree and Ganjam the same difficulty had arisen, and the shops had been closed. At Balasore, too, though the shops had not been closed, prices were very high. As to the crops, the Commissioner stated that on the low lands there would be an average crop, but that on the high lands, except where irrigation was available, the crop was a total failure. There were large stocks in the hands of dealers, *probably enough to supply the market for a couple of years;* but there was a general fear of failure, and the dealers had combined to close their shops, and force up the price of food. Grain, it was said, was much cheaper at a distance of 12 miles from Cuttack than in the city itself, but prices were everywhere rising. "There is, without doubt," said the Commissioner, "plenty of grain in the country, and I am confident that sooner or later it will find its way into the market." Mr. Ravenshaw then mentioned the steps he had taken to restore confidence and preserve order, and these were approved.† * Rev. Pro., Dec. 1865, No. 55.

† Ditto, No. 56.

7. In the early part of November reports ‡ were received from the Commissioners of the Nuddea, Patna, Rajshahye, and Bhaugulpore divisions, showing that although scarcity prevailed more or less in many places, there was no appearance of famine. The Commissioner of Patna said, "Though there is universally great scarcity, and the poorer classes are suffering severely, nothing like famine has as yet set in, or is immediately imminent; and, under these circumstances, I am of opinion that it would be premature on the part of Government at present to undertake any measures, such as public works, for the relief of the poor." The Commissioner of Nuddea was of opinion that "there is no case for exceptional measures of relief." The Commissioner of Bhaugulpore reported on the state of his division in great detail, but recommended that no special remedial measures should be taken beyond hastening the construction of the chord line of the East Indian Railway from Raneegunge to Luckeeserai; all that could then be done was to provide work for the very poor, and to establish relief committees at the stations and large towns. Prices had doubled, but this was in a great measure owing to the export of grain by the railway. ‡ Ditto, Nos. 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78.

8. On the 6th November the Commissioner of the Cuttack division reported§ that at Cuttack, though prices had not fallen, supplies were procurable with much greater facility; that at Pooree rice was not procurable in the bazar, but that private holders were selling at favourable rates; and that at Balasore the price had risen to *Rs.* 2. 8. to *Rs.* 3. 8. a maund, owing chiefly to large exports by sea (*a*). Though great anxiety was felt by all classes, all the districts were perfectly § Ditto, No. 60.

(*a*) NOTE.—The exports of rice and paddy from the Cuttack ports had been as follows:—

		Rice.	Paddy.
		Maunds.	*Maunds.*
During 1864-65	Balasore	6,30,422	1,76,154
" "	Cuttack	72,128	377
" "	Pooree	58,824	—
	TOTAL *Mds.*	7,61,374	1,76,531
During the first six months of 1865-66, up to the end of October 1865	Balasore	20,312	28,453
	Cuttack	21,962	—
	Pooree	—	—
	TOTAL *Mds.*	42,274	28,453

Even in November and December no less than 17,697 maunds of rice, and 2,909 maunds of paddy were exported from Balasore.

perfectly quiet, and the Commissioner hoped that prices would soon be more reasonable. Even at Cuttack rice was then selling at nine (Cuttack) seers, and at Balasore at 12 (Cuttack) seers the rupee. Again, on the 14th November,* the Commissioner, on reporting on the local distress on the banks of the Chilka Lake, observed that the necessity for supporting the starving poor from the public revenues had not even there arisen, and that from other parts of the divison the reports were more favourable; that there was a very general opinion that the crops would yield fully one-half; that there might be distress, but not starvation, and that with the expenditure of the Irrigation Company, and the cash receipts on grain exported from Balasore and Cuttack, there would be ample means in the country of purchasing food. On the 20th November† the agricultural exhibition, which was to have been held at Cuttack, was postponed to the next year, and on the 25th the Hooghly exhibition was also postponed.

* Rev. Pro., Dec. 1865, No. 108.

† Ditto, Nos. 63–66.

9. On the 25th November‡ the Board submitted their report, to which, and to the action of Government thereupon, I desire to draw special attention. The Board on a review of the information they had obtained from all the divisions, expressed an opinion that though the stock of grain in the country was probably not very large, the crop then on the ground, which they supposed would not in any division be less than half an average crop, and in some divisions not much below the average, would suffice to provide food for the actual necessities of the people, and that, though there would be much suffering, especially among the non-agricultural classes, there would be no actual famine. They observed that the rise in prices had been general throughout Bengal; that supplies were being sent from the eastern districts, where it was comparatively plentiful, into those which needed them; the grain was everywhere in movement, and that the law of demand and supply was in full and active operation.

‡ Ditto, No. 83.

10. The Board had arranged for the early and regular publication of the retail prices current in each district, and they deprecated any action on the part of the Government which would interfere with the operation of natural laws. They held that "all that the Government can really do, certainly all that it is necessary for it to do at present, is to encourage and assist in the employment of the labouring classes, especially in those districts where the distress is greatest." They thought that the Irrigation Company's works would suffice to meet the wants of Midnapore, and the Cuttack districts, and that in Behar, the Patna and Gya road, and the Chord line of the East Indian Railway, would afford employment to all requiring it. Further than this, the Board recommended that the Government should set an example by acting liberally towards the tenantry of all estates belonging to the State, or under its management, but they considered that even if famine should supervene, the chief reliance must be on the efforts of private charity. The schedule attached to the Board's report showed that, except in Tirhoot and Darjeeling, the price of common rice was nowhere higher than 10 seers the rupee.

11. The Board was accordingly told, on the 11th December,§ that in all estates, either belonging to or under the management of Government, the collectors might spend money in relieving the helpless poor, and in providing employment for the able-bodied who wanted it. Every endeavour was to be made to induce landholders, and other wealthy residents to adopt the like course, and the collectors were to form relief committees in every district where distress prevailed. I agreed with the Board in thinking that the chief dependence must be placed on the exercise of private liberality. These proceedings were reported at the time to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.

§ Ditto, No. 84.

12. Before this, on the 3rd November, I had received a communication from a Calcutta firm (Messrs. Gisborne & Co.), proposing that the Government should at once import rice largely from the rice ports of British Burmah to Canning and the ports of Orissa, and offering to undertake the business on account of the Government gratuitously. I referred this letter to the Board of Revenue, and the Board, in their Secretary's letter, No. 342, dated 9th November, stated very fully their reasons for recommending that the Government should decline Messrs. Gisborne & Co.'s proposal. On the best consideration I could give to this most vital and important question, it appeared to me that if the Government were once to begin to undertake the supply of rice for the consumption of the people of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, or even of any part of those provinces,

provinces, it must be prepared to supersede the operations of private trade altogether, since no merchant would engage in a business in which he would have to compete with the Government; that it was impossible for the Government to foresee or judge what quantity of food it might be necessary to import; that in taking the trade out of the hands of private merchants we should run an imminent risk of failure; and lastly, that the magnitude of the danger was not nearly so great as to warrant the Government in attempting such a violent interference with the free course of trade. While, therefore, I cordially acknowledged the benevolence and public spirit which led Messrs. Gisborne & Co. to make their offer, I felt myself precluded from accepting it, and the Government of India, to whom these proceedings were immediately reported, approved* of my reply.

* From Home Department, No. 4339, dated 20th November 1865.

13. In a paper by Mr. J. Strachey on the famine in the North-Western Provinces, which was specially brought to my notice about this time, any attempt by the Government to import grain on its own account in time of scarcity is deprecated as almost certain to be mischievous, and a passage is quoted from Mr. Mill's writings to the effect that direct measures at the cost of the State, to procure food from a distance, are expedient only when, from peculiar reasons, the thing is not likely to be done by private speculators. There was then, and for some months afterwards, no reason to suppose that any such peculiar reasons existed, or that private speculators would fail to supply the market. On the contrary, the very fact that a Calcutta firm had offered to undertake the business on account of the Government, strengthened the supposition that other merchants would certainly undertake it on their own account.

14. It is now certain that, so far as regards the districts of Western Bengal and Behar (including Midnapore and Maunbhoom), in which very severe distress has prevailed during the past year, no advantage would have been gained by accepting the proposal of Messrs. Gisborne & Co., or by importing rice from abroad in any other way on account of the Government. At no time has there been a want of sufficient food in the country for the support of the population, and though a failure of the local supply obliged the Government on one occasion to send a despatch of rice to Maunbhoom, it was readily obtained in Calcutta. It is true that this small quantity of rice might have been purchased more cheaply in November than it was in July, but if the Government had gone into the market in November, and had stored large quantities of grain at Canning, or elsewhere in Bengal, the effect of such a proceeding on the general internal trade of the country might have been extremely injurious, while, beyond the saving of a few thousand rupees, it could have done no good whatever. In Bengal and Behar it was not food that was wanting, but money to buy it.

15. But as regards the Orissa districts (Cuttack, Balasore, and Pooree), it must be admitted now, that it would have been right for the Government to import a large stock of rice in November on public account, and store it in the province, so that it might have been available for sale and distribution when the pressure arrived. I am free to confess that in deciding not to recommend the adoption of this measure, I relied too much, both on the resources of the province itself and on the ability of private enterprise to supply a possible deficiency from other quarters, and that I believed that in Orissa (as in Bengal and Behar) the question was one of money rather than of food. Whether the decision at which the Government arrived involved any culpable want of foresight, it is not for me to judge. I will only say that my error, if it was an error, was shared not only by every member and officer of the local government, but by the Government of India, the public, and the press(*a*). Looking at the question as it presented itself at the time, and apart from the light which subsequent events have cast upon it, I could not have conscientiously come to any other conclusion. I am not prepared to say that the local officers were wrong in supposing that the stock of rice in the province was sufficient, if it had been available, for the support of the population; but it certainly was not foreseen that the stock of rice, such as it was,

(*a*) NOTE.—I may perhaps be permitted to say that his Excellency the Viceroy consulted me personally as to the proposal to import rice into Bengal and Orissa, both at the time at which it was made and afterwards when I returned from Cuttack in February. His Excellency was strongly inclined to act upon the proposal, but yielded to my opinion and that of others that it was not expedient or necessary.

was, would be in many places as inaccessible to purchasers, who had no stock of their own, as if it had not existed, and that private enterprise would altogether fail to supply the want either from the neighbouring districts or from abroad.

16. I may add that, to have adequately met the difficulty even in Orissa the Government, if it had embarked in the rice trade, must have done so on a scale of which even Messrs. Gisborne & Co. formed no conception. The utmost limit of their proposal was to import from Burmah about 10,000 tons for the use of all Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, indeed it was understood that this was the outside quantity which Burmah could supply; but for the three districts of Orissa alone, to feed the large numbers who have depended on the Government for subsistence since June, or who have unhappily perished by starvation, an importation of not less than 50,000 tons, involving an outlay of half a million sterling, would have been needed. And if the Government had undertaken to import rice into Orissa at that time, and had failed to make adequate provision for feeding the whole population and preserving them from starvation, it might have been said, not without reason, and certainly without possibility of disproof, that it had aggravated the calamity by interfering with private trade.

17. Judging, then, as I have said, that in Orissa, as well as in Bengal and Behar, the question was one of money rather than of food, I applied to the Government of India, on the 2nd December, for an allotment of five lakhs of rupees for public works, in addition to the Imperial grant for the year, and to the local funds available for the purpose, basing the application on the fact of the distress prevailing throughout the country in consequence of the failure of the crops, and on the obligation resting upon the Government to aid and alleviate it. To relieve the distress reported to prevail on the banks of the Chilka, the price of the Government salt at Pooree was reduced,* and the merchants at Chittagong were encouraged to export it in return for cargoes of grain; a sum of 5,000 rupees was allowed † for employing labour in the vicinity of Malood, and on the 19th December ‡ an immediate outlay of 25,000 rupees was sanctioned with a view to give employment to the labouring poor on the Pooree and Cuttack road. At the same time a like expenditure of 44,000 rupees on the Cuttack and Ganjam road was authorised, and the superintending engineer was directed to proceed to the spot and organise proper arrangements in free communication with the Commissioner. This was also reported at the time to the Government of India.

* Rev. Pro., Dec. 1865, No. 110.

† Ditto, No. 121.

‡ Ditto, No. 141.

18. On the 20th January,§ in consequence of a report that distress was beginning to prevail in the Patna Division, the Commissioner of Patna was asked whether any special measures were necessary to provide employment for the labouring population in any of his districts. But the Commissioner replied on the 28th February, after consulting the several collectors, that no such measures were called for.

§ Public Works Department. To Commissioner, No. 240, dated 20th January. From Commissioner, No. 50, dated 28th February.

19. On the 24th January the Board reported ‖ that the market price of food in the Pooree district was not sufficiently high to tempt exporters from the opposite coast; but the Commissioner having represented on the 23rd idem that cholera was very prevalent in Pooree, and that it was attributable to the scarcity, measures¶ were taken to discourage the resort of pilgrims to the temple of Jugernath while the scarcity lasted.

‖ Rev. Pro., Feb. 1866, No. 32.

¶ Rev. Pro., No. 9 and Nos. 61–63.

20. On the 3rd February, the superintending engineer of the Cuttack Circle reported** the measures he had taken in communication with the Commissioner consequent on my instructions of the 6th January (referred to above in paragraph 17). I beg particular attention to Mr. Crommelin's letter†† and its enclosures (which I subjoin), because it appears to me that no one can read these papers without acknowledging that so far as the distress of the people of Orissa could be relieved by employment on public works everything was done which the local officers thought necessary or even possible, and that they were well aware, even at that early period of the year, that if more extended operations were required for the purpose the necessary funds would be forthcoming. It will be seen from paragraph 4 of the superintending engineer's letter to the Commissioner, No. 1635, dated 3rd February, that the Irrigation Company had then "drawn the greater number of sufferers from their homes round the Chilka," and were "willing and most anxious to employ a far larger number."

** P. W. D. Pro., October 1636, Nos. 6–7.

†† No. 1836, dated 3rd February 1866.

From

From *A. G. Crommelin*, Esq., Officiating Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Circle, to the Officiating Chief Engineer, Bengal (No. 1636); dated 3rd February 1866.

Sir,

In continuation of my No. Z 117, dated 6th January 1866, I have now to report that I have, as directed in paragraph 6 of your No. 6062, dated 19th December, personally proceeded to both the Pooree and Ganjam Roads, and have, as directed in paragraph 10 of the same letter, personally consulted with the Commissioner on the steps necessary to be taken by this department.

2. The result of such consultation has been the issuing of the instructions contained in the copies of letters, marginally noted,* to the address of the Executive Engineers of the Pooree and Cuttack Divisions. The reasons for such conclusions and orders are more fully explained in copy of my No. 1635, dated 3rd current, to the address of the Commissioner (copy annexed). These three letters render it unnecessary for me to here add any further explanation.

* Nos. 1633 and 1634, dated 3rd February 1866.

3. I need only say that, as far as can at present be seen, the sums of 44,000 rupees and 25,000 rupees will be probably sufficient for many months' expenditure; possibly as much even as will be required.

4. The Commissioner does not consider it necessary to open out any further works; but should greater distress render this necessary, a further communication will be addressed to you containing proposals for other works.

5. Not anticipating at present the employment of very large bodies of men, no very special instructions concerning their management has been deemed necessary, but every precaution will be of course taken to ensure proper sanitary arrangements.

6. I do not at present consider I could spend advantageously a larger sum of money on the Cuttack Trunk Road, as suggested in paragraph 2 of your No. 6178, dated 30th December 1865; nor do I consider it necessary, as there is no great want along the road, and the irrigation companies at Midnapore are willing to employ far more men than they at present have on the work.

7. Should I hereafter consider any further expenditure necessary, after consulting the civil authorities, I will duly report the same.

8. I trust the arrangements I have made, after communication with the Commissioner, will meet with the approbation of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

From *A. G. Crommelin*, Esq., Officiating Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Circle, to the Executive Engineer, Pooree Division (No. 1633); dated 3rd February 1866.

Sir,

Having now had the advantage of consulting with the Commissioner, the Collector of Pooree, and yourself, concerning the means to be adopted for alleviating the distress of the suffering population round and about Pooree, I have the honour, in continuation of my No. Z 116, dated 6th ultimo, to lay down the following instructions for your guidance, with reference to the scale on which your present operations are to be conducted.

2. Taking into consideration the limited extent of work to be executed by this department in the distressed districts, and the almost certainty of the distress becoming far more extended a few months hence, and the drain on our resources consequently greater and more urgently necessary, I consider it incumbent upon us to, as far as possible, husband our available resources, so as to be able to meet any necessity that may hereafter arise.

3. To enable us to do this, we must now only employ those who are really in distress, and not extend an offer of employment to all and every one who may apply for it. In many places the population is comparatively well provided, and by no means in actual want; by employing men from such localities at the present time, we are not relieving actual distress, but are spending funds which may, and probably will, be most urgently required hereafter.

4. Keeping in view, then, the fact that no really distressed man, woman, or child is to be turned away from the work, I rely on your at present keeping your gangs as small as possible. I am perfectly aware of the difficulty in distinguishing between those who are or are not in actual distress; but a little discrimination will prevent much imposition. The district from which people come will be a very fair guide in regulating employment.

5. If these instructions are fairly carried out, I think your gangs will not at present exceed 1,500.

6. You will of course pay the labourers daily, or allow them piece work if they wish for it; but you will bear in mind that it is not your duty to have anything to do with the providing food for the people, as this duty falls entirely on the civil department; at

the same time, if it be in your power to do anything to assist in the matter, I need hardly say that you should do so.

7. And now with regard to the work itself. You will of course complete the earthwork for the six miles already estimated for: the laterite for metal may also be excavated, and this I believe will give relief to those who are most in want of it, viz., those living on the borders of the Chilka. The bridges of these six miles may be lengthened; brick-soling and metal may also, as far as possible, be burnt. The expenditure on these six miles will, under the above orders, not exceed 27,500 rupees before the commencement of the monsoon, viz.:—

	Rs.
Earthwork - - - - - -	10,000
Bridging - - - - - -	3,500
Laterite - - - - - -	4,000
Brick-soling - - - - - -	10,000
Rs.	27,500

but I do not consider such large expenditure on brick-soling, &c., possible; and this work should not be pushed, as it does not give work to those who are really in distress. I would prefer your continuing the remodelling of the road north of the six miles already mentioned, and for this purpose you should run a line of levels along the existing road, and raise the crest to two feet above flood level. The completion of the earthwork of this 46 miles will give as much work as will, I hope, be required.

8. I need add no instructions as to the management of your gangs of labourers, as on my late visit I was glad to find everything so properly arranged. The one thing to be kept in mind is to not spread your labourers over too large an extent of work, but to keep them as compact as possible, to allow of more efficient supervision. Temporary shelter can be erected and moved on as may be necessary; due attention being paid of course to sanitary arrangements.

9. The chief distress being at and to the south of Pooree, there is no necessity of commencing work at present at other points of the road: your work, beginning at Pooree, can be pushed on regularly and steadily northwards,

10. In conclusion, I shall only add the great satisfaction I felt at seeing your work laid out and constructed in so workmanlike a manner. I may say I have seen nothing so well carried out elsewhere in this circle.

11. I have addressed the Commissioner concerning arrangements for providing food for the labourers.

12. The estimate for the first six miles should be re-submitted as early as possible, as well as an estimate for completing the earthwork of the remaining 46 miles.

From *A. G. Crommelin*, Esq., Officiating Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Circle, to the Executive Engineer, Cuttack Division (No. 1634); dated 3rd February 1866.

Sir,

Having consulted with the Commissioner and Collector of Pooree on the work to be put in hand by our Department for the alleviation of the present distress, I have the honour, in continuation of my No. Z 115, dated 6th ultimo, to issue the following instructions for your guidance:—

2. It being considered not advisable at present to commence operations on an extended scale, but rather to husband our resources for a time when relief may be more urgently necessary, you should not offer employment to every and anyone who may apply for it; but remembering that no applicant really in distress is to be sent away, you will keep your numbers as low as possible until the civil authorities may call upon us to extend our operations. I am aware of the difficulty of deciding on cases of real distress or otherwise, but hope with a little care you will find this possible. The district from which the applicant comes will prove a fair guide.

3. The population at the extreme south of the Ganjam Road being in most urgent want of relief, your work will of course be commenced there, and the gangs be gradually moved northwards as the work is completed.

4. The work commenced by the civil authorities at Khoordah will obviate the necessity of your opening work without district, in which it is believed there is no actual want at the present time.

5. The earthwork of course will occupy the greater number of your applicants; but should you find that this will not give sufficient employment in the locality in which you wish to employ labour, you can commence to excavate and collect the necessary laterite metal.

6. Your

6. Your gangs should be kept as compact as possible to admit of readier supervision. The earthwork and laterite collection might be completed in on espot, and your men then be moved on, thus employing your labour as close as possible to the homes of the people in distress.

7. Daily payments or piecework, if preferred by the labourers, must be insisted on. No petty contracts can be allowed. Temporary shelter may be provided for those requiring it, and moved from place to place as necessary. Sanitary arrangements should be duly enforced.

8. Your line of levels taken lately will be sufficient guide for your earthwork, which I request may be executed in a workmanlike manner—the road being correctly lined out, and the slopes accurately kept. I shall expect to see these orders carefully attended to, as the work I have seen generally in this province admits of great improvement in this respect.

9. I request you will yourself, from personal inspection, report once a fortnight upon the progress you are making, as I have not much confidence in Mr. McKoy's arrangements.

10. I have addressed the Commissioner on the subject of providing rice for the people, and he will doubtless issue the necessary instructions to the district officers.

11. The estimate for this road already called for should be submitted at an early date.

From *A. G. Crommelin*, Esq., Officiating Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Circle, to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division (No. 1635); dated 3 February 1866.

Sir,

Having the day before yesterday consulted with you, as directed by Government of Bengal, on the steps necessary to be taken in this department towards carrying out work for the alleviation of the distress of the population round and about Pooree, I have now the honour to forward, for your information, the marginally noted* letters to the address of the executive engineers of Pooree and Cuttack divisions respectively, containing my instructions to them on this point.

* Nos. 1633 and 1634, dated 3rd February 1866.

2. These instructions are based on the conclusions arrived at by us both, viz., that though there is doubtless a great deal of distress amongst the generality of the population, yet that actual want is restricted to but a small tract of country; also that, as in all human probability the effects of the present scarcity will be more severely felt a few months hence, and will require, of course, a larger amount of relief, it is expedient that we should husband our resources as far as possible at present, to enable us to meet more efficiently the calls that may hereafter be made upon our funds.

That to enable us so to husband our funds, we must not employ all and every one that may apply for work, but to the best of our power discriminate between those really in distress and those comparatively well off—never, of course, refusing work to anyone in actual distress.

3. Keeping these points in view, I hope that my instructions will meet your wishes; should they not do so, I will, if possible, modify them, to accord with any further proposition you may wish carried out.

4. I do not myself consider that there is at present any necessity to carry out operations on a larger scale. The East India Irrigation and Canal Company have drawn the greater number of sufferers from their homes round the Chilka, and are willing and most anxious to employ a far larger number on higher wages, I believe, than we can give: and I consider therefore that, taking into consideration the very apparent necessity for the early completion of the company's works, it would not be good policy for Government to employ men at a loss (which it certainly would be), whilst they can be much more usefully and willingly entertained by the Company, who at present cannot get the number of labourers they might advantageously employ.

5. The women and children left by these men at their homes might be usefully employed on our roads if they can be prevailed on to work, to which, I believe, many object.

6. The subject of providing food for the people is one of great difficulty, and I do not venture to offer any decided opinion on the subject, as the district officers and yourself are so much better acquainted with the resources of the district; however, I think I may say, that I fully agree with your opinion expressed to me personally, viz., that it would be better to pay bunneahs a certain monthly salary to induce them to supply food than for Government to interfere, and purchase and sell on its own account, provided, of course, there is sufficient grain in the country; if there should not be, it would seem absolutely necessary for Government to purchase rice at once for retail sale; I hear the price of rice is daily rising now at Cuttack.

7. Whatever decision you may arrive at on this point, I trust you will give the necessary orders to the district officers to see, if possible, that the people employed both on the Ganjam and Pooree Roads are properly supplied, as I am of opinion that, unless the

civil authorities do make such arrangements, the people will be supplied in no other way, and the efforts made by this department will fall to the ground.

8. The amount of supplies necessary could of course be communicated to the collector by the executive engineers.

21. In February I visited Orissa. I landed at Pooree, and after spending some days there and at Cuttack itself, I returned by Taldunda and False Point. While in the province I was in frequent communication with the Commissioner, with the Collector of Pooree, with most of the officers of Government, and the Irrigation Company, and with many native gentlemen, both official and non-official. The scarcity was a subject of anxious consideration, and the principles upon which relief was to be administered by the local officers and the relief committees were discussed; but though much apprehension was felt as to the continuance of high prices, nothing transpired to show that it was supposed by anyone either that there was not sufficient food in the province for the subsistence of the population, or that employment for the able-bodied on the public works and on those of the Irrigation Company, aided by private charity, would not suffice to support both the able-bodied and the helpless poor. The coolies employed on the canals complained to me of the dearness of food, and begged that their wages might be raised. In many petitions I was asked to grant remissions of revenues; to revive the manufacture of salt on account of Government; to prohibit the exportation of rice, and to fix the price at which it should be sold by the dealers. But from no quarter in the province, high or low, did I gather any signs that the stock of food in the province was actually insufficient for the next year's consumption, still less that the Government would have to import it from abroad. Prices had not risen since October, and it appears to me that we were justified by the circumstances in believing that the relief operations already organised would suffice for the relief of the destitute poor, and that beyond a liberal expenditure of money on public works, no further measures on the part of the Government were called for or would become necessary. In a Durbar which I held for the reception of the native gentry of the province, I addressed them in the following words:—

I have been asked, since I came to Cuttack, to attempt to mitigate the prevailing scarcity and dearness of food by compelling the dealers of grain to sell their stores at fixed prices. If I were to do this I should consider myself no better than a dacoit or thief, who plunders his neighbour's property for his own use. It has been common in many countries, in times of ignorance, to attempt to cheapen food by such expedients; but such attempts are generally failures; and even if they temporarily succeed are sure to be followed by disastrous results, and to petpetuate the evil they are designed to cure. Dealers in grain are often supposed to be public enemies, but in fact they are the best friends the people have; for without them there would be no stores of grain, the harvest would be eaten as soon as reaped, and the first bad season must produce starvation and misery to a degree which is now impossible. The more grain dealers there are the better, for their competition will prevent them from unduly profiting by general distress; but if grain dealers are under the belief that their dealings are likely to be controlled by State interference, the trade will remain in the hands of a few, and the people will be at their mercy.

The duty of relieving individual distress in times of great scarcity is one which devolves on all who enjoy the superfluities of life, and is peculiarly incumbent on zemindars and landed proprietors, whose prosperity depends so entirely on the strength of the labouring poor. I am happy to find that this duty has in many instances not been neglected; and that in the district of Pooree, where the scarcity chiefly prevails, the zemindars have assisted the Collector in raising funds for the relief of those who are unable to help themselves. The zemindar of Pareecood has specially distinguished himself by active benevolence; and I hope that his example will be followed by all. Employment has been given to many thousands of persons on the works of the Irrigation Company, and on the public roads; and much has thus been done, and will continue to be done, to avert the more serious consequences of a great calamity.

22. In a report, dated the 29th December,* the Collector of Pooree had reported on the condition of the poor in that district, and the steps taken to relieve their sufferings. It was represented to me when at Pooree, that things had not changed for the worse since that report was written; and on the 21st February,† after approving of the action taken by the local officers, I desired that a further official report up to that date might be furnished both as to what had been done and what more was required.

* Rev. Pro., March 1866, Nos. 32-36.

† Ditto, No. 37.

23. On the 16th February the Board submitted‡ a very satisfactory report from the Commissioner of the Patna division on the prospects of the cold weather crop

‡ Ditto, No. 62.

crop in the districts of Behar. On the 22nd and 25th February,[1] the Commissioner reported that a violent hail-storm had destroyed the crops in parts of Sarun and Chumparun, but that the collectors had taken prompt steps for supplying work on the roads, and that the indigo planters and zemindars were doing their utmost to assist their tenantry, and on the 9th March,[2] he reported that though serious injury had been done in many places, the prospects of the rubbee crop throughout the division were generally favourable.

[1] Rev. Pro., March, Nos. 64 and 67.

[2] Ditto, No. 68.

24. On the 29th March,[3] I received a private memorandum containing particulars of the distress prevailing in certain Christian villages in the Nuddea district. This was immediately sent to the Commissioner of the Nuddea division for inquiry and report, and on the 4th May[4] his report was received. This report shows that on the first appearance of distress, prompt measures were taken by the local officers for its relief. These measures were entirely approved, and a special grant of 20,000 rupees for public works (in addition to the large allotment assigned in the Budget), was sanctioned on the 15th idem.

[3] Rev. Pro., July, No. 121.

[4] Ditto, Nos. 121–140.

25. On the 12th and 24th March, the Commissioner of Cuttack forwarded[5] further reports from the collector of Pooree, describing the operations undertaken for the relief of the poor. Sanction was asked for, and at once given, for the expenditure of a further sum of 10,000 rupees on local works, and both officers agreed in opinion that no other measures were then required. A further report[6] of the same tenor was furnished by the Commissioner on the 9th April; and in unofficial letters of the 8th and 20th idem, Mr. Ravenshaw gave me still stronger assurances to the same effect. In his letter of the 20th, written from Balasore, after alluding to the increase of grain robberies, he said that large subscriptions had been raised to support the starving, that there was a good working committee there, and that all the Government could do was to provide employment, though, owing to the reluctance of the people to work at any distance from their homes, it was difficult to get sufficient labour even for the works in hand.

[5] Rev. Pro., April 1866, Nos. 57–59.

[6] Rev. Pro., May 1866, Nos. 22–25.

26. On the 3rd April, the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore reported[7] on the prospects of the rubbee crop in that division, as being on the whole, except in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, favourable, but it was not then suggested that any special measures of relief were required. In a previous letter, dated 14th March, the Commissioner had represented[8] that though the crops of the Sonthals in the Rajmahal Hills were not so bad as in other parts of the country, yet even amongst them there was considerable distress, and he had recommended that the Government being landlord, should sanction, out of the revenues of the hills, a special outlay for the construction and repair of local roads. A sum of 10,000 rupees was accordingly granted for the purpose. About the same time[9] the Commissioner was desired to report whether the scarcity at Monghyr, which had been reported earlier in the year, continued; and he replied, on the 6th April, that the necessity for affording relief to the distressed people of Monghyr had passed away at least for the present.

[7] Rev. Pro., May 1866, Nos. 3, 4.

[8] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 45–50.

[9] Rev. Pro., November 1865, Nos. 58–60. Rev. Pro. B., April 1866, No. 39.

27. In February and March, the collector of Bankoorah reported[10] the prevalence of distress and cholera in that district, but it appeared that the measures taken by the local officers were sufficient for the time, and the Commissioner was desired to report on the state of the district. At the same[11] time, the contractors were urged to press on the earthwork of the chord line of railway with a view to give employment to the poor both in Bankoorah and in the adjoining districts. On the 26th March, the Commissioner reported[12] that the sickness had much abated, and that employment had been found for the distressed poor.

[10] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 51–52.

[11] Rev. Pro. B., March, No. 136.

[12] Rev. Pro., July 1866, No. 53.

28. On the 20th February,[13] in consequence of a statement made by Dr. Anderson, the Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, that much destitution prevailed among the poorer classes in Calcutta, I requested the Chairman of the Justices to inquire into the matter, and to suggest means for alleviating the sufferings of those people. This was reported at the time to the Government of India, and attracted the attention of the Secretary of State.[14] Measures were at the same time taken[15] for increasing the hospital accommodation available for pauper patients. The subject was referred to a Committee of the Justices, but no report having been made, the chairman's attention was again drawn to it.[16] Intermediately, however, I had not waited for the action of the Justices, but had been in frequent personal communication with Mr. Hogg, and had ascertained from

[13] Medl. Pro., February 1866, Nos. 28, 29.

[14] Despatch, No. 36, dated 25th April 1866.

[15] Medl. Pro., May 1866, Nos. 52–61.

[16] Ditto, Nos. 60 and 67.

from him that the destitution in the city was of small extent, and that it was amply relieved by private charity. The report of the Justices, which was not sent in till the 11th June, quite confirmed this view.

[1] Police Pro. B., February 1866, Nos. 57, 58.

[2] Appointment Pro. B., Nos. 142, 143.

[3] Police Pro. B., March 1866, Nos. 64, 65.

[4] Police Pro. B., April 1866, Nos. 74, 75.

29. On the 18th February[1] the Inspector General, police, brought to notice an increase in the number of robberies in the Midnapore district, owing to the scarcity prevailing there, and obtained sanction for the employment of 50 extra constables for three months. On the 2nd March[2] the Commissioner of Cuttack reported that crime of this kind had increased in Balasore, owing to the same cause, and a special magistrate was sent to dispose of the additional criminal business. On the 10th March[3] the Inspector General, police, reported that he had entertained 50 extra constables in Balasore, and on the 7th April,[4] in consequence of a further representation as to the pressure of criminal work there, the Commissioner was directed to proceed to Balasore, and to make a special report on the state of the district. The Commissioner of the Burdwan division, was at the same time desired to proceed in person, and make a similar report on the state of Midnapore. The Burdwan Commissioner's reports, dated the 15th and 27th April (which were forwarded to the Government of India, with the Secretary's Letter No. 415T., dated the 12th May), though they disclosed a serious increase of grain robberies both in Midnapore and in the adjoining districts of Singbhoom and Maunbhoom, owing to distress, neither expressed nor indicated a necessity for measures of relief, other than those that had already been taken. There had been a decrease of this crime during the first week in April; the appearance of those concerned did not indicate starvation; prices were lower than in November, and nowhere higher than 10 seers the rupee; rice was being exported from the district, and it was expected that as soon as rain fell, prices would fall also. Funds had been liberally subscribed by the residents, and food had been distributed on a large scale since November, while there was abundant employment on the public* and irrigation works, and cultivation was going on favourably. It did not therefore seem to me that there was anything to be done on this report but to take precautions for preserving order and protecting property, and to call on the Commissioners of Cuttack and Chota Nagpore, for further information as to the state of crime in those divisions. The remark of the magistrate of Midnapore, alluded to in paragraph 6 of the Secretary of State's Despatch, that "the old and infirm were beginning to die from insufficient food," especially when taken in connection with the generally sanguine tone of the magistrate's letter, and the absence of any request for further assistance, did not seem to imply that the resources of the local relief committees had failed.†

[5] No. 1283, dated 14th June.

30. The report[5] of the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore was not submitted until long after effectual measures had been taken to relieve the distress prevailing in Maunbhoom and Singbhoom, and therefore the passage from Lieutenant Money's letter, quoted in paragraph 10 of the Secretary of State's Despatch, has no bearing upon any supposed delay in adopting those measures. In fact, the Commissioner's report in itself, shows that relief in every possible shape had then been liberally given; and this has since been uninterruptedly continued. The report which the Commissioner of Cuttack was desired to furnish[6] in regard to Balasore, dated 2nd May, furnished in part the grounds for my application to the Government of India, for the balance of the North Western Provinces Famine Fund.

[6] Rev. Pro., July, Nos. 75, 76.

[7] From Secretary to Government of India, P. W. D., No. 268 c., dated 12th March 1866.

31. On the 12th March,[7] the Government of India sent me a letter addressed by Sir A. Cotton to the Secretary of State, on the subject of "the threatened famine in Central India and Bengal," and desired me to report whether I considered it necessary for the Government to take any further steps than those already authorised with a view to relieve and assist the people. Sir Arthur Cotton's recommendations were; first, that the Government should place at the disposal of the East India Irrigation Company in Orissa, whose expenditure

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* P. W. D., to Superintending Engineer, No. 1475. Ditto to Commissioner, No. 1477.

* On the 28th April, in addition to other works going on in Midnapore, the repairs of the Bombay-road were put in hand with a view to afford employment for the poor of the district, and the Commissioner was desired to undertake the repairs of the local road.

† Mr. Montressor, the Commissioner, wrote to me from Midnapore on the 16th and 17th April and again from Burdwan on the 29th, but there was nothing in any of his letters to create a different impression.

ture was then 10,000 *l.* a month on irrigation works, 50,000 *l.* or 100,000 *l.* a month; so that instead of employing 20,000 people, they might employ 200,000. Second, that irrigation works should be commenced in Behar; and third, that a very large flotilla should be constructed to convey large masses of food from the eastward. It seemed to me that Sir A. Cotton, writing as he did on information which must have been sent to him not later than the beginning of January, had over-estimated the danger; and on the 28th March, I replied[1] to the Government of India, saying that, as regards Bengal, there was no prospect of a famine; that special measures of relief had been taken to meet the impending scarcity; that funds had been liberally sanctioned for public works, and that more would be asked for if required.

[1] To Secretary to Government of India, P. W. D., No. 1146, dated 28th March 1866.

32. As regards Orissa, I observed that the wants of the people had been materially relieved by the operations of the Irrigation Company, and that though it would be a great benefit to the people if the monthly expenditure were increased, the case was not so pressing as to justify the Government in advancing money to the company on the security of their works. I might have added that notwithstanding the scarcity, the Irrigation Company had difficulty in obtaining as much labour as they required, even at their then existing rate of expenditure. For Behar I urged the early commencement of the Soane Irrigation Works, though there was no pressing necessity to provide further employment for the people, as the rubee crops were good, and the construction of the chord line of railway offered a considerable field of employment for unskilled labour. Lastly, I held that there was no occasion for constructing a flotilla, as the natural fluctuation of prices had operated to attract food to the districts where it was scarcest, and though grain was very dear, there was no reason to suppose that the stock in the country was insufficient for the consumption of the people.

33. The humane sagacity which led Sir A. Cotton to predict a famine and to counsel precautionary measures for its relief, command my highest respect and admiration, but yet I must maintain that the information before the Government fully justified my reply. Indeed, throughout the distressed districts of Bengal and Behar, money, food, and work were everywhere provided for the poor as soon as the prevalence of want was made known. And with respect to Orissa, although we were misled as to there being a sufficiency of food in the province, at any rate, of food available for general consumption, yet it is certain that employment on roads and canals was found for all who were willing to work, and that there was no want of tonnage in the Port of Calcutta for conveying by sea into the ports of Orissa as much rice as it was found possible to transport into the interior. The only suggestion made by Sir A. Cotton, by adopting which at that time any material relief could have been afforded to the people, was that of importing large quantities of rice on account of Government into the Orissa districts. Why that was not done I have already explained.

34. On the 3rd May, the Government of Madras asked by telegram[2] whether any and what measures had been taken to relieve the distress in Cuttack and its neighbourhood, and was furnished, on the 8th idem, with full information on the subject which had then occupied our attention in Bengal for several months. Subsequently, on the 15th June,[3] the Madras Government, who up to that time had depended entirely on the efforts of the local officers and on private charity, applied for a grant from the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund, and this was given to the extent of 25,000 rupees.

[2] Rev. Pro., May 1866, Nos. 81, 82.

[3] Rev. Pro., August 1866, Nos. 43–51.

35. On the 15th May,[4] the Commissioner of the Nuddea division reported that no special measures of relief were needed in Jessore, and that such distress as then prevailed in the 24-Pergunnahs would be met by the expenditure on public works already sanctioned, and by the unexpended surplus of the Cyclone Relief Fund.

[4] Rev. Pro., July 1866, No. 142.

36. On the 14th May I directed that 4,000 maunds of attah, which the Commissary General reported as being in store, should be shipped to False Point for use at Balasore and Cuttack. The collectors of those districts, however, represented on the 17th and 18th May[5] that attah was not wanted, but that rice would meet with a more ready sale. The attah was therefore sent to Bhaugulpore. I mention this circumstance because this was the first intimation given by the local officers that the importation of ice by the Government into Orissa had

[5] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 59 to 61.

had become necessary. The Collector of Balasore suggested that a Government steamer might be employed in towing down native sloops to the coast of Orissa, but this was afterwards found to be impracticable. He also reported that the distress was increasing; that the relief committee were in want of funds, and that the time had now arrived when they required at least 3,000 rupees a month in addition to the local subscriptions.

37. On the 16th May, however, before I received these reports from the Collectors of Balasore and Cuttack, I had telegraphed to the Government of India, begging that the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund might be placed at my disposal for the relief of the distressed poor. On the 16th and 17th May, in consequence of a letter from Mr. Scott Moncrieff, dated the 12th idem, I also wrote to Mr. Chapman, the Secretary of the Board of Revenue. These letters I insert entire, as representing fairly the impression then on my mind as to the state of affairs, and the necessity for further action.

From Sir *Cecil Beadon* to Mr. *Chapman*; dated Darjeeling, 16th May 1866.

WILL you be so good as to lay these papers before the Board; they speak for themselves.

I am quite prepard to sanction the purchase of a cargo of rice at Akyab on account of Government, and its transport by sailing ship either to Pooree or to False Point, if the Board are satisfied that the measure is necessary, and that it will really afford the means of supplying rice to the distressed people of Orissa at a cheaper rate than they can now get it.

If any part of the Famine Fund is available for the purchase and transport of this rice it can, of course, be distributed gratis to those who really need it; but if it is bought with public money it must be sold at cost price.

In either case the question is, whether it is cheaper for Government or for the relief committees to buy rice on the spot or to import it from Akyab, taking into consideration the cost of conveying it either from Pooree or False Point to the places of distribution.

I assume that the prices quoted by Moncrieff are correct, and that rice can really be laid down on the coast of Orrissa at three rupees a maund, and upon this assumption I authorise the Board to act on his suggestion if they consider it, under all circumstances, expedient to do so. Let me have a reply by telegraph.

I may say that if the Board think it advisable on other grounds to try the experiment, it ought not to be deterred by any considerations connected with interference with trade. In a case of this sort the Government is quite justified in supplementing existing means of supply for the sake of relieving a starving population, and the circumstances are so exceptional that the interference of Government is not likely to have any bad effect.

If the Board determine on importing rice from Akyab, arrangements must be made for landing it and distributing it through the local authorities.

I have some doubts whether it is possible to land rice at this season or a fortnight hence at Pooree, but this you can ascertain in Calcutta. False Point is accessible at all times.

From Sir *Cecil Beadon* to Mr *Chapman*; dated Darjeeling, 17th May 1866.

IN continuation of the letter I wrote you yesterday, it may be as well, if the transport of rice from Akyab to Orissa be thought advisable, to send one cargo to False Point and another to Balasore, where the scarcity is quite as great, and the distress as severe as at Cuttack or Pooree, and the means of relieving it are less.

From a report which has come to day from Ravenshaw, it appears that there is grain enough in store, but that the Zemindars and Mahajuns will not sell it, fearing that there may be still worse scarcity than at present. A cargo of rice, besides providing food for those who can afford a reasonable price, may have the effect of bringing down prices generally.

As careful measures will be necessary for the distribution of the grain, if it be supplied, perhaps it will be best to send a special officer to Balasore for the purpose. McNeile is available for the duty, and has had experience in that kind of work.

38. The Government of India[1] at once placed 2,00,000 rupees at my disposal, and afterwards the remainder of the balance of the fund, amounting in all to upwards of 6,00,000 rupees. On the 21st of May,[2] the Board were informed by telegraph that 10,000 rupees had been assigned for charitable relief in each of the three districts of Orissa, and were also authorised to purchase rice and dispatch it to the distressed districts. On the same day the Board were instructed by letter to the following effect:

[1] Rev. Pro., July Nos. 69, 70.

[2] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 68, 69.

From

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 632 T.); dated Darjeeling, 21st May 1866.

Sir,

THE Government of India having placed at the Lieutenant Governor's disposal a sum of money to be expended in the relief of the distressed poor in the districts which are now suffering from scarcity and high prices of food, I am desired to inform you that his Honor has assigned, as a first instalment, the following sums to the districts which seem at present more particularly to require aid:

	Rs.
To Cuttack - - - - - - - - - -	10,000
„ Pooree - - - - - - - - - -	10,000
„ Balasore - - - - - - - - - -	10,000
„ Midnapore - - - - - - - - -	5,000
„ Bancoorah - - - - - - - - -	5,000
„ Nuddea - - - - - - - - - -	5,000

2. I am directed to request that the Board will instruct the Commissioners[1] at once to organize relief committees where they have not already been done, and that all operations connected with the administration of these funds may be carried out (those acting under the orders and guidance of the Commissioners and the Board). The relief committees should advertise their proceedings, *and invite further assistance from the public.*

[1] Cuttack, Burdwan, Nuddea.

3. The relief must not be limited to the sudder stations. Trustworthy officers should be deputed by the committee to visit the interior, and afford such relief as may be necessary. Where officers in the service of Government cannot be spared for this duty, *special agency must be employed*, and the services of respectable residents of the district should be utilised in carrying into effect the object of the committee.

4. Employment on useful works or manufacture should be found for those who are able and willing to labour, the people being paid only what is necessary for their subsistence either in money or food, but for infirm and helpless persons and children the committees must distribute food gratuitously. Great care and caution are necessary, as any unusual expenditure of money, either in direct relief or in the local purchase of grain, will have a tendency to raise prices, and to aggravate the evil. In this view, as well as to economise the means of relief as much as possible, the Board should consider whether they might not with advantage buy grain where it is comparatively cheap, and send it to the distressed districts, either for gratuitous distribution or to be retailed at something below prime cost to the poor. For any operation of this kind a further sum of 45,000 rupees is available.

5. The Lieutenant Governor has already directed the despatch to the Commissioner of Cuttack of 4,000 maunds of attah, being the surplus stock of the Bootan force, which attah the Commissioner has been told to sell at 15 seers for the rupee, as it is understood that there are many persons willing and able to pay for food, if only it could be obtained.

6. The Board will be so good as to report the arrangements they may make to carry out these instructions, and to keep the Government informed from time to time of the operations of the relief committees, and the condition of the distressed districts. The Lieutenant Governor will also be glad to receive from the Board any suggestions for the better utilisation of the means at disposal, and to be informed whether there are any other districts to which the relief afforded by the liberality of the Government of India may be beneficially extended.

7. The Board should require a weekly report of the proceedings of the district relief committees, and take means to inform the public of what is being done.

39. After this I received a report from the Commissioner of Cuttack, dated the 18th May,[2] with one from the Collector of Pooree, representing that the distress was increasing; that the funds at the disposal of the relief committee were insufficient, and that the Government must assist in feeding the starving and helpless poor. Even then all that the Collector asked for was a contribution of 500 rupees a month in aid of the local charitable funds, and the Commissioner in supporting this proposal applied for a similar grant for each of the other two districts of his division; but, as already stated, before this report reached me an assignment of 10,000 rupees had been made to each of these three districts from the Famine Fund. The additional public works undertaken by[3] the Collector of Pooree were sanctioned, and the Commissioner was informed that a further sum of money[4] (60,000 rupees) had been placed at the disposal of the Public Works Department for the same purpose.

[2] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 88, 89.

[3] Rev. Pro., July 1866, No. 90.

[4] P. W. Dept., to Supdg. Engr. No. 64, dated 23rd May

40. On the 22nd the Board telegraphed that they had resolved not to ship rice to Orissa without further inquiry. Their reasons were explained in their Secretary's letter of that date,[5] which, together with my instructions in reply, are subjoined.[6]

[5] Rev. Pro., July 1866, No. 92.

[6] Rev. Pro., July, No. 93.

From *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. A.); dated 22nd May 1866.

Sir,

The Board of Revenue have had under consideration two demi-official letters to my address from his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, dated 16th and 17th instant, and three telegrams received yesterday evening, and desire me now to make the following reply.

2. In his letters his Honor authorised the Board to act upon a suggestion made by Mr. Scott Moncrieff of this city, and import rice from Akyab to Balasore and Pooree, should the measure appear feasible and advisable. By the telegrams the Board are informed that 45,000 rupees are placed at their disposal for this purpose, that they are at liberty to employ on the duty a Government vessel, if there is one available, and that 10,000 rupees has meanwhile been allotted to each of the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, and Pooree, to be expended by local committees under the superintendence of the Board and the Commissioner for the relief of the severe distress now existing from the high price of food in Orissa.

3. His Honor is aware that the Board have on general grounds a very strong objection either to interfere with the course of trade or to take any steps that may appear to pledge the Government to the impossible task of supporting the whole population of the distressed districts, and so dry up the springs of private charity, and paralyse the exertions of the people themselves.

4. The Board are very clearly of opinion that the importatiou of rice into Orissa on Government account would be justifiable only in the extreme case of its being ascertained definitely that the stock of food in the province was insufficient to feed the people, and that food was not likely to be imported through the usual channels.

5. The information at present at their command does not, by any means, lead them to suppose that this is the case. Mr. Muspratt, Collector of Balasore, and the Commissioner, Mr. Ravenshaw, have both reported specifically that there is food enough in the country, and so has Mr. Cornell, Collector of Cuttack, in a private letter to my address that is published in the "Englishman" this morning.

6. The reported detail prices point, the Board think, to the same conclusion. In the interior of the district of Pooree rice is even now selling at 9 seers 13½ chittacks the rupee, and it is at Pooree itself only that there is extreme pressure. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether rice imported from Akyab in the manner proposed would not in fact be found more costly than what could be bought on the spot, except at the point of landing. The Board are decidedly averse to putting any pressure upon the local dealers by under-selling them, or in any other way. Their local experience and means of local information is a far better guide to what is a proper price under all the circumstances than any facts at the command of the public generally, or even of Government officers. No doubt, the present high prices are partly due to the possibility of a renewed failure of the crops this year — a legitimate cause that may rightly and safely be left to produce its own effect.

7. The Board will, however, immediately inquire at each place whether there is reason to suppose that relief will be more effectually and wisely given by importing grain into the province than by furnishing to the distressed population the means of purchasing that which finds its way there naturally. Until they receive a reply to this inquiry they will abstain from taking any measures to carry out Mr. Moncrieff's suggestion.

8. The Board will issue immediate instructions to the local officers for the effectual and economical distribution of timely aid placed at their disposal by the Government. The principle of these instructions will be labour of some kind to be insisted upon wherever *possible*, and local centres of help to be established in the interior under trustworthy superintendence. They do not think that for the present any special officers need be deputed to Orissa. If it is found necessary hereafter to assist the Collectors, it will be done best by assigning to them an additional Assistant or Deputy Collector.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 769 T.); dated Darjeeling, 28th May 1866.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. A.), dated the 22nd instant, and, with reference to paragraphs 3 and 4, to remind the Board that the money which they have been authorized to spend on importing rice into the distressed districts is not Government money, but money which was subscribed by the public for the relief of persons suffering from famine, and placed at the disposal of the Government for use on an occasion like the present. The importation of rice, therefore, if purchased with this money, would not be on Government account, but on account of those by whom the money was subscribed.

2. It

2. It will be seen from the accompanying copy of a telegram from the Superintending Engineer, Cuttack, received under endorsement from the Public Works Department of this Government (No. 76 T.), dated the 26th instant, that, in that officer's opinion, it is rice that is wanted in Orissa, not money, and I am to request that the Board will be good enough to consider the question of importation with reference to the price of rice, and the possibility of importing it at a cheaper rate than it can be purchased on the spot, and not with any reference to the propriety or otherwise of Government interference, or to the fear of underselling local dealers.

3. With reference to paragraph 6, I am to say that if the possibility of a renewed failure of the crops has any effect in maintaining present high prices, this is an additional reason for alleviating present distress by the application of means provided by private charity. I am therefore to request that the Board will give renewed and immediate attention to the question of importing rice into the distressed districts, and to add that the Lieutenant Governor is not at all satisfied that the information in the Board's possession is such as to support their confident opinion that such importation is unnecessary.

4. With reference to paragraph 8, I am to request that the Board will furnish the relief committees with general instructions for the disposal of the money placed in their hands, to furnish weekly statistical returns of the number of people relieved at each station; the quantity of food distributed; the labour performed, and other useful particulars, so that the Board may know what is being done, and be in a position to furnish a comprehensive report, when the necessity for further relief has ceased.

5. In conclusion I am to invite attention to paragraph 6 of my letter (No. 632 T.), dated 21st instant, and to inquire if there are any other districts in which relief is required. The Lieutenant Governor has reason to believe that it is much wanted in Maunbhoom and Tirhoot.

On the 24th May[1] the Board reported the directions they had issued to the Commissioner of Cuttack for the effectual and economical expenditure of the funds placed at his disposal, and on the same[2] date they reported that they had placed 5,000 rupees at the disposal of the Collector of Midnapore for charitable relief. On the 28th[3] May they reported that funds had been placed at the disposal of the relief committees of Chumparun, Tirhoot, and Maunbhoom. No official reports of the necessity for such further relief had then been made in respect of the two first-mentioned districts, and the existence of distress in Maunbhoom beyond the means of the local Committee to relieve was first brought to notice by the Commissioner in a letter to the Board dated the 14th May. On the 26th April, Mr. Dalrymple (the Commissioner of Patna) had written to me, saying that the late heavy rain had been a great thing for the country; that as the rubbee crop had all been reaped the rain was an unmixed good, but that notwithstanding a very fair rubee harvest the price of food was rising, and the labouring poor were very hard pressed. The Zemindars, he added, were never so well off. On the 17th May, Colonel Dalton (the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore), who had not alluded to the scarcity in my previous letter, wrote that there had been several grain dacoities in the parts of Maunbhoom bordering on Midnapore, and that the Deputy Commissioner was becoming rather anxious, and wished to get up subscriptions to help the starving people, who were committing this kind of crime. They were of the class who live by doing odd jobs rather than by agriculture, and, not having money to buy food at present prices, were driven to steal. Colonel Dalton did not think that any large body of the people were reduced to these straits, and he observed that grain was not yet very dear (being at 12 to 13 seers the rupee), but he would be glad if the Deputy Commissioner found the means of assisting the people. Neither Mr. Dalrymple on the 26th April, nor Colonel Dalton on the 17th May, said one word as to the need of further action on the part of the Government for the relief of the prevailing scarcity; but, on the 28th May, grants from the Famine Fund were placed at their disposal for the purpose.

[1] Rev. Pro., July, No. 112.

[2] Rev. Pro., July, No. 94.

[3] Rev. Pro., July, No. 113.

41. On the 28th[4] May the Commissioner of Cuttack telegraphed, recommending the immediate importation of rice into Orissa for the use of the troops, for the gaols, for the labourers employed on public works, and for supplying food to the starving, through the relief committees. On the 29th[5] the Board were desired to make immediate arrangements for despatching rice to Balasore and False Point, and these arrangements were reported in their letter of the 30th idem.[6] The Board's proceedings were approved by me on the 28th May and 5th June,[7] and they were desired to keep the Government fully informed on all matters

[4] Rev. Pro., July, No. 101.

[5] Rev. Pro., July, Nos. 102, 104, 105.

[6] Rev. Pro., July 1866, No. 114.

[7] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 96 & 115.

matters connected with the state of the distressed districts, and to publish a weekly report of their proceedings in connection with the administration of the Relief Fund. The Commissioner's letter of the 28th May[1] explains the reasons which led him to conclude that the importation of rice by the Government had become necessary, and to telegraph on that date for a supply; and in reply he was informed, on the 6th June, that the rice had been ordered, and that three additional civil officers had been deputed to Orissa to aid in its distribution. I may mention also that about this time I applied for, and obtained from the Government of India, sanction to advance a lakh of rupees to the East Indian Irrigation Company to enable them to carry on their works in Midnapore and Cuttack without interruption.

[1] Rev. Pro., July 1866, Nos. 150–154.

42. On the 30th May,[2] the Chamber of Commerce sent me a copy of a resolution, expressing the opinion of the Chamber that the arrangements for the disbursement of the remainder of the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund towards relief of the sufferers from famine in Orissa and Bengal, should be placed in the hands of a special committee of gentlemen, official and non-official, including leading members of the native community. As my reply to the Chamber has been much criticised, I give it at length:—

[2] Rev. Pro., July 1866, No. 166.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (No. 899 T.); dated Darjeeling, 6th June 1866.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 30th ultimo, and in reply to say that as the funds which have been placed at the disposal of this Government from the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Relief Fund are in course of distribution by the Board of Revenue to local relief committees, and in advances for purchase of cargo of rice for importation into Orissa under instructions which have already been issued, and as great hopes are entertained that it will not be necessary to make any further appeal to public charity, there would not, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, be anything at present for a Central Relief Committee to do. The Board of Revenue have been instructed to publish weekly reports of their proceedings, in order that the public may be informed of the manner in which these funds are administered, and *should it unfortunately be necessary to seek fresh contributions from the public for the districts suffering from scarcity of grain, his Honor will gladly avail himself of the assistance of a Special Committee, as suggested by the Chamber of Commerce.*

43. The Secretary of State requires of me an explanation of my refusal to sanction the constitution of a General Relief Committee at Calcutta for the collection of subscriptions and their distribution throughout the suffering districts. His Lordship remarks that the surplus famine funds, having been raised by voluntary subscriptions, might most fitly have been made over to the disposal of such a body; that no other body or authority could have aided so effectively in the collection of further funds, and that a Committee of private individuals could have taken many measures which a Government Department might hesitate to adopt. To this I can only reply that I did not refuse to sanction the constitution of a General Relief Committee at Calcutta *for the collection of subscriptions*, although I certainly thought that the Government, having the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund, amounting to upwards of 6,00,000 rupees, it would be premature (especially at a time of commercial pressure), to make a further appeal to public charity. And indeed the Chamber of Commerce, so far from proposing that a General Committee should be formed for that purpose, telegraphed, on the 8th June,[3] that no appeal to the public was likely to succeed at that crisis, or while Government hold any balance of Famine Fund. What the Chamber did propose was that a committee should be formed for the disbursement of the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund. On this point not only did I feel that the money having been entrusted to the Government, the Government was bound to superintend its disbursement through its own responsible agents, and not through the instrumentality of an irresponsible General Committee, however well

[3] Telegram from Chamber of Commerce to Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated 8th June 1866:
"Urgent.—Committee of Chamber of Commerce urge that balance of Famine Fund may be immediately released for purchase of rice for Orissa and other places; famine appalling in Orissa and steadily approaching elsewhere; *no appeal to public likely to succeed at present crisis, or while Government holds any balance of Famine Fund.*"

well it might be constituted, but I then thought, and am still clearly of opinion, that a mixed General Committee, such as the Chamber proposed, though well adapted for the collection of subscriptions, is not capable of properly superintending the distribution of funds by Local Committees in the interior. These Local Committees, if not composed chiefly of official gentlemen, act necessarily under the official guidance of the district officer and the official control of the Commissioner of the Division, and this guidance and control are exercised far more effectually under the organized machinery of Government than through the intervention of a mixed committee. When once it became apparent that pecuniary assistance must be sent to the distressed districts, and funds were made available for the purpose, the demands of the district relief committees for aid were more than fully complied with, and they were encouraged to apply for more. In short, everything was done by the Board through the agency of those committees and of the local officers, which any General Committee (acting of necessity through the same agency) could possibly have accomplished. When the Chamber renewed their proposal[1] to have a General Committee, the Government of India, besides making the whole balance of the old fund available for charitable relief, and sanctioning unlimited expenditure on public works, had authorized me to import grain into Orissa on public account for sale to the value of 200,000 rupees. These operations were being carried on by the officers of Government, and as the Chamber admitted that additional funds were not then required, and could not be raised while the balance of the old fund lasted, the appointment of a General Committee would have been useless.[2] Mr. Secretary Eden's letters to the Board, No. 1398, dated 9th August,[3] and No. 2707, dated 11th September, show clearly that when the necessity for raising subscriptions in Calcutta for local and possibly for general purposes arose, I gladly availed myself of the aid of a General Committee.

[1] Rev. Pro., August 1866, Nos. 100, 101.

[2] Rev. Pro., August, Nos. 100, 101.
[3] Rev. Pro., Sept., Nos. 17, 20.

44. As to the manner in which the duty imposed on the Board was performed, I cannot do better than quote the words spoken at a public meeting by Mr. Scott Moncrieff, the gentleman who, on the part of his firm, made the proposal alluded to above in paragraph 12, and who is entitled not only to the credit of foreseeing and urging at a very early period the only measure which could have further alleviated the distress in Orissa, but to the most cordial acknowledgments of the Government for the active and valuable assistance he has rendered throughout the operations undertaken for its relief. Mr. Moncrieff said :—

"So far from attacking Government, I feel myself called on to defend it, in reference to the action of the Board of Revenue. Several weeks ago, Baboo Digumbar Mitter, as a representative of the Native community, and I, were invited to be present at the meetings of the Board when the famine was the subject of discussion, and we have attended every such meeting since. I do not think that the Board have not committed any mistakes or errors; on the contrary, I have thought them wrong more than once, and I think that they see they have made errors which might have been avoided perhaps, but this I will say, that they paid the closest attention to every case submitted for their consideration. Our meetings were not hurried; reports, appeals, telegrams from all quarters were taken up and disposed of after due inquiry. I have sat on many committees, but I never saw a committee do its work better, the difficulties it had to struggle with in supplying Orissa were enormous, but, so far from receiving from the public any consideration for these, the Board has been abused publicly and privately, as if nothing would serve people but to see them led out to execution in front of this hall pending further inquiry. I assert that in not one single instance has relief been applied for without being promptly afforded, and if up to date not more than two lakhs have been spent in all for relief of the famishing, it is because more has not been asked for. I repeat my conviction from what I have seen that no committee could do the enormous work entrusted to it better than the Board of Revenue."

45. Perhaps I might properly leave the Board of Revenue, to whom a copy of the Secretary of State's despatch has been sent, to answer that part of it (paragraph 7), which relates to the indication of approaching famine afforded by the rise in the price of food in Orissa from November 1865. But as I was myself much influenced by the statement of prices, which I examined week by week with attention and anxiety, I may say that they did not lead me to anticipate such an utter scarcity of food as to require that grain should be imported into the province by the Government. At the end of February, just after I left Cuttack, prices varied in the province from 10 to 9½ seers for the rupee, an improvement

improvement on the previous week, and up to the 24th March there was no material alteration. Then certainly there was a rise from four to five rupees the maund in Balasore and Cuttack, and from five to six rupees in Pooree, but afterwards prices remained stationary, or even improved a little, till the last week in May, when other circumstances had rendered it apparent not only that local charity, aided by casual subscriptions, was no longer sufficient for the relief of the destitute, but that the available local supply of food had failed, and could or would not be supplemented except by the direct interference of Government with the import trade of the Province. But the prices of themselves did not foretell the catastrophe that followed. A rise of prices is usual about March and April, when the new rice, harvested in December and January, has for the most part passed from the hands of the agriculturists into those of the dealers, and when the prospects of the early rains are still uncertain; and there were districts in Bengal where prices were as in Orissa, but where there was no symptom of distress either then or afterwards. At no time before the end of May, so far as I could judge from information within my reach, were prices so high in Orissa as in the adjoining district of Ganjam.

46. Any omission there may have been on my part to transmit promptly and regularly to the Government of India, during the early part of the year, the information furnished by the Board of Revenue and the local authorities, as to the prospects of the crops and the progressive increase of distress, must be attributed to this, that for a long time after the Board's report of the 25th November, which was submitted to the Government of India on the 11th December 1865, things appeared to have been then at their worst; that there was no further deterioration either in the prospects of the crops (the *Sárud* or *amun* rice crop in Bengal and Orissa was reaped in December, and the *rubbee* crop in Behar was generally good), and that up to the middle of May the increase of distress did not appear to be such as to require any more extended measures of relief than those which had been adopted, or which it was in my power to adopt without asking the Government of India for aid. Still, incidentally, on several occasions the subject was brought officially to the notice of the Government of India, and official prices-current were regularly published. Besides the reports made to the Government of India on the 10th November and 11th December 1865, I beg to refer to those noted on the margin,* and also to the columns of the "Calcutta Gazette," in which every week, and of the Calcutta newspapers, in which, almost daily, official notices of the price of food in the several districts were inserted. It was not until the middle of May that any occasion for departing from the usual course of business, and for passing on to the Government of India the reports I received from the Board and the local officers seemed to have arisen. From that time regular narratives have been submitted, and if I had received any intimation either from the Secretary of State (to whom the Board's report of the 25th November was forwarded early in January), or from the Government of India, that the regular submission of all correspondence was thought desirable at an earlier period, I should of course have obeyed it; though I venture to assert that nothing which transpired or was reported to me after the 11th December (the date of Mr. Secretary Eden's letter transmitting the Board's report) could have led either the Government of India or the Secretary of State to direct either an earlier appropriation of the balance of the Relief Fund, or an earlier importation of rice into Orissa, or have enabled Her Majesty's Government to communicate any instructions which could in the least degree have averted or mitigated the impending evil.

* P. W. D., No. 6067, dated 19th Dec.
P. W. D., No. 39, dated 8th January.
Rev. No. 477, dated 5th February.
Genl. No. 1048, dated 20th February.
P. W. D., No. 1146, dated 26th March.
Judl. No. 415, dated 12th May.
Rev. No. 633, dated 21st May.
Genl. No. 710, dated 22nd May.

47. I may here take occasion to remark on the warnings which the Government is said to have received from the public and the press. The first mention of scarcity I can find was in the summary of native papers for the week ending the 14th October, and on this (as stated above in paragraph 4) the Commissioner of Nuddea was desired to report. On the 23rd October, the very day on which the Commissioner of Cuttack was first directed to report on the subject, it was stated by the "Somprakash" that in consequence of the early cessation of the rains, prices had risen throughout Bengal, and the Government was called upon to prevent the exportation of rice, and to regulate the price at which the dealers should sell it. Beyond this it may suffice, if I refer only

only to "The Englishman" and "Hindu Patriot," the one being the leading English, and the other the leading Native journal at the Presidency, and to the "Friend of India," a paper published at Serampoor.

48. In the "Englishman" of the 27th and 28th October there appeared letters urging the Government in general terms to take measures to save the lives of the people from famine, and one of them suggesting that the Government should compel all Mahajuns, Zemindars, and Moodies to sell their surplus stocks. On this the editor justly remarked, "It is not much that Government can do in this matter beyond furnishing as full information as possible, and this we have no doubt will be done, should the present state of things continue. All else it can do *directly* will be to stimulate charity and to provide employment by public works, but the time has hardly come for either course." In the "Englishman" of the 3rd November appeared a letter from Nuddea, representing the destitute condition of the poor of that district, and an article, from which I make the following extracts:—

"Our correspondent gives a deplorable account of the condition of the population of the Nuddea district, which we fear to be but too true. No time should be lost in ordering the authorities to take steps, as we have already suggested, *for organizing relief*. The favourable accounts received of the crops in the eastern districts warrant the hope that the period during which relief will be needed *will be a comparatively short one*." "It is a hard thing to see a great calamity coming on slowly and irresistibly, and yet to know that at the best very little can be done to meet it; yet so it is. *Any interference on the part of Government would only make matters worse*, and those who are responsible for the welfare of the people can only mitigate the calamity in indirect ways, and to a very partial extent. With a large sea-board, and with Burmah only a few hundred miles off, there is no fear but that there will always be rice in Lower Bengal for those who can afford to pay for it, and all that Government can do is to assist the poor by work or alms, to enable them to earn its price."

49. On the 12th February there appeared in the same paper an article which I give at length:

"There is a return which we regularly publish in the column of official papers, but which, we are happy to say, is becoming less and less an object of interest to the public. For some months the statement of the prices of grain in various districts was read with anxiety and foreboding. Food was already dear, and it seemed that, do what we might, the last harvest would be insufficient to carry on the people of Lower Bengal to the next one. In more than one quarter demands were heard for the stoppage of exportation, with indistinct mutterings about Government fixing the prices, and enforcing the laws regarding forestalling and regrating. Government wisely turned a deaf ear to all such suggestions. It declared its belief that the doctrines of political economy were applicable, not only in fair weather, but in the most perilous trials to which a State can be subjected, and left the principle of competition to work, so far as it could, the cure. In a country like England, where communication is rapid, and where one district not only knows the wants of its neighbours, but is able quickly, and with a profit to itself, to supply them, the matter might have been left entirely to private enterprise; but at a very early stage of the famine, if we remember rightly, in the very first article which directed public attention to its approach, we pointed out that the Bengal Government, without interfering with private enterprise, might do much to assist it. It might let the merchants know where to buy grain cheapest, and where they could sell it dearest. In doing so, it would no doubt be conferring a favour on the merchants, but it would be conferring a much greater favour on the inhabitants. Districts in which the harvest had not been insufficient would, from the competition of buyers, obtain the highest possible rates for their grain; and districts in which the harvest had fallen below the demand, would be enabled to get the deficiency made good, so far as possible, from more fortunate parts of the country. The Board of Revenue has accordingly called for weekly reports from the various districts, showing the price of grain in ordinary years, and at the present time. Instead, therefore, of leaving one district in ignorance where to sell its crops to the best advantage, and another in ignorance where to find food to save the people from starvation, Government, by accurately informing the public on these points, has stimulated private competition in time to equalise the prices all round, and thereby to render it necessary for the whole people to husband their stock. The superfluity of one district has just sufficed to take the edge off the necessities of another; and while all Bengal has had to go on short rations, no part of it has been permitted to experience the extremity of famine. It may be well to consider the natural and inevitable results which interference would have produced. The first thing the Indian Government used to do on a rise of prices was to stop exportation, and declare any hoarding of grain a criminal offence. If these measures were strictly enforced, they rendered any serious rise in price impossible for a time, and people went on consuming their ordinary amount of provision; but this was only for a time, and Government speedily found itself compelled again to interfere. It fixed the

prices of food, and declared any merchant taking a higher sum than that laid down by law, or refusing to sell at the legal price, to be amenable to the magistrate. Corn-dealers were in constant jeopardy, and no respectable man would engage in a trade in which his transactions were subjected to constant interference, his property to seizure, and his person to arrest. The populace lived from hand to mouth, obtaining food at artificially low prices, when their only chance rested in the rise of prices, and the decrease in the national consumption which inevitably follows. Long before the ensuing harvest was ready, they had consumed the whole stock of food in the country, and then came the terrible months when bread was not to be had at any price, and the Government at last realised the fact that it was no temporary scarceness or combination of the merchants it had to deal with, but a real famine. If any one will carefully study the history of great dearths, particularly of those that afflicted Bengal at short recurring intervals during the earlier years of our rule, he will find that they were due not so much to the utter inadequacy of the harvest to the wants of the people, as to a partial inadequacy, exaggerated and intensified by the vexatious intermeddling of Government, and by foolish legislation. Nature has always a strong tendency to right herself; and it is because Government ignorantly interfered with the process by which she struggled to cure the evil, that every bad harvest in by-gone days produced a famine.

"This year Government wisely recognised at once that it had to prepare for a real deficiency. The only thing that could be done was to relieve its intensity in particular spots, by spreading it equally over the whole country. Private enterprise is quite as active among the Native community as among the English, but it is not so prompt. It requires leading, and these official returns, showing the price in various parts of the country, afforded precisely the right kind and the proper amount of guidance. Where food was cheapest prices rose suddenly, the people were forced to diminish their daily consumption, and now there is abundant evidence that the quantity on hand will suffice for the inhabitants until next harvest, even at a slightly increased rate of consumption. For the past month, the price of rice, the great staple of Bengal, has, on the whole, not advanced. In many districts it has decreased. Thus taking the latest return before us, that of the 1st February, we find that out of 11 districts, in only two the price has advanced, while in three it has decreased, and in the other six it appears to have remained stationary. Nor is rice the only product the price of which is lower. Wheat and attah are both mentioned as cheaper in some of the districts, and although dearer in others, the price has not advanced on the whole. We have still to live through six months before even the summer rice will be ready, and the dry districts in Western Bengal have nearly 10. It is a long time, but we have the assurance that public attention is thoroughly awakened, and that *as soon as it will pay to import rice from Burmah, rice will be brought.* The national stock is at present being so carefully husbanded, however, that there is a reasonable prospect of its lasting out the year; and we trust that, although the statements of prices are no longer a matter of so deep anxiety as they were a few months ago, they will not be discontinued until prices return to their former rates. This we cannot expect until a new harvest makes good the deficiencies of the past one. A year of suffering is before the people; but it is some consolation to reflect that the timely equalization of prices will prevent it being a year of starvation. Meanwhile rain has fallen abundantly in Western Bengal during the past month; some districts, in which the spring crops had been despaired of, are green with *til* and other cold-weather products, and these early showers promise to give a good account of the October sowings to the planters. Meanwhile, they have given many a day's wages to the ever-increasing portion of the rural population who work for hire."

50. On the 20th March, there appeared in the same paper a letter signed "C," treating the question of the famine in an economical point of view; and on the 10th April, a letter from Cuttack, complaining generally of high prices and distress. But there was no further editorial allusion to the subject till the 14th April, when the writer simply drew attention to an advertisement by Messrs. Sykes & Co., asking for subscriptions to the Orissa Famine Fund, and again, on the 24th, when the advertisement of the Balasore Relief Committee inviting subscriptions was noticed, and the formation of a general fund was strongly recommended. On the 27th, there appeared an article in which the writer, so far from finding fault with what had been done or left undone, or proposing other measures to relieve the distress, observed in a tone of congratulation that the expenditure of capital especially in Cuttack, and the permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar, had created a wage fund which enabled the people to pass with comparatively little suffering through a season of trial, such as those which, on former occasions, had almost depopulated this country.

51. On the 30th April, Mr. Chapman, who in his private capacity had consented to receive subscriptions on account of the Balasore Relief Committee, wrote to the editor recommending the formation of a general fund for the relief of the distress in Orissa; and the editor, after saying that Board had hitherto rightly confined themselves to giving the fullest publicity to the state

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of prices throughout the country, and that this course had assisted the laws of supply and demand and facilitated the equalisation of prices throughout the country by directing private enterprise, observed that *money only was wanting to put food into the mouths of those who could not afford to pay these prices*, and called on the public of Calcutta to set an example by organising a general fund, which the Government would no doubt handsomely supplement.

52. On the 2nd May there appeared in the same paper a letter from Cuttack, dated 28th April, recommending the appointment of relief committees in each district, and adding that, besides money, some thousands of maunds of rice were required. The editor called the attention of the public to the Orissa Relief Fund, an advertisement of which, with a list of subscribers headed by the Viceroy, was published in the same paper. On the 10th May there was another letter, explaining why private merchants had failed to supply the want of rice in Orissa, and saying that the Government might have freighted 10 or 20 large ships with rice from Burmah and sold it at Cuttack at a profit. "It is rice," observed the writer, "not money that is wanted." On the following day there appeared an article beginning with the hopeful announcement that "Everything promises a return of plenty this year," and concluding with the remark that while the famine of 1769–70 had thrown half Bengal out of cultivation, the effect of the scarcity in 1865–66 had "so far been to bring hitherto valueless land into tillage, and to extend the margin of cultivation throughout the country."

53. On the 15th there appeared a letter from Mr. Barlow, the Collector of Pooree, to the editor, stating that the relief operations undertaken in that district had become insufficient to meet the extended and increasing distress, and urging the formation of a general relief fund in aid of local subscriptions. On the 21st there was published a letter from Mr. Muspratt, the Collector of Balasore, to the editor, explaining what had been done in that district, and asking for subscriptions from the public. "The stock of rice in the district," said Mr. Muspratt, "aided by imports from Arracan, received and expected shortly, will suffice to feed all the inhabitants. All that our committee needs is the money to purchase the rice from the merchants for distribution to the starving poor."

54. On the same date, and also on the 22nd, there appeared letters from Mr. Chapman, again urging the necessity for a general relief fund, and on the 22nd a further letter from Mr. Barlow, and one from Mr. Cornell, the Collector of Cuttack, the latter saying that a small supply of money only was wanted, and and that there was "sufficient grain concealed or stored for this season," and the former urging the formation of a central committee to collect subscriptions from the whole country, and to control the relief operations carried on by the Local Committees. "If," wrote Mr. Cornell, "we can get another 1,000 rupees besides the current subscriptions, I think we shall be able to continue feeding the poor for the next three or four months." In the meanwhile the further measures already described had been taken by the Government, and on the 23rd May the "Englishman" formally announced that the Government had come forward to alleviate the distress. On the same day, Mr. Chapman wrote to the editor, saying that as the Government had assigned 10,000 rupees to each of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Pooree to meet the immediate distress, no further contributions from the public were *for the present* necessary; and in this opinion the editor in a short article on the 24th virtually acquiesced, though he still recommended that a general central committee should be formed to superintend expenditure.

55. In the "Hindu Patriot" there was no particular allusion to the famine till the 5th March, when there appeared a letter from a native member of the Pooree Relief Committee, describing what had been done by the Committee, and appealing to the public for funds. But in the article noticing the letter, though I was taunted with having told the people at Cuttack, that no Government could do much to prevent or alleviate famine, not the faintest suggestion was offered as to how the Government could do more for the people than it had then done by providing money for the employment of labour, and by organising measures of charitable relief. The "Hindu Patriot" did not recur to the matter of the famine till the 2nd April, and then only in these terms:—

"We do not mean to say that the Government is to feed the famine-stricken population at the expense of the State. It can, however, do much to alleviate distress. It can project works of public utility which may give employment to the able-bodied, where the supply is limited it can facilitate transport of food by making arrangements with the railway and river steam companies. It can offer bonuses to importers with a view to encourage supply. Our countrymen can understand individual charities, but at a time of such wide-spread distress we want organised charities."

56. There was no further mention of the famine in the "Hindu Patriot" till the 23rd April, when it urged a general movement for the collection of subscriptions, and reproached the Government for not spending more money on public works, and for not heading such a movement. The editor was evidently not aware that relief committees had been organised in every district in which distress had appeared, and that money had been unsparingly provided for public works and had been given wherever it was asked for.

57. On the 7th May the "Hindu Patriot," after complaining of the backwardness of the wealthy residents of Calcutta, and urging them to contribute to the relief of the distressed, admitted that much was not to be expected from a general subscription at a time when money was so dear, pointed out how the Local Relief Committees might best assist the actually destitute, and urged upon the Government its obligation to give employment to the able bodied, especially in Cuttack. In another article of that date the editor observed that though the rice market had long remained stationary, the tendency of prices, notwithstanding the recent fall of rain, was again upwards, that the Government was right in not interfering with trade, and that dependence must be placed on the action of Local Relief Committees.

58. On the 14th the "Patriot" published a letter from Pooree, describing the condition of the poor in that district, and urged the formation of a general relief fund, adding that the Chamber of Commerce had asked the Government to apply the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Relief Fund for the relief of the sufferers. And on the 21st the editor returned to the subject, again urging the organization of a general fund, and calling on the Government to sanction the application of the balance of the Famine Fund and to supplement private contributions. On the 28th the editor announced that the Government had given two lakhs for relief, and observed that if four lakhs were added to this amount *there would be ample means at the disposal of the local officers.*

59. I should not have thought it worth while to notice what was said by the "Friend of India," if it were not that the editor is generally supposed to be the Calcutta correspondent of the "London Times." The "Friend" made a brief allusion to the probability of scarcity in Orissa in its epitome of the 9th November, and on the 16th November the editor, after stating that nothing could save the autumn crops, observed that the import of the new rice from the prosperous eastern districts six weeks hence would prevent actual famine in Orissa and Behar. On the 30th the probability of famine in Orissa and Behar was again alluded to, but no remedy was suggested except the abandonment of the opium monopoly. On the 7th December the editor wrote thus: "Mr. Chapman, the secretary to the Bengal Board of Revenue, has, by his intelligent report on the prevailing scarcity, relieved us from the fear of a famine next February," and on the 28th December, he recurred to the subject in a less hopeful tone, but suggested nothing but a liberal exercise of private charity and the employment of the people on public works. From that time until the 12th April there is scarcely an allusion to the subject, and even then the only thing thought necessary by the editor was "a general but small subscription in Calcutta and Bengal for all the sufferers in Orissa and Ganjam." Then there was silence on the subject for more than a month till the 17th May (the day after I had asked the Government of India to place the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund at my disposal) when there appeared letters from Mr. Muspratt, the Collector of Balasore, and from Messrs. Sykes and Co., asking for subscriptions in aid of the funds administered by the Relief Committee of Balasore and the missionaries in Midnapore, Cuttack and Ganjam, but not a word of editorial comment. On the 24th, after alluding to the fact that the Board of Revenue had received *carte blanche* to expend a lakh in relief, the editor observed that the large balance of the old famine fund, which he supposed to be only four lakhs, ought

ought to be more than sufficient *to carry on public works and import large supplies of rice simultaneously without rendering a further appeal to the public necessary.* The importation of rice, he observed, would *force the short-sighted Bunneahs to open their stores.* Again, on the 31st May, after stating how the lakh at the disposal of the Board would be expended, the editor remarked that the Bengal Government requests further assistance from the public, but that *the Government of India must first render an account of its stewardship of the last famine fund.* On the 7th June the paper began to accuse the Government of want of foresight, but suggested no measures which had not already been taken. Yet this is the paper which has since been most virulent in denouncing the Government for taking no sufficient action to prevent or mitigate the effects of the famine till driven by public indignation to do so.

60. Having thus brought my narrative down to the end of May, and having shown that the leading organs of English and native opinion neither brought any material facts to the notice of the Government which were not reported by the local officers, nor suggested any measures (except the formation of a general relief committee), which had not been already taken, but in fact virtually approved of all that the Government had done, I may advert to the fact that on the 15th April I left Calcutta, and established the head-quarters of the local government for a while at Darjeeling. At that time I had every reason to believe, and certainly did believe, that severe as the suffering might be, and might for some months continue to be, every means had been taken to relieve and avert it by a liberal expenditure on public works, and by the collection and distribution of charitable aid through the agency of the district relief committees. My only reason for going to Darjeeling was that my medical adviser considered that I could not remain in Calcutta during the hot weather and rains, except at the risk of my life, and strongly urged the change. I had no personal inclination to go to the hills, and to those who know what Darjeeling is during the monsoon months, it is superfluous to say that, beyond its cool and healthy climate, the place possesses no attraction whatever. Nothing but regular occupation makes Darjeeling endurable for any length of time; and while there I certainly never diminished, or had any temptation to diminish, aught of the daily task which official life in India imposes. The ordinary administration of such a province as Bengal (except during the season of legislation) can be carried on as efficiently at Darjeeling as in Calcutta: but still, if it were merely to avoid the invidious comments of the press, I should not have gone there except for the sake of health, and on no consideration would I have gone if I had thought that any further special arrangements for the relief of the distressed districts would be required, or that by remaining in Calcutta I could in any way have forwarded or assisted the operations that had already been undertaken.

61. On the 13th June, when it became apparent that rice would have to be imported into Orissa on a large scale, and that it might be necessary to appeal to the public for aid, I left Darjeeling for the Presidency at the desire of the Viceroy, and remained there till the end of July. During that time I took a direct personal part in the measures in progress for the relief of the distressed districts, and attended the weekly meetings of the Board, to which two non-official gentlemen were also invited. As the Secretary of State has beeen pleased to express his approval of the promptness and energy with which, as soon as the extent of the impending calamity was realised, all the officers connected with the administration exerted themselves to mitigate the sufferings of the people, it is unnecessary that I should here advert to our proceedings further than to say that they were regularly reported to the Government of India, and that from the Government of India I received most ready and liberal support.

62. I returned to Darjeeling at the end of July. During the six or seven weeks that I was in Calcutta, I was constantly ill. My medical adviser repeatedly urged me to return to the hills, and declared that nothing short of absolute necessity would justify me in remaining in Calcutta at the risk of my life. Still, if I had thought that by remaining in Calcutta I could have in any way helped to carry out the arrangements that had been matured under my personal direction, or have contributed to the preservation of a single life, I should have remained.

63. But it was not in the power of the Government to do more than had been done. Unlimited discretion had been given to the local officers in every district to disburse money on public works and in charitable relief, and precise rules had been laid down for their guidance. Arrangements had been made for the regular importation of large quantities of rice by sea into the ports of Orissa and for its conveyance into the interior, and a special staff of officers had been placed at the disposal of the Commissioner for this service. Nothing remained to be done by the Government which could not be as well done at Darjeeling as in Calcutta, and the prospects of the season were such as to promise that on the gathering of the early rice crop in August the distress would be materially lessened. There were still abundant funds in hand to meet the utmost demands of the local relief committees for some months, and there was no reasonable probability that we should have to appeal to the public for more. I therefore yielded to the pressing advice of the medical officer and left the Presidency on the 29th July.

64. To the Viceroy I fully explained these circumstances, and the reason which compelled me to leave Calcutta; and shortly after my return to Darjeeling, when a sudden influx of distressed people into Calcutta rendered it necessary to adopt special measures for their relief, I wrote to his Excellency in the following terms:—"Although I could do nothing in Calcutta that I cannot do equally well here, I should not have returned when I did if I had not been worried by constant attacks of illness, which might at any moment have assumed a dangerous form, and if Dr. Fayrer had not urged me to leave the plains as soon as possible. I am better now, and ready to go back to Calcutta at once at any risk if you think it necessary for the public service that I should be there." "If I see any necessity for going down I shall of course leave at once, without waiting for an intimation of your wishes." To which his Excellency was so good as to reply that he by no means wished me to go to Calcutta, that he knew that my health required a cool climate, and that the great object of my going down had been attained. I quite admit that by remaining in Calcutta I should have escaped much newspaper obloquy which I should have been glad to avoid, but beyond that my presence there would have done no good whatever.

65. As regards the distress in Calcutta, I had, while there, been in frequent communication with Mr. Hogg, the Commissioner of Police and Chairman of the Justices, and had done everything in concert with him and the medical authorities to provide hospital accommodation and medical attendance for the sick paupers. I had also called for a report* as to the extent to which destitution prevailed; but up to the date of my leaving Calcutta, and for some days afterwards, no necessity for relief operations other than those which had been voluntarily undertaken by the wealthy native residents had arisen. When the necessity arose for more extended and better organised measures of relief in the city and its suburbs, the Commissioner of Police acted† promptly by forming a Relief Committee, and calling on the public for subscriptions, which were most liberally given, and which, under the excellent management of the Committee, more than sufficed to meet local wants, and were afterwards applied in part to supplement the balance of the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund for the relief of distress in the interior, when the inundations of August and September in Cuttack rendered additional aid necessary. The measures adopted in Calcutta previous to the formation of this Committee cannot be better described than in the following statement, made by Mr. Hogg to the public meeting:—

* Medl. Pro., June, No. 89.

† From Commissioner of Police, No. 1170, dated 23rd August 1866.

"I purpose simply to lay before you the facts within my personal knowledge and connected with Calcutta alone. I desire to explain when the first increase of paupers was noticed by the executive authorities, and the measures and policy adopted by them up to the present time. Several months back the Lieutenant Governor foresaw the probable increase of pauperism in Calcutta, and called for a report from me. I informed his Honor that at that time the extent of pauperism had not assumed any alarming proportion, and that no immediate occasion for action seemed to me necessary. A short time after, his Honor again inquired from me on the same subject, and I stated, that though paupers were daily flocking into Calcutta, their wants were being fully met by the munificent liberality of private native gentlemen, who were opening charities all over the town to meet the emergency. Under these circumstances, the Lietenant Governor was of opinion that it would not be expedient to interfere with private liberality, but intimated, at the same time, his readiness to adopt extraordinary measures in the event of such being necessary. Though the feeding of the poor was left to private charity, his Honor was of opinion that

that immediate measures should be adopted by Government to increase the hospital accommodation. Orders were accordingly issued to the Inspector General of Hospitals, authorising him to engage such extra sheds as might seem to him necessary. Arrangements were also entered into with the Municipality for an extra hospital to be opened in Amherst-street, Government providing medical attendance and medicines, and the dieting being paid for by the Municipality. The suburban authorities at the same time proposed opening a charitable dispensary at Chitpore, and on Government being applied to, the services of a sub-assistant surgeon were ordered to be placed at their disposal, and medicines ordered to be granted free of cost to the dispensary. On an application being made to Government by the Health Officer, 6,500 available blankets were at once given for distribution amongst the paupers. That the policy adopted by the authorities has proved successful is, I submit, established from the fact of all the starving multitudes who have flocked into Calcutta having found ample relief, and not one pauper has lacked food. I am certain that up to the present time the natives of the city have not desired the interference of Government in carrying out the great and noble work of charity which they had voluntarily taken upon themselves, and which they could manage for themselves far better than we could do for them, and that they merely required the assistance of the executive authorities, which has been readily given. Shelter was also provided about a month ago, with permission of Government, on the Strand-bank, by the justices and private individuals. About a fortnight ago the influx of paupers increased to such an enormous extent, that the authorities were of opinion measures should be adopted for organizing arrangements to assist the private charities then in existence. After much consideration, it was finally resolved that a Committee should be formed, and subscriptions invited. The Government are now prepared to grant every assistance in their power to any measures which may be adopted by this meeting, and I am desired to state that medical relief and the opening of public works to give employment to the able-bodied is the assistance which the Lieutenant Governor considers Government should afford, as his Honor is of opinion that Calcutta is both able and willing to maintain the poor now crying within its streets for relief, and that therefore the funds at the disposal of Government should be reserved for the relief of the rural districts, whose suffering inhabitants are more dependent on such aid than those of the metropolis."

66. It has also been charged against me that I did not personally visit the distressed districts, and my conduct in this respect has been contrasted with that of his Excellency the Governor of Madras, who visited Ganjam during the famine, and has described the result of his visit in his Minute of the 5th October. On this it may be said, that while in Madras operations for the relief of distress were confined to portions of a single district, in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, they were spread over some fifteen districts, extending through seven degrees of latitude and five of longitude. It would not have been personally inconvenient to me to visit any or all of these districts in June and July (as I did Cuttack and Pooree in February), but it would have been attended with great public inconvenience, and would, in my opinion, have done no practical good. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has not the advantage of a Council to carry on the business of Government in his absence, and wherever he goes, either the machinery of Government must go with him, or there must be serious delay in the despatch of business. At that season of the year it would have been impracticable in such a country as Bengal to move about and accommodate even a portion of the office establishment, and there can be no doubt, I think, that I was much more usefully employed in directing operations from head-quarters, than I should have been in going about from district to district. The local officers and relief committees were well assured of my sympathy, and of the encouragement I desired to afford them in their unwonted labours, and their efforts to alleviate the suffering by which they were surrounded needed not the stimulus of my presence.

67. I cordially agree, for the most part, in the sentiments of Lord Napier, as expressed in the annexed extract* from his Minute, but I cannot allow that in comparison

* "I wish I could assert that the remedies ordered by Government were altogether timely and sufficient in the present instance. If they had been so, 1,600 persons would not have perished by hunger. I am bound to acknowledge that some portion of this death and suffering might have been hindered if action had been taken on the earliest intimation of approaching scarcity. It may, however, be affirmed that the measures sanctioned by Government, whether we regard promptitude or efficiency, *will bear comparison with the proceedings of authority in similar cases in other times and at other places.* Governments are slow believers in public calamity, and they entertain a justifiable reluctance to sanction the commencement of gratuitous relief—a measure of which no one can foretell the economical and moral consequences. If help was not afforded at an earlier period by the Madras Government, it was certainly not due to a want of benevolence but from a want of conviction that the necessity was inevitable, and, in some degree, from a want of accurate detailed information. When the necessity did become indisputably apparent, the Governmant was not idle, and it was supported by the charity of Madras. There is no doubt something to regret, but there is more that may be regarded with satisfaction. We may profit by experience, and do better next time."

comparison with Madras the action of the Government or of the local officers in Bengal has been either backward or inefficient. The course of this narrative has shown that the probability of scarcity attracted the attention of Government in October; that from that time prompt and regular information of the prices of food prevailing in each district was published; that in December the most ample provision was made for the employment of the able-bodied poor on public works; relief committees were organised in each district for the collection of subscriptions and the relief of the destitute, and the local officers were given full discretion to expend money in Government estates for the same purpose; that pecuniary aid began to be freely granted from the North-Western Provinces Famine Fund in all the distressed districts from the 21st May; and that from the 30th idem, active measures were taken to import rice into Orissa from Calcutta and the Burmese ports, to the value of 20 lakhs of rupees. The grievous mortality which has occurred in Cuttack is mainly due, not to the drought of 1865 and the consequent scarcity, the effects of which might possibly have been sooner foreseen and in some greater measure prevented, but to the extraordinary inundation of August 1866, which submerged half the Province for several days, destroying much life and property, including all the crops on the ground, and cutting off the helpless population from the reach of relief. This was a calamity which no human foresight or exertion in 1865-66 could have averted or mitigated.

68. Lastly, with reference to the statements made and repeated in the newspapers, that the local officers in Orissa and Midnapore were left without proper assistance, and that their hands were not strengthened to meet the additional duties imposed on them by the famine, I beg to refer to the Narrative submitted with Mr. Secretary Eden's letter, No. 2084 T., dated the 10th September 1866, a portion of which I here quote:—

"It having been stated in the public newspapers that the officers in the Orissa districts and in Midnapore are underhanded and unable to attend to the relief operations, and that no measures have been taken by the Government to strengthen the local administration, it seems necessary to report what has been done in this respect, although most of the arrangements have been incidentally mentioned in previous narratives.

"Early in June, three special additional assistant magistrates were sent to Orissa, one for each of the three districts, and all the assistant magistrates already in the Province were vested with higher powers, to enable them to give more effectual help to the district officers, on whom the burden of administering relief to the distressed poor chiefly devolved. Two additional Deputy Collectors were also sent, one to Balasore and the other to Cuttack, for the same purpose.

"On the 21st June, Mr. M'Neile, of the Civil Service, a selected officer of proved energy, who had directed the operations for the relief of the sufferers from the Cyclone in October 1864, was sent to Orissa to relieve the Commissioner of the division of some of the heavy duties thrown upon him in consequence of the famine, and to undertake, in concert with the Commissioner and under his authority, the general direction and organisation of the measures in progress for the relief of the destitute, and for the landing, transport, and sale of the rice imported on account of the Government. Mr. M'Neile occupied, in fact, the position of a Special Commissioner; but it was thought better that he should work under the authority of the head of the local administration, than that he should be independent, and this arrangement has worked well, and with satisfactory results.

"Three European officers of the Public Works Department were placed at Mr. M'Neile's disposal, to assist in superintending the sale and distribution of rice at the main centres of relief, *and he was authorised to entertain on the spot any additional establishment he might require.* Two extra officers have also been sent from Calcutta, and placed under the orders of the Superintending Engineer of the Circle, to supervise the works specially sanctioned for the purpose of giving employment to the able-bodied poor.

"It may also be added, that prior to Mr. M'Neile's deputation, an additional judge had been sent to hold the sessions at Balasore, a duty which otherwise would have had to be done by the Commissioner, but which he could not at that time attend to without prejudice to those imposed on him in consequence of the famine.

"To Midnapore two additional deputy magistrates were sent to assist the district officer in organising relief measures.

"In all these districts the police has been largely strengthened, chiefly indeed with a view to keep order among the numbers of people collected at the centres of relief, and to prevent the commission of grain robberies, which had become frequent in consequence of a general want of food among the poorest classes: but these extra police have also been usefully employed in forwarding the relief operations.

"Seven additional native medical officers have been despatched to Orissa to assist in attending on the sick, who, in consequence of privation and the prevalence of epidemic cholera, have been very numerous.

"Lastly,

"Lastly, the local administration has received much valuable aid, spontaneously and gratuitously rendered by most of the European and native gentry of the Province, who have formed themselves into the local committees of relief acting in concert with the district officers. Generally speaking, the zemindars have assisted the poor in their own villages, and large sums of money have been raised in each district by private charity, insomuch that up to May last it was believed and reported by the local officers that the resources of the districts themselves would suffice for the support of the weak and helpless, and that no further aid would be required beyond what had been provided by the Government in the shape of funds for the employment of the able-bodied on works of public usefulness."

Belvedere, 5 January 1867. *Cecil Beadon.*

(Public.—No. 14.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 28 February 1867.

Para. 1. Your Despatches, noted on the margin,* have been laid before me in Council.

* No 92, dated 20th December 1866.
" 1, " 4th January 1867.
" 4, " 7th " "
" 5, " 8th " "

2. I am very glad to perceive that the hopes entertained of a gradual diminution of the suffering and distress caused by the famine are being realised. The Despatches above referred to do not call for special remarks, beyond my approval of the measures you have adopted, especially regarding the remission of revenue in certain estates being made conditional on the zemindars, or their under tenants, exempting the ryots from all demands on account of the second kist.

3. I have read attentively the Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal of the 5th January last, forwarded in your Despatch, No. 5, of the 8th January 1867, but forbear to make any remarks upon it, until I have received the Report of the Commission on the Famine.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

Despatch from the Government of India, dated 11th January (No. 6) of 1867.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Documents:—

22nd Narrative of Bengal Government.

Since the last Narrative was submitted to the Government of India, the Lieutenant Governor has approved of an advance of 3,000 rupees to the ryots of the Government estate Noanund, in the district of Balasore, for the purchase of seed-grain.

2. His Honor had occasion to notice, in the 25th Narrative submitted by the Board of Revenue, and which was forwarded to the Government of India with memorandum No. 3171½, dated the 30th ultimo, that a very large proportion of people receiving relief at Balasore were non-labourers. This has since been explained by the Commissioner of Cuttack as having arisen from the insufficiency of employment for the class of light labourers who were in a condition fitting them for but little exertion, and it was considered necessary to feed many capable of doing a little work, to avoid the alternative of turning them adrift, as few, if any, were fit to perform a fair day's work and earn their food.

3. The funds at the disposal of the Calcutta Famine Relief Committee amount to about 1,66,000 rupees. Of this sum they have reserved 1,50,000 rupees for special purposes, and they have placed 16,000 rupees, and intend placing all future subscriptions to their fund, at the disposal of the Board of Revenue for distribution in the districts of the interior.

(signed) *A. Eden,*
Fort William, 20 December 1866. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

NARRATIVE, No. 28, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue and the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in *Orissa* and in other parts of *Bengal*.

Pooree.—In the report for the week ending 24th November, further improvement in the condition of the people is shown. The Collector had visited the sub-division of Khoordah, where it has now been found practicable to close some of the smaller outside depôts after taking efficient steps to provide for the maintenance of those paupers who might be still unable to support themselves. The market prices of rice have latterly varied but little, the rate reported by telegram of the 13th December being from 10½ to 14½ seers per rupee. A further slight decrease appeared in the daily rate of mortality throughout the district, which for the week above noted was only 22. Part of the last cargo of rice, which it will be necessary to send to Pooree, has left Calcutta, and the remainder will be sent down at once. Meanwhile, the Government stocks are well supplied.

From Cuttack and Balasore no relief returns have been received during this week. The market price of rice in the former district was reported on the 13th instant to be rather higher, or from 13 to 15 seers per rupee. In Balasore, the prices ranged on the 14th from 16 to 32 seers in different parts of the district. In addition to the 10,000 blankets already sent to Bhudruck, 5,000 have been now asked for at Balasore, and are under despatch. In the sub-division the Relief Committee find themselves able to close nearly all the outside depôts.

Maunbhoom.—During the week ending 30th November, the depôts of Shamsoonderpore, Chass, Jhaldah, Bygunkooder, Baughmoondee, Heslah, and Doobrah were closed. The daily average of persons fed in the district, exclusive of Govindpore, being reduced to 3,123, or 1,400 less than the previous week. From Govindpore it had been reported that there are only 44 really starving people remaining at the depôt. The Assistant Commissioner in charge had been directed to visit the other depôts in the sub-division before stopping relief at Govindpore, and to close these depôts in the first instance if possible, bringing into Govindpore those who might still need relief, and closing that centre last in the sub-division.

Pooruliah Depôt.—There were during the week 13 deaths at the hospital and one at the depôt: 284 people were sent to their homes, provided with clothing and money for the road. At the orphanage there were 79 children, 3 having died during the week, 2 ran away, and 1 claimed by his relatives. The depôt at Joypore is now supported by the Joypore zemindar, who has retained the old establishment, and carries on the measures formerly introduced by the Committee. At the larger number of depôts mortality is now entirely ceasing, and the continuance of relief measures will, it is believed, be in a short time unnecessary, save at the principal centres, where many poor have gathered.

Patna.—The Collector reported on the 30th November that the Relief Committee had unanimously resolved to stop further operations. The price of rice has fallen to 20 seers for coarse rice and one maund for paddy per rupee; vegetables also are procurable, and the new rice crop, which is a full one, is coming into the market. The Committee have been desired to give each man still remaining at the depôts a blanket and money sufficient to take him home, and every woman who wanted them a piece of cloth and a blanket.

24-*Pergunnahs.*—The last report received from the Commissioner regarding this district is published below at length.

Published for general information.

By Order of the Board of Revenue,

T. B. Lane,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Fort William, 15 December 1866.

NARRATIVE, No. 29, of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in *Orissa* and in other parts of *Bengal*.

Balasore.—From the relief statements for the week ending 24th November, it appears that relief sales had then entirely ceased, as those who were in charge of the shops could no longer find purchasers for their rice, even at the low price of four pice per seer. There had been a great decrease also in the number of recipients of relief, and the rates of mortality had fallen to 20 daily throughout the district. The Relief Committee had converted the Sumbulpore feeding centre into a convalescent depôt for paupers, to be placed under the charge of the civil surgeon and superintended by a native resident doctor. Sumbulpore is a very healthy situation, about two miles from the town of Balasore. The five

five thousand blankets required for distribution reached Balasore on the 19th instant. The price of rice still continues the same.

Midnapore.—From the report of the Relief Committee, dated the 11th instant, it appears that all the depôts in Midnapore have been closed, and that aid is now required only by the sick in hospital. The reports from this district will now be discontinued.

Tirhoot.—The relief depôts have been gradually closing during this month. Those at Dyne Chuprah, Parihur, Pursa, Mudhoobunee, Durbungah, and Poosah continue open. At Doomrah, Roui, Syudpore, and Rajkhand, there are a few still relieved, but these are rapidly dispersing as the rice harvest offers employment, all able-bodied men who decline to betake themselves to field work being sent away from the depôts. At Durbungah there are from 500 to 600 still collected. These are beggars and paupers of all kinds attracted by the proximity of a large town. Mr. Forlong has undertaken their management from the funds of the estate. At Seetamarhee there are none now receiving relief, excepting those under medical treatment. The Collector states that there is now so large a demand for field labourers to harvest the rice that none but those absolutely incapable of working need be kept on the relief lists.

Reports received from the 24-Pergunnahs and Maunbhoom are published below.

Published for general information.

By order of the Board of Revenue,

Fort William,
22 December 1866.

T. B. Lane, Secretary.

(Public, No. 15.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 28 February 1867.

Para. 1. YOUR Despatch, No. 6, dated the 11th January last, has been laid before me in Council; I am glad to perceive, from the weekly returns, that the number of deaths are sensibly diminishing, and that the amount of relief required in the same districts has, in proportion, decreased since the date of the last return.

2. I observe from the Papers forwarded with your Despatch under reply, that the Committee of the Bengal and Orissa Famine Relief Fund consider that the active portion of their duties have now been brought to a close. The subscriptions that have been collected under the auspices of the Committee, amounting to so large a sum as *Rs.* 5,22,439. 1. 3., reflect the utmost credit, as well on the zeal and energy of its members as on the benevolence of the contributors; and the admirable and judicious distribution of the funds entrusted to the care of the Committee merits the warmest thanks of Her Majesty's Government. I request, therefore, that you will express to Mr. Stuart Hogg, the chairman, and, through him, to the honourable secretaries, the doctors, executive committee, and native gentlemen who have been so devoted and liberal of their active services in this time of extreme distress, the sense entertained of their services by myself in common with every member of my Council. The distribution which it is proposed to make of the surplus of the funds shows as discriminating a regard for the welfare of the surviving sufferers from the famine as has been evinced in the distribution of the remainder of the funds.

3. I concur in your decision, in reply to the reference made by the President of the Famine Commission, that, though the proceedings of the Commission may be conducted in public, measures should be taken to prevent the publication of the evidence till the inquiry is completed.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 21st January (No. 8) of 1867.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Documents:—

23RD NARRATIVE OF BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

* Letter from Board of Revenue, No. 5172B., dated 27th November 1866.
To Board, No. 3206, dated 5th December 1866.
From Board, No. 5388B., dated 7th December 1866, and Enclosures.
To Board, No. 3359, dated 19th December 1866.
To Public Works Department, No. 3360, dated 19th December 1866.
To Officiating Inspector General of Gaols, Lower Provinces, No. 3361, dated 19th December 1866.
From Board, No. 5462B., dated 12th December 1866.
To Board, No. 3407, dated 22nd December 1866.
From Board, No. 5582B., dated 18th December 1866.

AMONGST the Papers* now submitted will be found a letter from the Commissioner of Cuttack (No. 1183, dated 19th November 1866), reporting the measures adopted for the continued supply of the destitute poor with rice. Sales of rice have been extended in Kendrapara, and a large sale depôt established at Hursoon, on the Dhamra River, as well as at Pattamoondai, a few miles from Kendrapara.

2. The Board of Revenue having submitted their remarks, with the Commissioner's observations, on the state of the district of Cuttack towards the coast, and particularly within the jurisdiction of the Kendrapara Sub-Division, they were told to arrange in personal communication with the Commissioner (a member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. Schalch, having been deputed by the Lieutenant Governor to Cuttack), the measures necessary for the support of the population along the coast in those parts of the province of Orissa which were devastated by the inundation of last August. Orders have been issued to the Public Works Department for the repairs of embankments, and for undertaking the local works required in and about Kendrapara, and the proposed new Sub-Division. It will be seen that the Lieutenant Governor has directed that relief operations shall, for the future, be under the direction and responsibility of one member of the Board, and that this department of their business is to be assigned to Mr. Schalch, who has been called upon for accurate information on all points on which a scheme may be based for the guidance of all officers concerned, in order that the operations determined upon may be systematically carried out.

3. The circumstances under which notice has been given to the proprietors of Saugor Island, that no further charitable relief will be distributed on the island after the crops are gathered, are explained in the enclosures of the Board's Docket, No. 5462B., dated the 12th December.

4. On the 18th ultimo a sum of rupees (50,000) fifty thousand was drawn by the Board of Revenue on the Bank of Bengal to meet the disbursements on account of famine relief operations.

A. Eden,
Fort William, 4 January 1867. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Revenue.—No. 129.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 12 January 1867.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of the correspondence cited in the margin, on the subject of the distress in Orissa and its relief, &c., and with reference to my letter, No. 128, dated this day, addressed to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to request that the sanction of his Excellency may be obtained to the importation of 6,00,000 maunds of rice in January, February, and March of the present year, and such further quantity, up to 12,00,000 maunds in all, as further reports may show to be necessary. I am also to request that sanction may be accorded to the construction of a telegraph to False Point, as proposed in paragraph 69 of Mr. Schalch's Minute, enclosed in letter from the Board, No. 5694B., dated the 27th ultimo.

From D. J. McNeile, Esq., No. 960, dated 1st November 1866.
To H. L. Dampier, Esq., No. 3096, dated 27th November 1866.
From Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 5694B., dated 27th December 1866.
From Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 5715B., dated 28th December 1866.
From Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 5725B., dated 29th December 1866.
From Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 1B., dated 1st January 1867.
To Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 128, dated 12th January 1867.

2. The Lieutenant Governor desires that the attention of the Government of India may be invited specially to paragraphs 75 and 76 of Mr. Schalch's Minute. It is almost beyond

beyond doubt, his Honor fears, that, notwithstanding all that may be spent by Government in importing rice, and in giving employment to the poor on public works, there are a vast number of destitute persons who will have to be either gratuitously fed or assisted with means by the local Relief Committees during a great portion of the year; and that to enable them to carry on their relief operations effectually, and to extend them to all who need assistance, a large supply of funds is needed. In addition to this, the support of those who have been left orphans during the last year, as well as of those who may become a charge on the Relief Committees, will have to be provided for. A reference to Mr. McNeile's letter, No. 960, dated the 1st November last, will show that the support of these orphans, the number of whom was then upwards of 1,000, and was expected to rise to 1,500 or even 2,000, will involve a charge of 70,000 or 80,000 rupees a year, of which but a portion is now exceptionally borne by the State, the rest devolving on the Missionaries, who have generously undertaken the care and education of these orphans.

3. It seems, therefore, to the Lieutenant Governor probable that a sum of 10,00,000 rupees, in addition to the outlay sanctioned on account of Government, will be required for the support of these orphans till they can earn their own livelihood, and for preserving the helpless poor of the province from starvation till the next harvest. Under these circumstances his Honor considers it proper to make a further appeal to the public for aid. The subscriptions of the charitable public in India last year, though freely and liberally given, amounted in all to less than 60,000*l.*, and it is not to be expected that a further call this year will realise so large an amount. The Lieutenant Governor would therefore suggest to the Government of India the expediency of publishing these papers, and inviting subscriptions from the public, both here and in England, to aid in support of the sufferers, and enable the Relief Committees to extend effectual help to all who require it.

4. The Board's letters, Nos. 5715B. and 5725B., dated respectively the 28th and 29th ultimo, are forwarded as showing the unsettled state of the grain market at Cuttack, notwithstanding the recent abundant harvest, and also as confirming the opinion formed by Mr. Schalch as to the necessity for continued relief operations during this year in a great part of the Pooree district.

I have, &c.
A. Eden,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Revenue.—No. 128.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Sir, Fort William, 12 January 18 67.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters cited in the margin, and, with reference to your 5694B., dated the 27th ultimo, to request that you will be good enough to convey to the Board the following observations and orders of the Lieutenant Governor.

No. 5694B., dated 27th December 18
„ 5715B., dated 28th „ „
„ 5725B., dated 29th „ „
„ 1B., dated 2nd January 1867.

2. The operations recommended by Mr. Schalch for the relief of distress in Orissa during 1867 are rendered necessary solely by the floods of August and September last, which almost entirely destroyed the Sarud crop of rice then growing on all the low lands, and have left the population of a large proportion of the province for another year in a great measure dependent for their supply of food upon importation. But for this crowning calamity the whole of the province would have participated in the prosperity to which the rest of the country has been restored by the late abundant harvest.

3. The extent of country, more or less affected by this calamity, is estimated at 3,700 square miles, and the population at 8,50,000, of whom about one-half, it is thought, will be dependent for food on external supply until the next harvest, that is to say, for the first nine months of 1867. Fortunately, in that part of the province which was not affected by the inundation, as well as in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Ganjam, and in the Gurgat Mehals, there has been a most abundant crop of rice, and a very large outturn of grain is now being reaped and stored. But it is thought that the surplus from these favoured tracts will not suffice to feed more than half the population of the devastated country, especially as the holders of grain, taught by the experience of the past year, will be unwilling to part with it until the safety of the next crop is assured, while the internal trade of the province is slow to adapt itself to new channels, and it is now certain that no dependence is to be placed on supplies by private merchants from abroad. It is to be feared also that there will be a very considerable number of the population who will not have the means of purchasing food, and who will have to be supported not only by employment on public works, but by gratuitous alms.

			Mnds.
For Cuttack at	False Point	-	5,40,000
,, ,,	Dhamrah	-	2,00,000
,, ,,	Machgaon	-	60,000
,, Pooree	Pooree -	-	2,00,000
,, ,,	Machgaon	-	50,000
,, Balasore	Dhamrah	-	1,50,000
	TOTAL - -	-	12,00,000

4. In these circumstances Mr. Schalch thinks that Government must be prepared to throw into the province during these ensuing nine months, 12,00,000 maunds (equal to 45,000 tons) at the ports, and in the proportions noted in the margin, and he recommends that steps should be immediately taken to import 4,00,000 maunds in the following proportions:—

	Mnds.
To Dhamrah - - - - - - -	1,50,000
,, False Point - - - - - - -	1,50,000
,, Machgaon - - - - - - -	50,000
,, Pooree - - - - - - -	50,000
TOTAL - - -	4,00,000

This the Lieutenant Governor has already verbally sanctioned in anticipation of the approval of the Government of India, and Mr. Schalch is now engaged in carrying out the necessary arrangements in communication with the master attendant and the local authorities for importing the above quantity from Calcutta during January and February. His Honor thinks that a further supply of 2,00,000 maunds should be imported in March, making altogether 6,00,000 maunds, and that any further importations should be regulated by the intermediate demand. The Board should require from the officers in charge of these operations weekly reports showing the quantity disposed of at each depôt, the quantity remaining in store and expected, and the probable further demand, so that they may be in possession of the fullest and latest information, and able to form a safe opinion as to the necessity for further supplies. They should issue instructions to the local officers to organise the landing arrangements, to construct golahs for the storage of the rice, and to provide for its conveyance into the interior in accordance with Mr. Schalch's suggestions.

5. The Lieutenant Governor has no doubt that the Board of Revenue is the proper agency for the general superintendence and direction of these operations, but it is desirable, his Honor is of opinion, that this superintendence and direction, involving, as they do, the necessity for prompt executive action, should be exercised on the individual responsibility of one member; and the Lieutenant Governor has accordingly, in my letter, No. 3359, dated 19th ultimo, requested that this department of the Board's business should be placed exclusively in the hands of Mr. Schalch so long as the necessity for these exceptional operations last.

6. The Board are authorised to incur any expense necessary for importing and storing the grain at the Orissa ports and interior depôts, and to entertain such establishments as may be required for its conveyance, distribution, and sale.

7. The Government rice should not on any account be sold at less than three rupees a maund, whether to the Relief Committees for sale on lower terms, or for gratuitous distribution to public departments, or to general purchasers. This price gives about 14 seers for the rupee, and to sell rice for less than this to those who can pay for it, would probably discourage and prevent such private trade as may otherwise spring up. But it seems to the Lieutenant Governor that if prices in the market rise much above this rate, the prices at the Government depôt should also be raised, so as to give the purchaser say one or two seers more for his rupee than he would get in the market; otherwise it may be feared that, notwithstanding the limitation of sales to one maund, the rice would be brought for sale at a profit and monopolised by small dealers, and also that the Government stores might be prematurely exhausted. It is not desirable, his Honor thinks, either that the ordinary inducements to private traders to supply this tract with rice should be weakened, or that the Government operations should be extended beyond the point absolutely necessary to ensure a supply of food for the inhabitants, and the price that may be put upon the Government grain, whatever it may be, will not materially affect the charitable operations of the Relief Committees. No doubt the consequence of raising the price of Government rice above the minimum of three rupees a maund may be to throw a larger number of people on the hands of the Relief Committees for support, and the Lieutenant Governor is aware of the practical difficulty which the Committees have to meet in distinguishing between those who must be supported gratuitously and those who may be supplied with food at reduced prices; but the attempt will have to be made under any circumstances, whether the price of Government rice be fixed at three rupees a maund or at any higher rate, and therefore this consideration need not affect the question.

8. As proposed by the Board, the price of the Government rice may be fixed for the present at *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund, but the Commissioner should have discretion to vary it from time to time at the several depôts, according to circumstances, provided that the rice is not sold at less than the minimum of three rupees a maund, or at more than two annas a maund below the price ruling in the local market.

9. An officer (Mr. J. C. Geddes) has been appointed to act in the place of Mr. D. J. McNeile (who is going away on furlough) as special assistant to the Commissioner for the conduct of relief operations so long as the services of such an officer may be required. Mr. T. M. Kirkwood can undertake the operations in Cuttack, and Mr. G. M. Curric those

those in Pooree, each under the orders of the magistrate and collector of the district. At Buddruck a special officer will be appointed to supervise the relief operations in addition to the assistant in charge of the sub-division.

10. The Pubic Works Department under this Government will be requested to take early steps to give effect to the measures indicated in paragraphs 65 to 68, and paragraph 71 of Mr. Schalch's Minute; the Government of India will be asked to sanction the construction of a telegraph to False Point, as proposed in paragraph 69, and the Postmaster General will be desired to expedite the dâks with reference to the facts stated in paragraph 70 of that Minute.

11. The Lieutenant Governor approves of the measures adopted by the Commissioner of the Cuttack division as reported in your No. 5725 B., dated the 29th ultimo, and I am to request that the Board will be good enough to convey to all the members of the Relief Committees in the several districts of that division the cordial thanks of Government for their valuable co-operation and aid during the past year, and to express a hope that they will continue to afford the same assistance in relieving the distress still prevailing, as long as measures for that purpose are necessary.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Home Department.—No. 528.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir, Fort William, 17 January 1867.

I AM desired to acknowledge your letter, No. 129, of the 12th instant, and to say that the Governor General in Council sanctions the importation of rice into Orissa to such extent as the Lieutenant Governor may consider necessary; and his Excellency in Council would strongly advise that every endeavour should be made, within the next few weeks, to obtain sure information as to the condition and prospects of the tracts which have suffered from inundation, so that, if possible, the entire quantity of grain, which it may ultimately be found necessary to import, may be landed on the coast before the strength of the south-west monsoon sets in.

2. The Governor General in Council will also be prepared to consider favourably any further remission of revenue which the Lieutenant Governor may think it right to recommend after the completion of the inquiry mentioned in Mr. Ravenshaw's letter, No. 613, dated 19th ultimo.

3. With respect to the large sum which it is estimated will be required for the gratuitous distribution of grain to the destitute, and for the support of the numerous orphans collected in Orissa, the Governor General in Council concurs with the Lieutenant Governor in thinking it expedient to appeal to the public for contributions. As regards the orphans, it is presumed that there will now* be no difficulty in preparing, with some approach to accuracy, a statement of the number for whom it will be necessary to provide.

4. In the meantime, the Government must contribute what is necessary for the maintenance of these children, at a rate not exceeding four rupees monthly for each. It is presumed, however, that this rate has been fixed with reference to the present high prices prevailing in Orissa, and that it will be susceptible of reduction as these fall.

I have, &c.

Secretary to the Government of India.

(Public.—No. 17.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, 7 March 1867.

Para. 1. YOUR Despatch, dated the 21st January last, No. 8, forwarding further correspondence regarding the famine in Bengal and Orissa, has been laid before me in Council.

2. While expressing my regret at the additional distress which has overtaken the inhabitants of this district, I have to convey my approval of the measures you have instituted for the relief of the sufferers from this fresh calamity, as well as of the numerous orphans whose charge has devolved upon you in consequence of the famine.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

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* Mr. McNeile's letter was written on the 1st November last, and he anticipated apparently that the full number would be ascertained by the close of the year.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 15 of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 6th February 1867.

My Lord,

From Bengal, No. 163, dated 18th January 1867, and enclosure.
To ditto, No. 1183, dated 4th February 1867.

We transmit, for your information, a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, regarding the condition of the Maunbhoom district, and the endeavour of the Deputy Commissioner to check the exportation of grain from that district.

2. We await the Report that has been called for from the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, on the present condition of the whole division, and of its probable requirements, if any, for relief during the present year.

3. We beg to draw your attention to the orders communicated to the Government of Bengal in the last paragraph of our Secretary's letter, No. 1183, dated the 4th instant.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 163.)

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*, to the Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Sir, Fort William, 18 January 1867.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 174 B., dated the 11th instant, and in reply to state, that the Lieutenant Governor approves of the proceedings of Lieutenant Money and the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, in issuing a notification with the view to check, if possible, the further exportation of grain from Maunbhoom. His Honor also approves of the Board's orders calling for a full report from Colonel Dalton, on the present condition of his division, and of its probable requirements for relief during the present year.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 164.)

Copy of this correspondence forwarded to the Government of India, in the Home Department, for information.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
18 January 1867.

From Lieutenant *R. C. Money*, Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom, to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore (No. 909); dated 22nd December 1866.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward copy of a notice issued by me to all the zemindars and landowners in this district.

2. There can be no doubt that the late distress was greatly augmented in Maunbhoom, owing to the improvident manner in which the cultivators of the land allowed their stock to pass into the Moodies' hands for exportation.

3. I have just been to Jhaldah and in the Bagmoondee, Heslah, and Torang Pergunnahs, and find that there are very many Beparees coming into these parts of the district to buy up the grain.

4. I feel

4. I feel convinced that a recurrence of distress is alone to be averted by steps being taken to discourage exportation.

5. You will perhaps remember that about this time last year I addressed a circular notice to the zemindars of this district, very much to the same effect as that I have now issued. That notice had, I fear, but little effect in checking exportation. It is true that the notice I then wrote was one, the truth of which actual experience had not at that time taught the zemindars, while of the truth of that I have now issued they have just received a terrible lesson; still, notwithstanding this, I much doubt if a new circular notice will do much good, and would strongly urge that I be permitted to forbid exportation for this year.

6. This may seem an extreme measure, but it is to meet an extreme case. Imports never take place into Maunbhoom, while grain is largely exported from it.

7. There is at present in the district only this year's crop, there is not any old grain. This year's crop, though a full one where it has been sown, is not in reality a full crop, as there is hardly a pergunnah in which at least four annas of the land do not lie waste, and many in which six annas, and even more, lie waste. The almost total failure of any other crop but dhan, this year, causes the latter to be all that the people have to look to, to carry them on till the next year's crops come in, and knowing as we do by experience that the people are not sufficiently provident to take the steps lying in their own hands to guard against distress, I think the ordinary laws of political economy might, as an exceptional case, be departed from, and Government take protective measures to guard against any recurrence of such distress as we have just passed through.

8. The only effectual measure that I know of will be to forbid exportation.

9. As a case in point, showing what may arise from exportation in a district like this, I may cite Pergunnah Shamsoonderpore: the crops there, last year, were good compared to other Pergunnahs; the people improvidently allowed their grain to be taken away by Mahajuns, and the famine and distress in that Pergunnah were as bad as anywhere else.

10. A simple order on the subject issued immediately, may be the means of averting future distress, and also of saving Government much expense.

11. Requesting the favour of an early answer.

Circular Notice to all Zemindars.

Several zemindars having brought to the Deputy Commissioner's notice that grain is being exported from their estates, and apprehensions being expressed lest, if this be allowed, the stock in the district will be insufficient for the wants of the coming year, the Deputy Commissioner wishes to impress upon the zemindars and landowners that the remedy lies greatly in their own hands; exports can in no way be so efficiently checked as they can by the zemindars using their great influence with their farmers and ryots to induce them to abstain from selling their grain this year, and to store it themselves instead.

The district is just recovering from the effects of a most fearful famine, and there can be no doubt that in some parts of the district the horrors of the famine were enhanced owing to the grain which might have supplied the wants of the people being allowed to go out of the district last year.

The Deputy Commissioner dreading any recurrence of such distress, earnestly calls on all zemindars and land owners to aid him in doing their best to discourage exportation from this district this year. This will be most effectually done if the zemindars and landowners will themselves collect their ryots, and explain to them that if they wish to avoid recurrence of all the misery they have just gone through, they should at once determine to keep this year's crop in their own hands, and allow none of it to go out of the district. It is true that the crops this year are for the most part luxuriant, but it must be borne in mind that a large portion of the lands have not been cultivated owing to want of seed, and the consequence is, that plentiful as the crops may be, there will only be just sufficient grain for the actual wants of the district. A little forethought at this season on the part of the ryots may avert great distress. The Deputy Commissioner would gladly, could he do it, explain this in person to every ryot in his district, but as he cannot do this, owing to the extent of the district, he looks to the zemindars and other landowners to help him, and to do it for him.

The Deputy Commissioner feels confident that the zemindars and other landowners will respond to this call, and do all in their power to prevent their ryots from rashly selling their grain, or allowing it to pass into the hands of those Moodies and Mahajuns whose interest it will be, by sending it out of the district, to make grain scarce next year, and once more raise the prices.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 1183); dated 4th February 1867.

In acknowledging the receipt of your endorsement, No. 164, dated the 18th instant, forwarding copies of correspondence regarding the condition of Maunbhoom, and the endeavour of the Deputy Commissioner to check the exportation of grain from that district, I am desired to say, that the Governor General in Council observes with satisfaction that the Commissioner has been called upon to furnish a report on the present condition of the whole division, and of its probable requirements, if any, for relief during the present year.

2. It is clear from the account contained in Lieutenant Murray's letter, and also from that given in the report by the Commissioner of Patna, which is published in this morning's "Englishman," that there is some ground for apprehending a continuance of distress during the current year in other parts of the Lower Provinces besides Orissa; and the Governor General in Council earnestly hopes, therefore, that in all such parts of the country the local officers, whatever their present impressions may be, will fully apprehend the great importance of taking measures to obtain accurate and constant information of the condition and prospects of their districts.

Despatch from the Government of India; dated 13th February, No 18 of 1867.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Documents:—

24th Narrative of Bengal Government.

Since the date of the last Narrative, all the correspondence on the subject of the famine in Orissa, and the measures adopted for the continuance of relief operations in that province, has been submitted separately to the Government of India, and it only remains to forward the papers noted on the margin. From these papers it will be seen that the Lieutenant Governor has approved of the Board's arrangements with the Irrigation Company for the hire of their steamer "Olga" and flats for the landing of rice at False Point.

Memorandum, from Board of Revenue, No. 179 B, dated 11th January 1867; with their letter No. 177 B. of the same date, to the Commissionor of Cuttack.

Government to Board, No. 202, dated 18th January 1867.

Memorandum, from Inspector General of Police, Lower Provinces, No. 180, dated 11th January 1867, with extract from Diary of the Deputy Inspector General, 1st Circle.

2. The District Superintendent's account of Balasore is very distressing, but the state of the district seems to be improving, and it is hoped will continue to improve under the measures of relief adopted.

3. The Lieutenant Governor's Minute on the subject of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in connection with the famine in Orissa and other parts of the Bengal Presidency, and on the subject of increasing the duty on the export of grain from Bengal, have been submitted with the letters from this office, No. 36 and 146, dated the 5th and 16th instant.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
31 January 1867.

(Revenue.—No. 473.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Sir, Fort William, 4 February 1867.

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your Memorandum, No. 14J., dated the 24th ultimo, forwarding copy of letter, No. 1526, of the 16th idem, from the Officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, on the subject of the exportation of grain from Orissa.

2. From these papers it appears that more that 10,000 maunds of rice have left the Soobunrica river for Calcutta, that three vessels of 700 maunds each have arrived at Panchpara to be laden with rice for Calcutta, and that a brisk trade in rice is carried on from the northern Pergunnahs of the Balasore District into Midnapore.

3. The period within which the 10,000 maunds of rice above referred to have been exported from the Soobunrika, and the price at which it was purchased are not stated. It is understood that prices generally in the northern parts of Balasore are lower than at the station itself, and much lower than in the southern Pergunnahs, which are to be supplied with rice by the Government, but it does not follow that if the exportation of rice from the Soobunrika and Panchpara to Calcutta and elsewhere is prohibited, it would be more likely to find its way either by sea or land to the southern parts of the district; on the contrary, it seems more probable that it would follow the ordinary course of internal trade into Midnapore; and the export of rice by land from Balasore into Midnapore on the one side, or from Pooree into Ganjam on the other, affords no reason for prohibiting export by sea from the ports of Orissa, or for doubting the expe-

diency

diency under the present exceptional circumstance, of importing rice on account of Government into those parts of the province where their is a dearth.

4. The sales of rice from the Government golahs must not on any account be suspended or restricted, as long as there is a demand for it at the rates which may be fixed by the Commissioner under the instructions conveyed in paragraph 7 of Government letter, No. 128, dated the 12th ultimo.

5. But the Commissioner should be instructed to let it be generally known, that the Government will not allow rice to be exported by sea from those parts of Orissa which are now being supplied with food at the cost and risk of the State: a prohibition to this effect should be issued by the Commissioner, and if it appears likely to be disregarded in any instance, an immediate report should be made, in order that steps may be taken to obtain the issue of a notification by the Governor General in Council under Section 23, Act VI. of 1863.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Public.—No. 27.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 8 April 1867.

Para. 1. I HAVE considered in Council your Despatches Nos. 15 and 18, dated the 6th and 13th February last, regarding the condition of the Maunbhoom district, and the probable requirements for relief during the present year.

2. I very much regret to observe that there is cause to fear a continuance of distress during the current year, the more so as there seems reason to believe that the calamity will extend to parts of the Lower Provinces which have hitherto been comparatively free from suffering.

3. Should the information you receive and the reports from the several districts confirm this fear, you will at once take the necessary steps for securing and storing additional supplies of grain.

4. I observe that you have directed the local officers to obtain accurate and constant information as to the condition and prospects of the districts that may probably require relief, and I rely on your adopting the measures best calculated to arrest distress.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 21st of February, No. 27, of 1867.

Forwards a communication from the Government of Bengal, relative to the Foundling Asylum established by the Famine Relief Committee.

(Revenue.—No. 483.)

From *S. C. Bayley,* Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

Sir, Fort William, 5 February 1867.

I AM desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 27, of the 7th ultimo, forwarding a report of a meeting of the Committee of the Foundling Asylum, and to express the Lieutenant Governor's approval of their proceedings.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 484.)

COPY of this letter, and of the one to which it is a reply, with its enclosures, forwarded to the Government of India, Home Department, for information.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
5 February 1867.

From *S. Hogg*, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 27); dated 7th January 1867.

Sir,

ADVERTING to paragraph 4 of your letter, No. 3413, of 28th ultimo, calling on me to report the plan I propose adopting for the disposal of the native orphan children of the famine-stricken poor who flocked into Calcutta five months ago, I have the honour to state that the gentlemen named in the margin have kindly consented to act with me as a committee of management for the Foundling Asylum.

Honourable J. P. Norman.
Honourable A. Eden.
J. D. Gordon, Esq.
J. F. Ogilvie, Esq.
Rev. E. H. Blythe.
Dr. Arthur Payne.
Dr. C. F. Tonnerre.
Baboo Romanath Tagore.
Baboo Prosono Coomar Tagore.
Baboo Rajendro Mullick.
Moulvy Abdool Luteef.
Baboo Kristodoss Paul.

2. The foundlings are at present most comfortably quartered in the premises lately known as the Tivoli Gardens, which have been gratuitously placed at the disposal of the Committee by Baboo Rajendro Mullick until another building can be secured.

3. I forward a copy of the proceedings of the committee of management at their first meeting, held on the 29th of December last.

THE FOUNDLING ASYLUM.

AT a meeting of the Members of the Committee formed by the Commissioner of Police to take charge of the Children of the Foundling Asylum in accordance with a resolution at the last Meeting of the late Committee of the Famine Relief Fund, held at the Office of the Justices, on Saturday the 29th instant;

PRESENT:

S. Hogg, Esq., Chairman.

Hon. A. Eden.	Baboo Romanath Tagore.
J. F. Ogilvie, Esq.	Baboo Debendronath Mullick.
Dr. Arthur Payne.	Moulvey Abdool Luteef.
Dr. C. F. Tonnerre	Baroo Kristo Doss Paul.

The Chairman stated the late Famine Relief Committee had established a foundling asylum for the reception of destitute children found wandering about the streets of Calcutta, and that at their last meeting one lakh of rupees had been voted for the maintenance of the foundlings. Baboo Rajendro Mullick had endowed the institution with 100 rupees per mensem in perpetuity; Mr. Ezra had also given a donation of 3,000 rupees; it was also hoped that 300 rupees per mensem would be given for 10 years by Baboo Dhunput Singh.

The chairman also reported that there were 216 foundlings now in the institution, all under the care and superintendence of the lady superioress of Loretto House, and he requested the meeting to devise some measures in order that she may be relieved of her charge. He would propose that the services of a competent person be secured, and that arrangements be made to organise an establishment.

After some discussion the following resolutions were adopted:—

1st.—That a liberal secular education be imparted to the foundlings with a general moral training, and that, as far as practicable, the foundlings be brought up to some trade or calling.

2nd.—That no distinction of caste be observed, but all the cooks of the institution be Brahmins, and that the use of beef and pork be prohibited.

3rd.—That it is not advisable to remove the children from the care of the lady superioress immediately, as she was so well acquainted with the management of the institution, but that she ought to be relieved of her charge as soon as the committee were able to secure the services of a competent person to undertake the duties.

4th.—That the commissioner of police be authorised to place the amount allotted to the institution in municipal debentures.

5th.—That Mr. Locke and Baboo Degumber Mitter be asked to act on the committee of management.

Stuart Hogg, Chairman.

(Public.—No. 28.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 8th April 1867.

YOUR Despatch, No. 27, dated the 21st February last, reporting the proceedings of the Committee of the Foundling Asylum established by the late Famine Relief Committee, has been laid before me in Council. The measures adopted by the Committee appear very judicious, and I am happy to observe that there have already been some liberal donations.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

DESPATCH from the Government of *India*, dated February 19th, No. 25, of 1867.

Forwards communications from the Government of Bengal, on the subject of affording relief to the suffering poor in certain parts of the district of Pooree.

(Revenue.—No. 590.)

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 13th February 1867.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of the correspondence cited in the margin, on the subject of the measures recommended by the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, and sanctioned by this Government, for affording relief to the suffering poor throughout the Government Khas Mehals of Sathparrah and Chowbeeskood.

From Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, N 113 M, dated 6th February 1867.
To Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 5 dated 7th February 1867, forwarding copy of te gram to Commissioner of Cuttack.
From Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, N 130 G, dated 8th February 1867.
To Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 5 dated 13th February 1867.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley,*
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

MEMORANDUM from *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 113M.); dated 6 February 1867.

FORWARDED in original to Government, with a request that the proposed expenditure in the Khas Mehals Sathparrah and Chowbeeskood may be sanctioned by telegram, and that the suggestions contained in the 4th paragraph of the collector's letter may be approved of.

The return of the originals is requested when done with.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 753); dated 1 February 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a letter, No. 643, dated 28th January 1867, from the Collector of Pooree, regarding Khas Mehals Sathparrah and Chowbeeskood, where, I regret to observe, very severe distress is still suffered by the people. I altogether approve and support the collector's recommendation to commence employing the people and improving the estate by repair of embankments and, pending sanction and approval, I have instructed the collector immediately to commence work; the embankments should be thoroughly and substantially repaired, and liberal wages in grain given to the people. The collector has been requested to visit the estate himself, and after careful inquiry to submit an estimate of the probable outlay that will be necessary; meanwhile sanction is requested to an appropriation of 6,500 rupees from the fund for improvement of Government estates. Roarmal is only some seven or eight miles from Pooree, and it hardly appears necessary to establish even a temporary sub-division there.

From *H. C. B. C. Raban*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Pooree, to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division (No. 643); dated 28 January 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have just received a report from Baboo Ram Okhoy Chatterjee, the deputy collector engaged in the inquiry into the state of the country in the Khas Mehals, in which he states that in the villages in Sathparrah and Chowbeeskood, marginally* noted, there is very severe distress, which, if not at once relieved, will soon become famine. These villages, which lie along the shores of the Chilka and between the rivers and the sea, have lost nearly all their crops by flood; and having suffered severely in the previous drought, they have sold everything they possessed and are without the means of purchasing food.

* Toa, Sathparrah, Chapmanich, Pulurek, Boro-Benakood, Dhurnikood, Golrah, Jugodul, Tulmal, Tulkokals, Kulapudar, Gur Khard and some villages attached to it. Kuntia Banpore, Kyuls.

2. To meet the present emergency and ward off actual famine, the relief committee have sent the deputy collector a supply of rice and money, to be used by him in relieving urgent distress; but it will be necessary to adopt more radical measures of relief. The villages are, with the exception of Benacood, which belongs to the impoverished Rorung, Buxshi, situated on estates managed directly by Government. The fields are liable to be flooded both by the rivers and by the Chilka, and formerly bunds were maintained here out of the Government Estates Improvement Fund. The deputy collector, at my request, sends a list of such of these bunds as required repair, with an estimate of the probable cost. He points out that the repair of these embankments will not only find employment for the labouring and poorer classes, but will do much to ensure a good crop to the ryots; and that this last benefit will be felt for several years.

3. I would solicit sanction to expend 6,500 rupees on these embankments, and permission to commence work in anticipation of formal sanction.

4. These Khas Mehals have suffered so severely during the past year, and the people require such careful nursing till a good harvest places them above the reach of want, that I am anxious to keep an active deputy collector throughout the year in these Purgunnahs, to supervise both ordinary measures of relief and such as Government may think proper to adopt in an estate under its own management. I would, in fact, make Roarmal, which is central, and where there is a department public works bungalow, the headquarters of a temporary sub-division.

TELEGRAM from Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Calcutta, to the Officiating Commissioner of Cuttack; dated 7 February 1867.

Sir,

YOUR letter, No. 753, dated 1st instant, to the Board of Revenue. The Lieutenant Governor sanctions the repairs of the embankments in the Government Khas Mehals of Sathparrah and Chowbeeskood, and the outlay of 6,500 rupees from the Fund for Improvement of Government Estates. Deputy collector may be kept in those Pergunnahs throughout the year.

MEMORANDUM from *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 130 G.); dated 8 February 1867.

FORWARDED to Government of Bengal.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division (No. 129 G.); dated 8 February 1867.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 753, dated 1st February, forwarding copy of a letter from the Collector of Pooree, I am directed to state that the collector's letter has been forwarded to Government, with a recommendation that the proposed expenditure and suggestions be sanctioned. The collector may, in the meantime, be directed to give relief liberally, and to afford employment to the sufferers to the utmost extent throughout the Government estates referred to, and if, as it appears probable, the population should be larger than the country can support, or can find agricultural employment for, the collector should be requested to encourage emigration to other parts of the district where want of agricultural labour is experienced, or where public works afford the means of employment.

2. The Board observe that it is to be remembered that relief given before the exhaustion of famine commences, and when consequently it enables the recipient to retain the strength to labour, is in the end economically expended.

3. Further, on these lands, Government, as zemindar, is bound to set a good example to other landholders in the province, by endeavouring to arrest the impending famine in its earliest stages.

(Revenue.—No. 589.)

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

Sir, Fort William, 13 February 1867.

With reference to your endorsement, No. 130 G., dated the 8th instant, I am directed to state that the Lieutenant Governor approves of the instructions issued by the Board to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, on the subject of the measures necessary for the relief of the suffering poor in Government estates.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Public.—No. 29.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 8 April 1867.

Your Despatch, No. 25, dated the 19th February, has been laid before me in Council. I cordially approve the works and measures for relief of the districts in Pooree which you have sanctioned, and hope this timely relief may have the effect of warding off actual famine.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

Despatch from the Government of India, dated 21st February, No. 28, of 1867.

Forwards, among other papers, the following documents:—

25th Narrative of Government of Bengal.

In communicating to the Board of Revenue the orders of the Government of India for the remission of revenue in the Cuttack districts, the Board of Revenue were told to declare to the zemindars that, if in any case the conditions on which the remission of revenue is allowed be not strictly observed, the whole demand of Government will be strictly enforced. Revenue Proceedings for January 1867, No. 8.

The Master Attendant has been authorised to entertain an extra establishment for the purpose of storing and shipping rice for Orissa. Proceedings for January 1867, Nos. 31–32.

In the communication from this office, No. 164, dated the 18th ultimo, the Government of India were informed of the measures proposed for checking the further exportation of rice from Maunbhoom. The Lieutenant Governor awaits the further report called for from the Commissioner, and on receipt it will be submitted for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council. Proceedings for January 1867, Nos. 33–34.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
15 February 1867.

Narrative, No. 29, of the Proceedings of the Boardof Revenue, and of the several Local Officers and Committees for the Relief of the Distress arising from the Scarcity of Food in Orissa and in other parts of Bengal.

Balasore.—From the relief statements for the week ending November 24th, it appears that relief sales had then entirely ceased, as those who were in charge of the shops could no longer find purchasers for their rice, even at the low price of four pice per seer. There had been a find decrease also in the number of recipients of relief, and the rates of mortality had fallen to 20 daily throughout the district. The relief committee had converted the Sumbulpore feeding centre into a convalescent depôt for paupers, to be placed under the charge of the civil surgeon and superintended by a resident native doctor. Sumbulpore is a very healthy situation about two miles from the town of Balasore. The 5,000 blankets required for distribution reached Balasore on the 19th instant. The price of rice still continues the same.

Midnapore.—From the report of the relief committee, dated the 11th instant, it appears that all the depôts in Midnapore have been closed, and that aid is now required only by the sick in hospital. The reports from this district will now be discontinued.

 Tirhoot.—

Tirhoot.—The relief depôts have been gradually closing during this month, Those at Dyne Chuprah, Parihur, Pursa, Mudhoobunee, Durbungah, and Poosah continue open. At Doomra, Roui, Syudpore, and Rajkhand, there a few still relieved, but these are rapidly dispersing as the rice harvest offers employment, all able-bodied men who decline to betake themselves to fieldwork being sent away from the depôts. At Durbungah there are from 500 to 600 still collected. These are beggars and paupers of all kinds attracted by the proximity of a large town. Mr. Forlong has undertaken their management from the funds of the estate. At Seetamarhee there are none now receiving relief excepting those under medical treatment. The Collector states that there is now so large a demand for field labourers to harvest the rice, that none but those absolutely incapable of working need be kept on the relief lists.

Reports received from the 24-Pergunnahs and Maunbhoom are published below.

Published for general information.

Fort William,
22 December 1866.

(Public.—No. 30.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 8 April 1867.

Your Despatch, dated the 21st February last, No. 28, forwarding the Bengal Narratives, No. 8 to 25 inclusive, connected with papers relating to the famine, have been laid before me in Council. These papers complete the narratives of your proceedings with reference to this subject up to the present time, but do not call for any special observations pending the receipt of the Report of the Commission now sitting at Calcutta.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

Despatch from the Government of India, dated 28th February, No. 33, of 1867.

Forwards, with other correspondence, the following letter from the Government of Bengal to the Board of Revenue:—

(Revenue.—No. 537.)

From the Hon. *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

Sir, Fort William, 9 February 1867.

In reply to your letter, No. 104 M., dated 6th instant, I am directed to say that the entire instalment of revenue due on the 8th November 1866, from all Peshkush, Zemindaree, and Serburakaree estates, in the Cuttack Division, may be remitted, on condition that the local instalments of rent due from the ryots to middlemen, farmers, and serburakars, as well as to zemindars, from February to June 1866, both inclusive, are also remitted.

2. Whatever portion of the instalment of revenue due on the 8th November has been realised, may, on the same condition, be carried to the credit of the instalment of revenue due on the 28th April next, and thus treated as a remission; it being clearly understood and expressed that ryots and under-tenants shall also have credit for all payments on account of the local instalments of rent due from February to June 1866, both inclusive.

3. On the same principle, one-half of the year's revenue, due on the 30th September 1866, from Khas Mehals may be remitted, on the understanding that one-half of the year's rent due up to the end of June 1866 be also remitted, and that actual collections of revenue or rent in excess of one-half the amount due for the year in either case, be carried to credit on account of the following year.

4. The demand of revenue thus to be remitted should not be written off the public accounts until the Board are satisfied, in the case of each estate, that the ryots and under-tenants have received the full benefit of the remission. The conditional remission of revenue which has been sanctioned must, in fact, be regarded only as a suspension of the demand until the conditions are fulfilled.

5. A general notice to this effect should be published, and made widely known to all classes of malgoozars and rent-payers throughout the province.

6. The action of the courts in disposing of rent suits cannot be controlled, but all malgoozars and intermediate holders should be warned in the notice that any attempt to realise

realise rent on account of the periods above-mentioned, whether by action at law or otherwise, or any refusal to allow credit for rents already paid on account of those periods, will vitiate the condition on which remission of revenue has been authorised, and will be followed by an enforcement of the Government demand.

7. The Lieutenant Governor agrees with Mr. Schalch that an agreement to this effect should be taken from all malgoozars, and the Government demand should be at once enforced against all malgoozars who refuse, or after a reasonable time, to be named in the notice, omit to enter into such engagements. The malgoozars may have no legal power to compel intermediate holders to execute similar engagements, or to refrain from exacting rents from the ryots, but they can use great influence for that purpose; and, if their efforts be ineffectual, they can realise the rent from the intermediate holder, and must be responsible for the Government revenue. The object of the Government is that the ryots should in all cases have their rents remitted; and where this object cannot be attained, the responsibility of the zemindars must necessarily be enforced.

8. The notice to be issued to the malgoozars should have no reference to old outstanding balances. These have not been remitted, but, if necessary, should be made the subject of a separate and special report.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 538.)

Copy of this letter, and of the one to which it is a reply, forwarded to the Government of India, in the Home Department, for information, with reference to the letter, No. 528, dated 17th ultimo.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
9 February 1867.

(Public.—No. 34.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office,
London, 16 April 1867.

Sir,

Your Despatch, No. 33, dated the 28th February last, has been laid before me in Council. The measures you have sanctioned relating to the proposed remission of revenue in the Province of Orissa have my approval.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

Despatch from the Government of India, dated 1st March, No. 34, of 1867.

Forwards, with other papers, the following documents:

(Revenue.—No. 631.)

From the Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, dated Fort William, 15 February 1867.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 142 I., dated the 11th instant; and, in reply, to state that the Lieutenant Governor approves of the Board's letter and instructions issued to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, on the subject of the importation and sale of rice, and the relief operations in Orissa, during the present year. His Honor will be glad to receive the monthly reports promised by the Board on the subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Land Revenue.—No. 142 I.)

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Fort William, 11th February 1867.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward, for the information and approval of Government, copy of the Board's letter * and instructions to the Commissioner of Cuttack, on the subject of the measures now being taken to provide a sufficient supply of rice for his division.

* No. 383 B., of 19th January 1867.

2. A monthly report will be submitted, showing the progress made in the operations connected with this matter, and that for January will be sent in as soon as some information called for is received from the Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(signed) *T. B. Lane*, Secretary.

(Land Revenue.—Miscellaneous.—No. 383 B.)

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Commissioner of Cuttack.

Sir, Fort William, 19 January 1867.

IN forwarding the reply of Government, No. 128, dated the 12th instant, from Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to my letters quoted in the margin, I am directed to request your careful observance of the accompanying instructions which are in supercession of those contained in the 7th and following paragraphs of my letter, No. 5741 B., of 31st December 1866, and in my No. 225 B. of the 12th instant.

No. 5694 B., dated 27th December, enclosing a copy of Mr. Schalch's Minute of that date.
No. 5715 B., dated 28th December, enclosing Extract from Commissioner's, No. 1380, of the 20th December.
No. 5725 B., dated 29th December, enclosing Commissioner's, No. 613, of 19th December.
No. 1 B., dated 2nd January, inclosing Commissioner's, No. 624, of 24th December.

2. You will observe that his Honor the Lieutenant Governor has made but one modification, which, however, is of very great importance, in the recommendations contained in the Junior Member's minute of the 27th December.

3. It was suggested in that minute that all sales of grain should be effected at one rate, viz., *Rs.* 3. 4. per Calcutta maund, without regard to the rise and fall of market prices; whereas his Honor has now directed that the prices, commencing at *Rs.* 3. 4. per maund of 80 tolahs to the seer, should vary according to certain circumstances at the discretion of the Commissioner, and further that the system of sales at low rate under the supervision of the relief committees should be continued.

4. On the first point you are requested to inform the Board whenever and under what circumstances you may consider it expedient to vary the price from the present fixed rate of *Rs.* 3. 4. per maund; on the second point the Board would observe that great care should be taken by the relief committees to prevent abuse of the privilege of allowing the poorer classes to obtain grain at their relief centres at less than the price ruling at the Government sale golahs. Undoubtedly much benefit was conferred during the worst periods of the famine in adopting the system whereby persons still able to pay up to a certain price for their food were enabled to obtain it at lower rates, and were thus prevented from seeking gratuitous relief, but at the same time it is equally certain that this privilege was much abused.

5. The Board feel confident that the relief committee will continue to afford the local authorities the same hearty co-operation and valuable assistance which have hitherto so greatly contributed to the effective results of the relief measures, and that the committee will be able, in consultation with the local authorities, to devise measures by which the system of sales at low prices shall not be unnecessarily introduced, and shall not be open to abuse.

6. It is the pleasing duty of the Board to request you to convey to the relief committees the cordial thanks of the Government for their valuable co-operation and aid during the past year, and the hope that they will continue to afford the same assistance in relieving the distress still prevailing, sentiments in which the Board have to express their sincere concurrence.

7. Your attention is earnestly requested to paragraph 64 of the Junior Member's minute above referred to, and you are requested to keep the Board fully informed of your proceedings and to seek readily such assistance and advice as it may be in their power to afford.

I have, &c.
(signed)
Secretary.

INSTRUCTIONS regarding Importation, Sale, and Relief Operations in Orissa.

Accounts.—It is of the greatest importance that the Board should be kept informed of the receipts and disbursements in the stock of grain of the several imports and sale golahs. To prevent delay in the submission of this information, the stock accounts should be kept entirely distinct from all accounts connected with the receipts and expenditure of money. If this be done there should be no difficulty in preparing at any moment the accounts of mere stock. The stock accounts should consist of—

2. Statement No. 1, importation fund stock account.

3. This statement is to be used for import golahs, including import golahs, which are also sale golahs.

4. A similar statement, to be numbered Statement 2, to be used for golahs which are only sale golahs; the only difference between it and Statement 1 will be the substitution of the word "sale" for "import."

5. Columns 13 and 14 will be used only for grain delivered to relief committees for gratuitous distribution, or sales at low rates.

6. Statement 3, Relief Stock Return, showing stocks with the relief committees.

7. Returns Nos. 1 and 2 should be prepared at each of the import and sale golahs on the 1st and 16th of each month, and forwarded to the Commissioner direct. The returns No. 3 from the relief committees should be forwarded on the same day to the relief committee, and passed on without delay to the Commissioner. From the Commission's office an aggregate statement, in each form, must be forwarded with the least possible delay to the Board.

8. The special attention of the Commissioner is requested to prevent delay in the preparation and submission of these three stock accounts.

9. *N. B.*—By import golah is intended any golah into which Government rice is imported direct. By Government sale golah, any Government golah into which rice is transported from an import golah.

10. *Money Accounts.*—The accounts of the existing importation fund and of the charitable distribution fund should be closed at the end of the year 1866.

11. From the 1st January 1867, two new accounts should be opened.

First.—"The Importation Fund," to which will be credited all future receipts from the sale of imported rice, whether to the relief committee or to others, such sales being made for the present at an uniform rate of *Rs.* 3. 4. rupees per Calcutta maund.

Per contra all charges connected with the importation operations will be charged to that fund, such as purchase of rice, freight, landing, storage, &c. &c.

12. *Second.*—"The Gratuitous Distribution Fund." To this should be credited—

1. Receipts by sale of grain at low rates.
2. Private subscriptions.
3. Miscellaneous receipts.

13. And per contra will be charged all expenses for purchase of imported rice, for its transport, storage, distribution and establishment, &c., as well as all other charges, whether for payment for work done by labouring paupers or otherwise, incurred in relief operations under the committee.

14. Payments from this latter fund for the purchase of imported rice should be adjusted by transfer from the one fund to the other, but for other payments remittances in cash will have to be made from the Board's office.

15. To enable the Board to keep the charitable famine relief committees in funds, an estimate (Statement No. 4) should be prepared and despatched by them on the 20th of each month, of their probable requirements for the following month, both in cash and by transfer, and the collectors will either be placed in funds or authorised to meet the demands up to the amount of that estimate.

16. It is not intended that the charitable famine relief committees should be tied down to the exact sum of their estimate; but if they have reason to believe during the course of the month that their estimate will prove insufficient, an emergent estimate for the excess should be forwarded.

17. A monthly cash account of the importation fund should be submitted for the Province, showing separately for each district the receipts and expenditure, the first under the three heads of receipts by sale of grain sub-divided into "cash" and "transfer," and inefficient balances, and the latter under the heads of—

Landing charges.
Inland transport charges.
Depôts, construction, and repairs.
Establishments.
Miscellaneous expenditure, not coming under the former heads.
Inefficient balances.

18. It will not be necessary to give the items separately for each golah, but there should be a separate total for each district. On the back should be a memorandum for each head of receipts and disbursements, bringing forward former aggregate receipts and expenditure, so as to show total receipts and expenditure up to date of the return.

19. As the entire receipts in the Mofussil will not have been remitted during the month to the sudder or the sub-divisional treasurer, an explanatory memorandum should be given on the back of the cash account, stating the—

Amount remitted to Sudder treasury - -	
Ditto ditto Sub-divisional treasury -	
Ditto ditto - - - - - - -	
TOTAL - - -	

20. This will be the only form of cash account required to be submitted to the Board for the importation fund, but the Commissioner will issue the necessary orders for keeping the proper subsidiary accounts at the several golahs for submission to him.

21. These would probably be in the form of a daily cash-book and a ledger, from which each golah would prepare a monthly cash account, from which again the aggregate cash account for the Board would be compiled.

N. B. All weight to be given in Calcutta weight, 80 tolahs to the seer.

22. The relief committees should also submit a monthly cash account, similar to the importation cash account, *mutatis mutandis*, and from this an aggregate cash account should be forwarded to the Board.

23. The cash accounts of the importation fund (for the very early submission of which to the Board there is not the same urgent necessity as in the case of the stock accounts) should be first forwarded to the collector with the necessary vouchers by the golah superintendents, and should be accompanied for the purpose of check by copies of the fortnightly stock account previously forwarded direct to the Commissioner.

24. The collector, after carefully examining, checking, and, if necessary, correcting these accounts, will forward them to the Commissioner, in whose office the aggregate account for the Board will be prepared.

25. It is expected that the Mofussil cash accounts for any one month can be received by the collector, by the 15th of the following month; by the Commissioner, by the 25th idem; by the Board, by the 10th of the succeeding month.

26. Full time has thus been given to allow of accurate preparation of these returns, and in no case must further delay be allowed, and to ensure the attainment of this object the Commissioner and the collector may be allowed an additional clerk, to be employed solely for the preparation of these accounts, whose salary can be charged to the importation fund.

27. The cash account of the Charitable Distribution Fund must be similarly treated, with the exception that it will pass through the committees to the collectors.

28. In the Board's office there must be,—

1 Register of shipping, containing—

1. Consecutive number of ships taken up.
2. Name and burden of vessels, in tons or maunds, and name of master.
3. Port to which despatched.
4. Date of despatch.
5. Amount of cargo shipped in bags and in maunds.
6. Date of arrival at port.
7. Date of clearance at port.
8. Amount of cargo delivered in bags and maunds.

29. Entries Nos. 1 to 5 will be filled up by returns from master attendant, and 6, 7, 8 from returns from superintendent of the import golah to which the vessel is consigned.

30. 2.—Cash-book and ledger of receipts and disbursements, and from this and from the Commissioner's and master attendant's cash accounts.

31. 3.—A monthly cash account should be prepared, showing aggregate importation receipts and expenses.

32. For the receipts of grain by the master attendant a cheque book (A.) should be kept, showing,—

1. Date.
2. Amount of grain received.
3. Value as per contract.
4. Name of person to be paid.

33. The

33. The counterpart would be kept in the master attendant's office, and the cheque made over to the payee, who would, on presentation of it at the Board's office, receive payment for the amount and give a receipt on the back of the cheque, which would be kept as a voucher.

34. A similar cheque book (B.), but in triplicate, should be kept of vessels despatched, containing particulars of column 1 to 5 of register of shipping; one part to be kept in master attendant's office, one sent to the Board to fill in the corresponding columns of the register of shipping, and the third given to the master of the ship for delivery to the superintendent of the import golah at which he has to make delivery. The superintendent should also keep a book (C.) in triplicate, containing particulars 6, 7, 8 of the register. The first would be for record; the second for delivery to the master of the ship, on presenting of which to the master attendant the latter will note the amount of freight due on the back, and the amount will be paid on presentation to the secretary, Board of Revenue; and the third for despatch by post to Board direct.

35. The master attendant should forward to the Board on each Monday forenoon a memorandum showing the probable number and tonnage of vessels to be despatched during the week in Form D.

(D.)

ESTIMATE of Despatch of Grain for week ending.

Name of Port.	Aggregate Number and Tonnage of Vessels to be despatched to each Port.	Remarks.

36. The master attendant should submit a monthly cash account, containing receipts, that is, remittances from Board, and miscellaneous, and

Expenditure under the heads of—

Establishment.
Storage.
Shipping.
Miscellaneous.

37. The headings of statements 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and form of cheque for vessels discharged (C.), should be sent to Commissioner of Cuttack, to be there printed; the register of shipping and cheque books of grain received (A.), and vessels despatched (B.), and estimate (D.) should be printed in Calcutta.

38. *Amount for Rice.*—A contract has been effected for the delivery of four lacs of maunds at the Government dockyard in Calcutta, between the 15th instant and the 15th of March. In addition to this quantity, there will be available from the 1st instant the balances of grain in store in the Province on that date; the cargoes of the "Armenian," from Calcutta; the "Tynemouth," from Rangoon; and the "T. A. Gibbs," from Chittagong; and the despatches from Calcutta by the "Guide." These will probably aggregate a total of nearly five lacs of maunds.

39. *Testing Weightments, Receipts and Despatch of Rice.*—The master attendant has been supplied with musters of the rice that has been contracted for, and will test the quality as deliveries are made.

40. The master attendant will receive and test the rice, and ship in accordance with the instructions contained under the head of Accounts.

41. *Receipts and Weightment of Rice at Import and Sale Golahs.*—Hitherto the imported rice has been received by bags only. From the commencement of the year, all rice received at and despatched from the import and sale golahs must be weighed, and the bags marked accordingly; and the careful attention of the local authorities must be given to check and prevent all attempt at abstraction or theft.

LANDING ARRANGEMENT.

42. *Dhamra.*—All vessels for the Dhamra will be consigned to the superintendent of that import golah, with instructions to deliver according to the orders given by him either at that golah or at the golahs of Hansooa, Patamondar, or Gopalpore, all of which places are said to be accessible by the class of vessels which will be taken up for the Dhamra.

43. The Booknadaipore golah will probably have to be supplied from the Dhamra golah, or from vessels anchored at that golah, by what are termed Barbojai boats.

44. *False Point.*—The employment of the Irrigation Company's small steamer and nine cargo-boats has been sanctioned for the conveyance of the rice from the vessels to the

Burkood golah, together with the three Government cargo-boats. These should, if necessary, be supplemented by native boats.

45. Coolies, when required to expedite the clearing of cargoes, should be supplied to the vessels.

46. Endeavours should be made to pass on the rice as fast as it can be landed at Burkood on to the inland sale depôts, Kendrapara, Taldanda, and Panchpally, so that those depôts may be first fully stored.

47. *Machgoan.*—Vessels may be expected to arrive at this import depôt before the close of the month, and all preparations for clearing them should be completed; boats, if necessary, and coolies collected, and the channel marked off.

48. *Pooree.*—The additional five Masulah boats which it is proposed to build (para. 36 of memorandum above quoted) should be cammenced at once, and, when completed, kept in reserve.

49. It is presumed that, in accordance to previous orders,the construction of the several import and sale golahs has been commenced and rapidly proceeded with, their establishments entertained up to the necessary strength, the requisite weighing apparatus provided, and application made for the deputation of native doctors and the supply of medicines.

50. *Sale of Rice.*—For the present all sales of rice will be at the rate of *Rs.* 3. 4. per maund of 80 tolahs to the seer, and will be conducted solely at the Government import and sale golah. Should the latter prove not sufficiently numerous, the Commissioner can establish such additional sale golahs with the requisite establishment, reporting his preceeding to the Board.

51. *Gratuitous Distribution and Sales at Low Rates.*—These operations will be conducted by the relief committee in consultation with the Commissioner. All rice delivered to the relief committees for these purposes must be paid for at the full rate of *Rs.* 3. 4. per maund of 80 tolahs to the seer, and this can be probably best effected by a transfer to the collector's office from the gratuitous distribution fund to the importation fund.

52. All charges connected with the rice after it is delivered to the relief committee will fall upon the gratuitous distribution fund.

53. *Land Communication.*—Pending the completion of the proposed electric telegraph line between False Point and Cuttack, measures must be taken to ensure as rapid and as certain means of communication between those two places as possible. This can be best done by the employment of dâk boats between False Point and Taldandah, and special runners between the latter and Cuttack. The same should be done to secure communication between the Dhamra ports and Bhudruck, and between Machgaon and Cuttack.

54. It is of the greatest importance that the import golahs should be in daily and speedy communication with the Sudder station or sub-division, whence they may be directed and controlled.

55. *Supervision.*—Mr. Geddes has been deputed, and has ere this probably joined Cuttack, to take Mr. McNeile's place as Special Collector to assist the Commissioner in conducting importation and sale and relief operations throughout the Province, while Mr. Kirkwood has been placed in immediate charge of the importation and sale operations in the Cuttack district, and Mr. Currie in Pooree. Mr. Rampini should be retained in charge of the Bhudruck sub-division, and Mr. Woodward should supervise the importation and sale operations in that sub-division.

56. Should the Commissioner be of opinion that Messrs. Kirkwood, Currie, and Woodward can advantageously, and without detriment to their own more special duties, continue to act as relief managers under the relief committees, he can issue instructions accordingly; but if not, the relief committees should be requested to make their own arrangements for the supervision of their relief measures.

(signed) *V. H. Schalch,*
19 January 1867. Junior Member, Board of Revenue.

(Revenue.—No. 639.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden,* Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division.

Sir, Fort William, 15 February 1867.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1701, dated the 4th instant, with enclosure, submitting proposals for the better administration of relief in Orissa during the present year, and in reply to state that the principles on which relief measures should be assisted by means of the rice imported into the Province on account of Government, are these:—

1st.

1st.—The rice should be sold at the Government depôts to all comers at a price to be fixed by you from time to time with reference to the general state of the market, not being less than *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund, and in quantities not exceeding one maund. This course is absolutely necessary to prevent the prices in the market from being unduly raised by speculators, and on the other hand to avoid undue interference with the regular trade.

2nd.—The rice should be supplied on demand in any quantities at a fixed price of *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund to the relief committees, for gratuitous distribution or sale at reduced prices in small quantities, or for payment in wages for such work as the committees can supervise, and at such rates as they may determine.

3rd.—The rice should also be supplied to all public departments and to the East India Irrigation and Canal Company on indent in any quantity at the same price of *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund.

4th.—The rice so supplied to the Public Works Department should remain in charge of the civil officers, and be sold under their supervision to the labourers, either directly or through such agency as may be available, at such rates as may enable every workman to earn by his labour enough for the subsistence of himself and his family, a quantity which may be taken at two seers of rice a day.

2. Shops should be opened for the sale of rice on the above terms to the workmen employed on all public works, and on the system described in your 14th paragraph. The shops should be under the supervision of Government officers. The difference between the cost of rice supplied to these shops at *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund, and the price at which it is sold and distributed to the labourers should be charged in a separate account against the cost of the works.

3. The East India Irrigation and Canal Company must make their own arrangements for the sale to their work people of the rice which may be supplied to the Company from the Government depôts.

4. The Lieutenant Governor does not think it expedient to raise the rate of wages paid by the Public Works Department. It is already high and above the rates paid by the East India Irrigation and Canal Company. The sale of rice at reduced rates to the labourers will practically have the same effect, and it will admit of a return to the ordinary rate when the pressure of scarcity and high prices is over.

5. The establishment of the Public Works Department for supervising public works is being increased to the utmost possible extent, and the civil officers already sent to the Province, aided by such local establishment as you can entertain, should, the Lieutenant Governor thinks, suffice for the supervision of the works which cannot be undertaken by the Public Works Department, and for the supply and sale of rice to the labourers employed on both; but if the supervising agency at your command is still insufficient for the duties to be performed, endeavours will be made to place more officers at your disposal.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 642.)

Copy of this correspondence forwarded to the Government of India in the Home Department, for information, in continuation of the indorsement from this office, No. 647, dated this day.

(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
15 February 1867.

(Revenue.—No. 684.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden,* Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 19 February 1867.

With reference to my letter, No. 639, dated the 15th instant, to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, a copy of which was sent to the Government of India with endorsement, No. 642, dated 15th instant, I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a further letter* received from Mr. Ravenshaw, and to say, that as the Lieutenant Governor is at issue with the local authorities on the following two points of importance in connection with

*No. 1764, dated the 9th February 1867.

with the relief operations in Orissa, so far as they are affected by the importation and sale of rice on public account, his Honor will be glad to be favoured with an expression of the views of his Excellency the Governor General in Council thereon.

1st. The sale of rice to all comers. This the local authorities recommend should be at the fixed rate of *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund, at which it is to be supplied to public departments, to the East India Irrigation and Canal Company, and to the Relief Committees. In the Lieutenant Governor's opinion the sale of rice by Government, except to those departments and bodies, and except at still more favourable rates to labourers employed in public works, should be at rates varying with the market rates, but always somewhat below them. This rate seems absolutely necessary not only to prevent the premature exhaustion of the Government stock, and its monopoly in the hands of petty traders, but to give reasonable encouragement to the import of grain into the Province on private account, and to prevent greater interference with private trade than can be avoided. His Honor thinks it would be better not to sell the Government rice to the public at all, than to sell it at rates much below the market rates, since all cases of real necessity will be discriminately dealt with by the Relief Committees, whereas the sales from the Government depôts must necessarily be without distinction to rich and poor alike.

2nd. The sale of rice at exceptionally low rates to the labourers employed by the East India Irrigation and Canal Company. The local authorities are of opinion that the sale of rice at exceptionally low rates to labourers, which has been sanctioned in the case of public works carried on under the Department of Public Works and under the civil officers, in order to enable the labourers to earn a bare subsistence without raising the rate of wages, should be extended to labourers employed on the works of the East India Irrigation and Canal Company. It seems to the Lieutenant Governor, however, that as the Government will afford a large measure of assistance to the Company by supplying it with rice from the Government depôts at the fixed rate of *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund, (which is considerably below the cost price, including transport and other incidental charges), if the Company find it necessary to retail it to their labourers at a still cheaper rate, this further loss should properly be borne by the Company and not by the State. The question, however, is one which admits of doubt, and though his Honor does not consider that the Company can justly claim what in effect is a subsidy from the Government, perhaps the Government of India, in consideration of the immense public importance of the Company's works, and bearing in mind that by selling rice on favourable terms to those employed on public works, the Government will no doubt draw labour from the Company's works, and employ it on objects of minor importance, where otherwise it would be available to the Company in the prosecution of their plan of irrigation, may be disposed to extend to the Company an indulgence which the Lieutenant Governor does not feel authorised in granting on his own responsibility.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden,*
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(Home Department.—No. 2014.)

From *E. C. Bayley,* Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Honourable *A. Eden,* Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir, Fort William, 27 February 1867.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 684, dated the 19th instant, regarding two points on which it is stated that the Lieutenant Governor is at issue with the local authorities of Orissa in connection with the relief operations, so far as they are affected by the importation and sale of rice on public account.

2. The Governor General in Council understands the general plan proposed by the Lieutenant Governor to be as follows:—

(I.) To authorise and enable the relief committees to give charitable relief wherever it is needed.

(II.) To sell grain to labourers employed on public works at a specially low rate.

(III.) To sell rice generally from the Government depôts at *Rs.* 3. 4. a maund; this price, however, to be hereafter raised if the market rate should rise. The Cuttack committee apparently recommend the immediate reduction of the price of rice sold at the Government depôts from *Rs.* 3. 4. to 3 rupees a maund.

3. The Governor General in Council, I am to state, concurs in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion that it is not expedient that the Government should sell rice to the public generally at rates much below the market rate. He would think it indeed safer, and more likely to conduce to the permanent good of the Province to err slightly (if there be any error) on the side of over-pricing, than to run the risk of discouraging the private trade

trade in grain. The greatest care must be taken, however, to ensure that charitable relief is effectually rendered wherever it is necessary, and also, that all labourers on public works are enabled to procure a sufficient supply of food for the wages which they receive.

4. With regard to the remark at the close of your letter, as to the probable effect on the Irrigation Company's works of the low rate at which it is proposed to sell grain to labourers employed on public works, the Governor General in Council would observe that there will be no risk of labourers being drawn away from the works of the Irrigation Company, if the Company will follow the example of the Government, and supply their labourers with rice at the same price at which it is supplied to labourers on public works. His Excellency in Council considers that the Irrigation Company should do whatever is necessary in this way to secure labour for their works. Labour, in the present condition of Orissa, must of necessity cost more than in ordinary times; and it is better to meet this necessity by the sale of rice at specially low rates, than by increasing the money wage up to the point which would enable the labourer to purchase rice at the market rate. The Irrigation Company will be placed in a favourable position for meeting this necessity, if it is supplied with rice from the Government depôts at *Rs.* 3 4 a maund, for it is apprehended that the Company could not procure a continuous supply otherwise except at a higher rate.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

(Public, No. 35.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable The Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 16 April 1867.

Para. 1. Your Despatch, No. 34, dated the 1st March last, has been laid before me in Council.

2. The arrangements you have sanctioned for the importation and sale of rice, and the instructions you have issued regarding the relief operations generally during the present year, appear judicious, and have my approval.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 37 of 1867.)

To The Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne,* Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 2nd March 1867.

My Lord,

Referring to our Despatch No. 15, dated the 6th ultimo, we transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin,* regarding the probability of a necessity for further measures of relief to the poor in a part of the division of Chota Nagpore.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

* From Bengal, No. 687, dated 19th February. To ditto, No. 2018, dated 27th February.

(Revenue.—No. 685 A.)

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Sir, Fort William, 19 February 1867.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 137 M., dated the 8th instant, with enclosure, and in reply to state that the Lieutenant Governor approves of the instructions issued by the Board to the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore on the subject of the present and future measures to be adopted for affording relief to the suffering poor in the districts of his division. I am to request that the Board will convey to the members of the Local Relief Committee, and especially to Lieutenant Money and to the Reverend Mr. Onasch, the thanks of Government for the valuable aid rendered by them in relieving distress.

2. Colonel Dalton has been this day requested to submit, on an early date, a plan for the employment of the able-bodied poor in his division on public works, and an estimate of the funds that will be required for the purpose; and he has been asked to state whether, in order to pay the labourers employed on such works sufficiently to enable them to earn subsistence for themselves and families at the price at which rice is likely to be selling in the bazaar, it may not be necessary to make provision for selling rice to the labourers at fixed and moderate rates, as has been done in Orissa, and to lay in a stock of rice for the purpose before the rains set in, and transport becomes difficult and expensive.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Eden*,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 687.)

COPY of the above letter, and of the one to which it is a reply, forwarded to the Government of India, Home Department, for information.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the
Fort William, 19 February 1867. Government of Bengal.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 137 M.); dated 8th February 1867.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward for the information of the Lieutenant Governor copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, forwarding a report by the Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom on the present condition of his district, and of the Board's reply to the same, and to request special attention to paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Commissioner's letter.

From Colonel *E. T. Dalton*, Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, to *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 123); dated 21st January 1867.

Sir,

No. 15, dated 14th January 1867, with a report of proceedings of Maunbhoom Relief Committee up to 12th January 1867.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 42 B., of the 4th instant, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Board, a report by Lieutenant R. C. Money, Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom, on the present condition of his district, with annexures.

2. Report by Mr. G. T. Dalton on depôts visited by him.

2. It will be seen that there are now only four or five relief depôts open, and it appears from a report on the depôts lately visited by Mr. Dalton, Assistant Commissioner, that the persons receiving relief are now reduced to professional beggars, destitute children and a few poor creatures, who have not yet recovered from the effects of the severe privations they have been subjected to.

3. Lieutenant Money hopes to close all the depôts in February next, and the funds he has in hand are more than sufficient to meet all expenses likely to be incurred till they are finally closed.

4. Lieutenant

4. Lieutenant Money calculates that he will then have a balance unexpended of 8,000 rupees, and this sum, he thinks, should be expended in taking steps to prevent recurrence of distress in that part of Burrabhoom, where it is apprehended.

5. The detailed reports, that have been called for on the parts of the district in which prolonged distress is anticipated, have not yet been rendered. The information submitted is too general and imperfect for the formation of any just conclusions on the subject, but it is not likely that any addition to the funds in hand for relief purposes will be required.

6. It would appear that there is sufficient supply of grain in the district for the wants of the people if they could keep what they have reaped, but this they are not inclined to do. Lieutenant Money again urges the expediency of some check being imposed on the system of reckless exportation that appears to be the chronic disease of the district.

7. If this does not effect its own cure it is difficult to see what remedy could be applied. He cannot interfere with the operations of the grain dealers, and it is probable that the formation of grain stores by Government would make the people even more reckless than they are.

8. All I recommend is, to place within reach of all requiring it the means of support in return for honest labour. I have again requested Lieutenant Money to submit a well-digested scheme for the employment of the poor, and requested him to confine relief operations, as much as possible, to remuneration for labour on useful works.

9. An extra native doctor having recently been placed at Lieutenant Money's disposal, he will be able to act on the sensible suggestion at the conclusion of Mr. Dalton's report of having the depôts visited by a medical officer with a view to the medical treatment of debilitated paupers.

10. I beg to express my full concurrence in the eulogium passed by Lieutenant R. C. Money on his able coadjutor, the Reverend H. Onasch, and hope that the benevolent and successful exertions of that gentleman will be duly acknowledged.

11. I have been for some time expecting from Lieutenant Money a report on the orphan question, and have called his attention to the subject.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 2018); dated 27th February 1867.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement No. 687, dated 19th instant, forwarding a correspondence as to the probability of a necessity for further measures of relief to the poor in a part of the division of Chota Nagpore. The Governor General in Council is glad to perceive that the Lieutenant Governor has called on the Commissioner for the early submission of a plan for the employment of the able-bodied poor, and has desired him to consider whether it may not be advisable to lay in a stock of rice for the purpose of selling it to the labourers employed on public works at fixed and moderate rates. It seems to his Excellency in Council that the statements of the Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom point strongly to the conclusion that it will be well for Government to collect some stores of grain in the district, to what extent, might be left to the Commissioner's judgment. This precaution, together with plenty of work for the people, will probably do nearly all which may be necessary for their relief during the current year.

DESPATCH from the Government of India, dated 7th March, No. 39 of 1867.

Forwards, among other Papers, the following Letters relative to the Importation of Rice, on Government account, into the Province of Orissa:—

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 2481); dated 18th February 1867.

Sir,

I AM directed to submit, for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, a report on the operations relating to the importation of grain on behalf of Government into the province of Orissa during the month of January 1867.

2. On the 9th of December 1866, Mr. Schalch left Calcutta under instructions from the Government of Bengal, to arrange, in personal communication with the Commissioner of Cuttack, the measures necessary for the support of the population along the coasts in those parts in the province of Orissa which were devastated by the inundation of last August.

3. On the 21st of the same month, Mr. Schalch returned to Calcutta, and on the following day laid before his Honor the Lieutenant Governor a copy of his report, in anticipation of the official submission of the printed report which was dispatched from the Board's office on the 27th. On the 23rd, he was informed that his suggestions were generally accepted, and that he should, in anticipation of the official reply, commence preparations for importing four lacs of maunds of rice into Orissa.

4. Information to that effect was at once given to the Commissioner of Cuttack, and was followed by general instructions, under date the 29th of December and 12th of January, directing the Commissioner to make preparations for landing, transporting into the interior, and storing the sanctioned quantity, in accordance with the suggestions made in the Junior Member's Minute.

5. The Master Attendant of Calcutta was also requested to issue notices for tenders for four lacs of maunds of rice, to be delivered at the dockyard between the 15th of January and 15th of March, at the rate of one lac of bags of two maunds each per mensem, and to make preparations for its dispatch to the ports of Orissa in the quantities specified in the margin.

Dhamra	1,50,000
False Point	1,50,000
Machgaon	50,000
Pooree	50,000
Total	4,00,000

6. On the 14th of January, the official orders of Government, dated the 12th idem, were received. By these orders the quantity to be imported was raised to six lacs, and this department of the Board's business was placed exclusively in the hands of the Junior Member. In accordance with those orders, full and detailed instructions in extension of those previously issued, were communicated to the Commissioner of Cuttack in a letter dated the 19th idem, and to the Master Attendant, copy of which has been forwarded to and approved by the Government of Bengal. The staff noted in the margin* was placed under the orders of the former, and an increased establishment allotted to the Master Attendant for the conduct of these operations.

7. The contractors for the supply of grain in Calcutta commenced his deliveries on the 15th idem, and up to the end of the month had delivered 66,227 maunds. Up to the end of January there had been dispatched for, or had arrived at, the several ports of Orissa, 1,49,300 maunds of rice, as detailed in the margin.

For Dhamrah	15,400	0	0
„ False Points	58,304	0	0
„ Machgaon	24,050	33	8
	57,546	1	1
	1,49,300	34	9

8. Three large steamers, which had been taken up during the past year for the conveyance of rice from Burmah, Chittagong, and Calcutta, and which should have reached their destination during December, arrived off the coast during the earlier part of the month, and their cargoes are included in the above total.

9. For the conveyance of grain the Master Attendant had, during the month, engaged 15 vessels and three steamers, in addition to the Government vessels and steamers available for this duty.

10. Out of the quantity of grain dispatched from Calcutta to the ports on the coast, there had been landed, during January, 94,816 maunds at the ports noted in the margin.

Pooree	37,026 maunds.
False Point	57,790 „

11. The vessels dispatched for Machgaon left Calcutta late in the month, and had not reached their destination until the early part of February.

12. No accurate returns have, up to this date, been received regarding the deliveries at the three import golahs on the Dhamrah, but this information will be submitted as soon as received.

13. The stock of Government rice in store, in the beginning of the year, in the Pooree and Cuttack districts, is shown in the margin.

Cuttack	44,268 maunds.
Pooree	25,936 „
Dhamrah	10,900 „
Total	81,104 maunds.

14. The measures taken for the inland transport of the rice landed at the coast, and the progress made in this branch of the operations during the month of January, as well as the result of the sales on Government account, will be fully detailed in the report for February; for, owing to the extent of country over which these operations extend, it has not yet been possible to obtain full and accurate information regarding them for the past month up to date.

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* Mr. G. C. Geddes, Special Assistant to the Commissioner, with the powers of magistrate and collector.
Mr. Taylor, in charge of import operations of Cuttack.
„ Currie, ditto ditto at Pooree.
„ Short, ditto ditto in Balasore.
„ Kirkwood, manager of relief operations under local relief committee, Cuttack.
„ Livesay, ditto ditto Pooree.
„ Short, ditto ditto Balasore

(No. 740.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Home Department, for information.

By Order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 21 February 1867.

(Revenue.—No. 751.)

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

Sir, Fort William, 22 February 1867.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 221 I., dated the 15th instant, with enclosure, and in reply to say, that the Lieutenant Governor fully agrees with the Board that it is not necessary at present to import rice on Government account into the Port of Balasore.

2. The existence of an inland trade in rice from the vicinity of Balasore into the Southern Pergunnahs of the district, and into the district of Cuttack, is regarded by his Honor as a satisfactory feature, and points forcibly to the necessity for maintaining the price of rice sold to the public at the Government depôts at a standard not much below the market rate, lest the operations of private traders should be in any way discouraged.

I have, &c.
(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 752.)

COPY of this correspondence forwarded to the Government of India, in the Home Department, for information.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William, 22 February 1867.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 221 I.); dated 15th February 1867.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, copy of a letter, No. 1673, of 15th February, and to observe that, so far as the operations appear yet to have gone, this internal trade between the districts is satisfactory.

2. The Board would not suggest any rice being at present imported, as grain can, at any time up to May, be thrown into Balasore without difficulty.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 1673); dated 1st February 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, copy of a letter, No. 510, dated 25th January 1867, from the Collector of Balasore, showing that there is an active demand for rice, and a somewhat extended trade going on, both towards Midnapore and Cuttack; this is a very healthy and satisfactory sign, which hardly appears to warrant the collector's fears of a dearth of rice in Balasore, but, judging from experience of last year,

year, and the occasional difficulty of purchasing grain in the local markets, it would be, I think, a prudent course to send 25,000 bags to Balasore, to be stored in case of need; a considerable quantity will be required for support of Relief Centres, and also to supply the Gaol Hospitals and Unnochutters.

2. I have no information of any wholesale purchases being made by Cuttack dealers, either for sale or export, but there is a general demand for rice towards the coast, and it is most probable that private purchasers have been laying in store for their own consumption, and have most likely drawn their supply from parts of Balasore district, where the rice harvest has been plentiful; the bitter experiences of last year have led (no) people who possess no stores of their own to make provision for the future, and those who have a surplus part with it sparingly.

From *H. Muspratt*, Esq., Collector of Balasore, to the Commissioner of the Cuttack Division (No. 510); dated 25th January 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, that large quantities of rice are being exported from the north of the district into Midnapore and Hidgellee, and also to the Pergunnahs in the south of the district, and into the northern part of Cuttack. Rice is also being exported in large quantities from the Pergunnahs lying to west of Juggurnath-road to Rookhundaepore, and thence by water to the Cuttack district.

I have also been informed this day that traders from Cuttack have gone into Pergunnah Ancoorah, and are beginning to make purchases of rice for export.

Under the circumstances, I have the honour to request that some provision may also be made for storing 25,000 bags of rice at the golahs in Balasore as soon as possible, otherwise it may hereafter be found necessary to apply for importations, when there will be great difficulty and expense in bringing it into the river.

(Public.—No. 41.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 2 May 1867.

Paragraph 1. YOUR Despatches Nos. 37 and 39, dated the 2nd and 7th of March last, have been laid before me in Council.

2. The suggestion contained in the letter from your Government to the Government of Bengal, dated the 27th February last, No. 2018, regarding the proposal to lay in a stock of rice, for the purpose of selling it to the labourers employed on public works at fixed and moderate rates, has my entire approval.

3. Great caution must be observed in carrying out the instructions of the Government of Bengal, laid down in the letter to the Board of Revenue, dated 22nd February last, No. 751, regarding the maintenance of "the price of rice, sold to the public at the Government depôts at a standard not much below the market rate." It appears to me that the system you proposed in your letter, above referred to, of selling the grain at a fixed and moderate rate, is more likely to afford the necessary relief and avoid the recurrence of those scenes of famine and distress which have so lately visited those districts.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 61, of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 5 April 1867.

My Lord,

You will perceive from the accompanying copy of correspondence with the Government of Bengal that we have sanctioned the purchase of the steamer "India," and flats "Luckia" and "Kaligunga" for the sum of 1,10,000 rupees, in immediate connection with the operations for the importation of grain into Orissa, to the cost of which their purchase will be debited.

From Bengal, No. 1150, dated 20 March 1867, and enclosure.

To Bengal, No. 3403, dated 4th April 1867.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(No. 61.)

To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 31 May 1867.

Paragraph 1. The despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated 5th April, No. 61, of 1867, reporting that you have sanctioned the purchase, by the Government of Bengal, of three vessels, for the sum of 1,10,000 rupees, to be employed in the importation of grain into Orissa, has been considered by me in Council.

2. In reply I have to intimate my approval of these proceedings.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 48, of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 21 March 1867.

My Lord,

In continuation of our Despatch, No. 39, dated the 7th instant, we transmit for your information copy of a communication * from the Government of Bengal, submitting a report showing the number of orphans who, in consequence of the late scarcity, are dependent on private or public charity in the several districts of the Patna Division.

* No. 970, dated 7th March 1867.

2. We also forward a copy of the documents noted on the margin, relating to the appointment of Mr. Molony as special Commissioner in the Cuttack Division in connection with relief operations.

From Financial Department, dated 7th March 1867, enclosing correspondence with the Government of Bengal, viz.:

(1.) From Bengal, No. 688, dated 19th February 1867, and enclosures.

(2.) To Bengal, No. 1206, dated 7th March 1867.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to the Secretary to the Government of *Bengal* (No. 23 Ct.); dated 2 March 1867.

Sir,

With reference to your office, No. 251, of the 22nd ultimo, I have the honour to submit a statement showing the number of orphans who, in consequence of the late scarcity, are dependent on private or public charity, in the several districts of this division.

2. It will be seen that there are no orphans in Sarum. This is accounted for by the Secretary to the Relief Committee of that district as follows:—"At the time of the famine the children were almost universally the first of the family to die, and I am able to state, on the authority of a gentleman* who superintended a relief centre, that the parents who then abandoned have now again, in several cases brought to his notice, resumed the charge of their children, who were kept from starvation by the distribution of grain at the centres."

* Mr. Wilson.

3. The prospects of the division are on the whole very favourable, and it is trusted that any accession to the number of the orphans that may take place during the current year will be small.

Statement showing the Number of Orphans who are dependent, in consequence of the Famine of 1866, on Government Support or Private Charity, in the several Districts of the Patna Division.

Districts.	Number of Orphans.			Under whose Charge, and Where.	Monthly Cost of Maintenance.	Amount defrayed by Government.	Remarks.
	Male.	Female.	Total.				
					Rs.	*Rs.*	
Chumparun - -	1	1	2	Magistrate, Moteeharee -	–	–	Several children were sent at different times to the Behar Orphanage, Patna, and some have been adopted by private individuals.
	–	2	2	Police at Moteeharee -	*4 each	–	* Paid from Relief Fund.
	–	1	1	„ at Adaporee -	*4 „		
Gya - - - -	6	7	13	Reverend A. Clark, Missionary, Church of Scotland, Gya.	–	1 each	Nine other orphans were received during 1866, of which eight died and one was made over to its relations.
Patna - - -	31	—	31	Asylum of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Patna.	–	1 each	Besides these 12 children are being maintained by private individuals.
Sarun - - -	-	Nil.					
Shahabad - - -	7	5	12	Patna Orphan Asylum.			
	1	–	1	Buxar Mission Orphanage.			
Tirhoot - - - -	42	46	88	General Manager of the Durbhangah estate.	*166	–	* Paid from the estate.
	2	1	3	Government - - -	2	2	
	20	31	51	Seetamarhee Purihar and Dyan Chuprass Relief Depôts.	†34-8	–	† Paid from Relief Fund.
	4	–	4	Roony Sydpore - -	–	–	Maintained from Relief Fund.
Total - - -	–	–	208				

Patna Commissioner's Office, 2 March 1867.

J. W. Dalrymple, Commissioner.

(No. 970.)

COPY forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, for information, in reference to his letter, No. 528, dated the 17th January last.

By Order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal,

S. C. Bayley,
Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Fort William,
7 March 1867.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *E. H. Lushington*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Financial Department (No. 688); dated 19 February 1867.

I AM directed to submit, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the correspondence noted in the margin.

From Board, No. 155 M. of 12th instant, with enclosure.
To Board, No 689, dated 19th February 1867.

2. With reference to the appointment of Mr. Molony, as Special Commissioner in the Cuttack Division, I am desired to request that the sanction of the Government of India may be accorded to the allowances it is proposed to make to him, and which are detailed in the margin.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Pay as Magistrate and Collector - - -	1,916	10	8
Deputation allowance of an Acting Commissioner	491	10	8
Travelling allowance - - - - -	250	–	–
Total - - -	2,658	5	4

(Public.—No. 63.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir,

India Office, London, 31 May 1867.

Paragraph 1. THE Despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated 21st March, No. 48, of 1867, submitting a report showing the number of orphans dependent on private or public charity in the Patna districts in consequence of the late famine, and also reporting the appointment of Mr. Molony as special Commissioner in the Cuttack Division in connection with relief operations, has been considered by me in Council.

2. I have read with great satisfaction Mr. Dalrymple's statement that the prospects of the season are on the whole very favourable, and that the probable accession to the number of orphans during the current year will be small. I rely with confidence on the judgment and humanity of your Excellency in Council and of the Government of Bengal, for the arrangement of such measures as may be necessary for the continued care of those unfortunate children who have through cruel necessity been abandoned by their natural protectors.

3. I approve of the appointment of Mr. Molony as a special Commissioner in the Cuttack Division in connection with the relief operations.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 71, of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Stafford H. Northcote,* Bart., Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 22 April 1867.

Sir,

IN Lord Cranborne's Despatch, dated the 9th of October last, his Lordship directed the appointment of a special officer to inquire into the circumstances of the famine which prevailed during last year in Orissa and in a part of Bengal,

and as to the most effectual means of preventing the recurrence of such a calamity. He stated that it would be the duty of the officer so appointed to ascertain how far the officers in charge of the afflicted districts furnished to the local Government timely and accurate information with respect to the condition of the people and the prospect of the supply of food, and that it would be our duty to inform him how far the measures adopted by the local Government, in consequence of that information, were effective in mitigating the distress. He further directed that the officer selected for the inquiry should be one unconnected, officially, with the Revenue Administration of Bengal.

2. The Governor General's Minute of the 20th November, forwarded to Lord Cranborne with our Despatch, No. 89, dated the 6th December, will have explained the reasons which induced us so far to deviate from his Lordship's instructions as to appoint, instead of a single officer, a commission composed of three officers, of whom two, viz., Mr. Justice Campbell and Colonel Morton, were entirely unconnected in any way with the Bengal Government, while the third (Mr. Dampier) had been recently connected with the Revenue Administration of Bengal, though not in the Province of Orissa.

3. Both Mr. Campbell and Colonel Morton are officers, the greater part of whose service has been passed in the Upper Provinces.

4. The principal subjects for investigation were indicated by us to the Commission under the following heads:—

(1.) What were the causes which led to the scarcity and famine.

(2.) Whether timely and sufficient measures were taken to meet the evil and to relieve the distressed; and if not, whether valid reasons exist to account for the absence of such measures.

(3.) In what way, if any, action may be taken by the Government to prevent the recurrence of a similar visitation, or to mitigate its effects, should it recur.

5. The appointment of the Commission and the instructions given to them were approved by Lord Cranborne's Despatch, No. 4, dated the 25th of January.

6. Immediately after their appointment, the Commissioners proceeded to Orissa, and after visiting the three districts of that province, and also the district of Midnapore, they returned to Calcutta on the 30th of January.

7. The oral evidence taken by the Commissioners during this tour is contained in the first 114 pages of the "Statements recorded by the Commissioners."

8. Throughout the month of February the Commissioners were occupied in taking further evidence in Calcutta, and in examining the voluminous correspondence relating to the period of the famine, much of which only became available for their inspection after their return to Calcutta.

9. We now forward to you the Commissioners' Report, divided into three sections. The first is dated April the 6th; and we feel confident that the elaborate and exhaustive history which it contains of all the circumstances connected with the famine from its commencement, coupled with the great mass of materials collected in the annexures, will at once satisfy Her Majesty's Government not only that the Commissioners have made no avoidable delay in furnishing this report, but that they have manifested a special diligence and zeal in rendering so complete a report within so brief a period.

10. Having regard to what is stated by the Commissioners in the 10th paragraph of their report, we thought it right to furnish a copy of the report to the Lieutenant Governor, and before transmitting it to you, to afford him an opportunity of putting on record any further explanation that he might desire to offer. We have received from the Lieutenant Governor the accompanying Minute, dated the 16th instant, to which full consideration will, doubtless, be given by Her Majesty's Government, and to portions of which we shall have occasion presently to advert.

11. The first section of the Commissioners' report embraces the first two heads of inquiry, to which their attention was directed by our instructions, viz., the causes

causes of the famine; and whether timely and sufficient measures were taken to meet the evil, and if not, whether valid reasons exist to account for their absence.

12. Considering the very full and exhaustive report which the Commissioners have made, it seems undesirable that we should add more than we can avoid to the mass of papers which we have to place before you. We do not, therefore, propose to review the report in any detail, nor, in respect of that part of the case which may be thought by the terms of Lord Cranborne's Despatch of October to have been in some measure specially referred to a commission of inquiry, to do much more than state briefly how far we concur in the conclusions of the Commissioners.

13. On the point to which our own attention is particularly directed by the same despatch, we shall, of course, think it our duty to speak more fully.

14. As regards the first of the proposed subjects of investigation, the causes of the famine, we see no occasion to add anything to the observations recorded by the Commissioners. We agree in their statements upon this point.

15. As regards, secondly, the conduct of the officers in charge of the afflicted districts, and we would add generally of all the officers of Government concerned, including the Board of Revenue, the Police, and the Public Works officers, we find no reason to differ materially from the conclusions formed by the Commissioners, as summed up in paragraphs 416 to 420 of their Report. We would say, however, that the Commissioner, Mr. Ravenshaw, seems to us to have been in a very difficult position after the telegram from the Board of Revenue of the 1st February. That telegram purported in its terms to convey a decisive order of the Government; and inasmuch as the order was consistent with all that had gone before, Mr. Ravenshaw might well have supposed that it was intended as a peremptory and conclusive intimation to him upon the two vital points of the case, viz., that the Government would not import rice, and that the Government would only pay for labour in cash. No doubt Mr. Ravenshaw would occupy a far higher position had he boldly protested against such an order; and it may not be a violent inference that, not having done so, he is not to be esteemed as an officer fitted for the post of a Commissioner in circumstances of exceptional strain.

16. While we are thus disposed to view Mr. Ravenshaw's mistakes somewhat leniently, we question whether there is sufficient ground for hesitation, expressed in paragraph 418 of the Commissioners' Report as to the degree of responsibility attaching to the Board of Revenue. We cannot think that there is really any room to doubt that the Board of Revenue regarded it as a part of their duty to keep themselves informed concerning the state of the country, to give instructions within the limits of their authority to the local revenue officers respecting measures of relief when such were deemed necessary, and to report to Government if they should consider anything to be required beyond the limits of their authority.

17. The whole course of the correspondence seems to us to support this view; and it is, indeed, incredible that the Board should have taken on themselves to send the reply which they did to the Commissioner's telegram of 31st January, unless they had believed that the responsibility primarily rested with them of determining whether the state of the country was, or was not, such as to call for extraordinary measures.

18. Though drawing this inference, however, as to the Board's own estimate of the character of their functions and authority, we do not the less agree with the Commissioners in considering that it was undoubtedly the duty of the Board to have communicated Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January to the Lieutenant Governor.

19. We are, indeed, at a loss to understand how the members of the Board could have thought themselves justified in dealing with a communication of such importance without referring it for the orders of the Lieutenant Governor, and we are constrained to say that, in our judgment, a heavy weight of responsibility and grievous blame attaches to the Board of Revenue in this respect.

20. As remarked by the Commissioners, the unfortunate reply made by the Board to the Commissioner's telegram seems to have stifled and put an end to all further discussion regarding the importation of rice from that time until a period when the state both of the weather and the people rendered it too late to import it with successful effect.

21. The question on which Lord Cranborne more especially asked our opinion is that of the judgment to be passed on the conduct and policy of the local Government of Bengal in dealing with this great calamity. It is with very deep regret that, after a careful review of that conduct and policy, a review which we trust we have made with the deliberation demanded not only by the high official position, but by the long and distinguished services of Sir Cecil Beadon, we find ourselves unable to speak with satisfaction or approval of the mode in which the emergency was met by the Lieutenant Governor. And here we are under the necessity of stating, with some emphasis, that we cannot accept that which is propounded as the only true issue by his Honor in his Minute of the 15th instant. In the 64th paragraph his Honor observes:—"The Government of India will not fail to perceive that the real point of the inquiry, though it has not by any means been fairly brought out by the Commission, is whether the circumstances of Orissa, as known to the local authorities and reported to Government, were such as to warrant them in recommending or justifying* the Government in resorting at an earlier period without such recommendation to so very serious and exceptional a measure as the importation on public account of rice sufficient to feed a large proportion of the entire population." We think it clearly brought out by the Commission, that the circumstances of Orissa, as known to the local authorities, did warrant them in making the recommendation, which in fact most of them did make at an early period, that sufficient grain should be imported to render relief by public works effectual, and we cannot admit that the limited measure thus recommended was open to serious objection on economical grounds. It is true that the virtual unanimity of the local officers in this opinion was not apparently known to the head of the Government; but, for the question as to the course which would have been justifiable on the part of the local Government, in the absence of reports, we are bound to say that several other questions ought to be substituted: Were not the facts as to the condition of Orissa, which were in the possession of the Government of Bengal before the end of 1865, of a character to cause the deepest anxiety and alarm? Should not the anxiety and alarm have led to continued vigilance? In the exercise of that vigilance, should not the fullest advantage have been taken of every opportunity of inquiring into the state of the country and the efficiency of measures of relief; and, if that advantage had been taken, would not the true condition and prospects of the population of Orissa have been estimated with much greater accuracy at a much earlier period?

* Query, "to justify."

22. We are under the necessity of drawing your attention to the first half of the month of February 1866, which we consider the most critical period in the history of the famine. At that date the Commissioners are distinctly of opinion that the time had come when grain should have been imported for the purpose of paying in food the part of the population which was willing to labour at the public works, and we think it more than probable that, if such a measure had been resorted to, its direct and indirect effects would have been to bring out the whole truth as to the state of the people at a time when the exertions of Government might have been most effectual. On 13th February, the Lieutenant Governor reached Orissa in company with his Public Works Secretary and a member of the Board of Revenue. His Honor had, of course, before his mind the correspondence on the famine which had passed with his Government in the General and Public Works Departments, and he had before him the report of Mr. Barlow, dated 29th December. He left the province on 19th February, and the impression which he brought away was that no calamity resembling that which has occurred was to be expected, an impression which is now acknowledged to have been entirely mistaken.

23. The Lieutenant Governor affirms that his communications with the local officers produced this impression on his mind, and of course we entirely believe his statement. Yet it is certain that the local officers below the Commissioner were at the time most seriously alarmed, that one of them (*see* Mr. Lacey's Diary, App.

App. p. 119) had anticipations of the future not far removed from the truth; that few of them had any belief in the existence of large stocks of rice in the country; and that several of them, even including the Commissioner, thought the importation of grain essential to the efficacy of relief by public works. (*See* Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of 31st January; Mr. Barlow's letters, App., Nos. 89 and 97, pp. 99 and 103; Lieutenant Nolan's letter, App. No. 91, p. 102.) We do not attempt to explain their reticence, though we cannot doubt that the unfortunate action of the Board of Revenue had much to do with it, as producing a belief that non-importation was the settled policy of the Government; and we cannot but think, from the tone of the Lieutenant Governor's letter at a more serious conjuncture (*see* Lieutenant Governor's demi-official letter to Mr. Chapman of 11th June, App., pp. 288), that the tendency in his Honor to take a sanguine view of events was unfavourable to the receipt of discouraging communications. But the inference which we now draw is, that any detailed conversation with the local officers must, under the circumstances of Orissa, have elicited very alarming facts, and that, if sanguine opinions were expressed, a very little sifting of them must have greatly diminished their value and significance. We will add, that though the complaints received from natives by the Lieutenant Governor suggested a particular remedy for scarcity which was clearly inadmissible, yet the complaints themselves, in spite of the ignorance they betrayed, were not the less evidence of severe and wide-spread distress, and should not have been dismissed from consideration without careful inquiry into the state of things which they implied.

24. Under any circumstances, we think the Lieutenant Governor was bound to inquire narrowly into the sufficiency of the measures on which he placed reliance for the relief of distress. It is now certain that the relief actually afforded by public works was, from first to last, almost nominal, and that early in February 1866, "famine relief" was, in the Commissioner's words, "at a stand still," through the operation of the same cause, which led ultimately to the general failure of the attempt to relieve through this instrumentality, viz., the valuelessness of money paid for labour in the absence of procurable food. It seems to us highly probable that personal inquiry on the part of the Lieutenant Governor, or of his Public Works Secretary, whether relief worthy of the name was in fact being administered, would have brought out information which would have proved of the most serious importance; and we are wholly unable to understand the statement of Colonel Nicolls, that "the result (of discussion) was, that nothing more was necessary" (Statements, &c., No. 119), and that in February and March there was no reason to suppose that the employment given by the relief works in the Pooree district was inadequate to the emergency for which they were designed. (*Ibid.*) It appears to us that throughout the famine in Orissa no sufficient attention was paid by the Government of Bengal to the extraordinary disproportion between the distress never denied to exist in Orissa, and the relief afforded by public works, whether its amount was tested by expenditure or by visible progress in construction.

25. The impressions received by the Lieutenant Governor in Orissa, no doubt, remained on his mind, and explain both the scantiness of his communications with the Government of India and the uniform colour of his representations. As his Honor has stated in his first Minute, on his return to Calcutta he discussed the subject of the famine with the Governor General in a personal interview, and affirmed that the circumstances of Orissa were not such as to render the importation of grain expedient or necessary. No further communication was addressed to us till the 28th of March, when, in answer to our request for a report, whether any further measures of relief were necessary, the Lieutenant Governor informed us that "there was no prospect of a famine in Bengal;" that "in Orissa, where the scarcity has been greatest, the wants of the people had been materially relieved;" and that "the natural fluctuation of prices had been sufficient to attract food to the districts (of Orissa) in which it was scarcest." All these assertions are substantially repeated in a series of demi-official letters to the Governor General, extending from 22nd May to 23rd June. On the 10th of June his Honor informed us that his accounts did not support the statements of the Chamber of Commerce regarding the appalling character of the famine, and the narratives received from the Government of Bengal on 29th June, 11th July, 18th July, 24th July, and 8th August, successively affirm that "the general

state of the suffering districts is improving;" that "the improvement continues;" that "the accounts, though showing that great distress exists in Orissa, are full of promise as to the future;" that "prices are falling even in Orissa;" that "the accounts from the distressed districts are favourable;" and that "they are very cheering."

26. We are satisfied that a persuasion of the truth of these statements was in his Honor's mind, but we are not satisfied that they were warranted by any evidence before him, except so far as the promising state of the crops may have partially justified the later narratives. Positive assertions of this sort, in so unspeakably serious a matter, ought not to have been based on the mere absence of evidence to the contrary, but should have rested on affirmative testimony to their correctness. Such statements should not, we think, have been made without some distinct evidence that the causes supposed to be mitigating the famine were really in operation; as, for example, that grain from the alleged stocks was really coming into the market, that prices were really falling, that private enterprise was actually coming to the aid of the starving population, that a number of persons proportionate to the area of the distress were, as a known fact, receiving effective relief through the extension of public works. We cannot see that any evidence tending to support such conclusions was before the Lieutenant Governor; we know, indeed, that they were altogether opposed to the facts.

27. We are convinced that, if the extent and imminence of the danger had been brought home to the Lieutenant Governor, no officer in the service of Her Majesty would have been more forward in exertions or personal sacrifices for the sake of mitigating or averting it. But it would appear that, until comparatively late in the history of these events, the head of the Bengal Government laboured under what may be described as an incapacity to believe in disaster; and we think that the result of this frame of mind was that he neglected warnings which were not obscure, and wasted valuable opportunities both of inquiry and of action. We, of course, admit it to be uncertain what number of the lives which have been lost could have been saved by human efforts promptly applied. The records of similar calamities would seem to show that, under any circumstances, there must have been very great loss of life. But we have the satisfaction of knowing that, on the occasion of those calamities, the foresight and diligence exhibited by the local representatives of the British Government were not unworthy of the emergencies which had arisen. We regret that we cannot make the same statement of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, so far as relates to the later months of 1865 and the earlier months of 1866. At the same time we cordially join in the tribute paid by Lord Cranborne to the activity and zeal displayed by the Lieutenant Governor as soon as the true condition of the people of Orissa was understood.

28. We shall address you hereafter on the second and third parts of the Commissioners' Report relating to remedial measures, after communication with the local authorities.

29. We enclose the papers having reference to the scarcity and distress in Behar, including a copy of the letter which we have addressed to the Government of Bengal on the subject.

30. Separate minutes, by the Governor General and Sir Henry Durand, accompany this Despatch.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
H. S. Maine.
W. Grey.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

REPORT of the COMMISSIONERS appointed to inquire into the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa* in 1866.

SYNOPSIS OF REPORT.

PART I.

THE FAMINE IN BENGAL AND ORISSA IN 1865-66.

PRELIMINARY.

Paras.		Page.
1, 2.	—Circumstances under which Commissioners commenced their inquiry	210
3 to 5.	—Explanation why detailed statistical information cannot be given	210
6.	—Above want affects not only nature of the report but its subject	211
7.	—Quasi Judicial form of inquiry adopted	211
8, 9.	—What districts have been visited	211
10.	—What has been done in Calcutta	212
11.	—Death of Mr. Cockburn and absence of Mr. Barlow noticed	212
12.	—Nature of the Sittings of the Commission	212
13, 14.	—What records and letters have been used	212
15, 16.	—Distribution of the subject	213
17.	—Natural causes of the famine	213
18.	—Rainfall in Bengal	213
19.	—Crops of previous years and exports (Table of ditto)	213
20 to 22.	—Result of rice crop of 1865	214
23.	—Effect on prices	215
24.	—Geographical area of the famine	215
25 to 27.	—Famine tract of the second degree described	215
28.	—Physical features of Orissa	216
29.	—Rainfall in Orissa; inundations; storm-waves	216
30.	—Irrigation, want of	216
31.	—Tributary estates	217
32.	—Geographical isolation	217
33.	—Means of communication	217
34, 35.	—Character, &c., of Ooryahs; ethnological boundaries; want of trading class	217
36.	—Area and population of Orissa proper; of tributary estates or Mehals	218
37.	—Crops, nature of	218
38, 39.	—Historical retrospect	219
40 to 46.	—Nature of Settlement; condition immediately prior to famine	219
47.	—Orissa an exporting country (Table of Exports)	221
48.	—Character of Zemindars	222
49.	—Cessation of salt manufacture; effect of on the manufacturers	222
50.	—Labouring class, description of	222
51, 52.	—Former famines; none of great severity in present century	222
53.	—Result; famine a thing not distinctly realised by the people	223
54, 55.	—Crops of 1863-64; prices of ditto; exports	223
56.	—The season of 1865 in Pooree	224
57.	—" " " in Cuttack	224
58.	—" " " in Balasore	224
59.	—Effect of approaching expiration of settlement	225
60.	—Orissa School of Officers	225
61 to 64.	—Officers in Orissa or acquainted with it at commencement of famine	225
65.	—Famine a thing not present to the minds of officials in the Lower Provinces	226
66.	—Effect of separation of police from the magistracy	226
67.	—European residents; effect of their being principally at Cuttack	227
68, 69.	—Mortality, approximately conjectured only	227
70 to 73.	—Comparison between this and former famines	228
74.	—Effect of a failure, far short of total failure of crops in India	230
75, 76.	—Deaths from starvation and disease, no line can be drawn between	231
77.	—Persons with rights in land suffered less, why	231
78.	—General statement as regards tracts which suffered	231
79.	—Various use of term "famine;" how used in report	232
80.	—Floods; a secondary cause of the mortality	232
81, 82.	—Treatment and division of the subject and of correspondence; district narratives	232

History of the Famine in Orissa.

Paras.		Page.
83.	*First period from October 1865 to date of report of Board of Revenue.* State of districts at commencement of famine	233
84 to 86.	Effect of failure of rain in October 1865	233
87, 88.	State of things in the Pooree District in October and November	233
89, 90.	State of things in the Balasore District at the same time	234
91, 92.	State of things in the Cuttack District; Reports of the Commissioner	235
93.	Inquiries into extent of failure of crop proposed, how met	236
94.	Agricultural exhibition postponed	236
95, 96.	Commissioner's sanguine views considered	236
97.	Lieutenant Governor calls on Board of Revenue for a special report	237
98.	The Board submit their report in November	237
99.	Government of Bengal generally concur	237
100.	Circulation of report by Board	237
101 to 108.	Examination and statement of the principles enunciated	237
109.	No further attempt made to obtain information as to out-turn of crops	239
110.	Absence of rule regarding the functions of the Board	239
111.	Probable effects of Board's circular on local officers	240
112.	Conjecture as to the out-turn of the crops of 1865 in Orissa	240
113.	Causes which may have tended to allay alarm and distress	240
114.	Proposition of Messrs. Gisborne & Co. to import rice	240
115.	Correspondence regarding funds for Public Works; expenditure on works not properly famine works	241
116 to 118.	Further correspondence relative to inquiries into losses of crops	241
119.	Correspondence regarding formation of Relief Committees	242
120.	Correspondence regarding Commissioner's tour in Tributary Mehals. His absence unfortunate	242
121 to 127.	Prices current; importance attached to them by the Board, their accuracy and use discussed; table of prices	243
128.	*Second period from Board's report to Lieutenant Governor's visit.* Correspondence refers almost entirely to Pooree	246
129.	Telegram on starvation at Paricood meets with prompt attention	246
130 to 132.	Measures suggested and abandoned	246
	(1.) Importation of rice	246
	(2.) Salt exportation	246
133 to 137.	Measures adopted	247
138 to 140.	Question of payment of wages in grain and importation for the purpose, orders regarding	248
141.	Why private merchants did not import at this time	249
142, 143.	Mr. Barlow, in December, submits report and diary, and describes destitution as general and complete	249
144.	Commissioner's instructions	249
145.	Action taken to dissuade pilgrims from visiting Juggernath	249
146.	Further correspondence regarding provision of food for labourers on public works	250
147.	Mr. Barlow's letter showing the absolute necessity of importation for the purpose	250
148, 149.	Executive Engineer, Collector, and Commissioner, agree to import	251
150.	Department of Public Works refuse to authorise advance to collectors to purchase rice	251
151, 152.	At the same time Board instruct local officers to pay in cash; their mistake in this matter	251
153.	Further representations; Mr. Ravenshaw returns on 31st January	252
154.	He telegraphs for rice; telegram in reply, decisive against importation	252
155 to 159.	Orders issued in consequence, and very unfortunate results	252
160 to 162.	Superintending Engineer's instructions in regard to the relief works	254
163, 164.	His letter on the subject to the Commissioner, and Commissioner's reply	255
165.	Disposal of the Superintending Engineer's instructions by the Government	255
166.	Result; no orders issued till June; effect of omission to supply food	255
167.	Effect of task work system	256
168, 169.	Works on Pooree road almost stopped in February. The works failed, as large relief measures	256
170.	Opinion that Government should have imported rice into Pooree in February	256
171 to 175.	Facts never brought to knowledge of head of Government of Bengal	257
176 to 178.	Information respecting famine possessed by local officers at the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit	258
179.	Particulars regarding Lieutenant Governor's visit	258
180 to 185.	Difficulty regarding food not sufficiently brought to his Honor's notice, how and why this occurred	259
186 to 188.	State of things in Cuttack; petition; Lieutenant Governor's speech	260
189 to 191.	Summary of circumstances and effect of Lieutenant Governor's visit	261
192 to 194.	Question regarding the existence of sufficient stocks of grain	262
195 to 198.	Reasons for thinking that Government ought to have imported food	263
199 to 201.	The private trade in grain	264
202.	A vessel loaded with grain, wrecked on the coast, but grain carried away again	264
203.	Importation by Government, discussed on general grounds	265
204.	Opinion of his Excellency the Governor General	266

Paras. Page.
205 to 209.—Sir A. Cotton's suggestions and reply of the Governor of Bengal - - - 266
210.—*Third period from Lieutenant Governors's visit to the end of May* - - - 267

Pooree.

211 to 219.—Progress of the famine during this period; reports; relief works and attempts to obtain public aid - - - - - - - - - - - - 267
220.—State of things in April - - - - - - - - - - - - 270
221, 222.—Early in May Mr. Barlow breaks silence; his letters and reports - - - 271
223.—Extent of calamity recognised by Mr. Ravenshaw; extracts from letters of - 272
224.—Government reply to above reports - - - - - - - - - 273
225.—Summary of relief works in Pooree from January to end of May - - - 273

Balasore.

226 to 229.—State of things in Balasore in February; reports of letters - - - - 274
230.—Deputy Inspector General of Police reports on state of district in March - - 274
231, 232.—Applications of Relief Committee for Government aid; Collector's answer - 274
233 to 235.—Report called for by Government; District Superintendent of Police submits full report; Mr. Muspratt's views; delay in submitting above - - - 275
236.—Commissioner directed to report in person, and arrives at Balasore - - 276
237.—Ordered to Mohurbhunge - - - - - - - - - - - 276
238, 239.—Lieutenant Governor leaves Calcutta for Darjeeling; want of special arrangements noticed - - - - - - - - - - - - - 277
240, 241.—Letters of Mr. Ravenshaw before leaving Balasore - - - - - 277
242.—Supposed unwillingness of the people to work; the question discussed - - 278
243.—Appeal for aid in the "Englishman" newspaper of 24th April - - - 279
244.—Mr. Ravenshaw's report of 2nd May; action taken on - - - - - 279
245.—Further appeal to the press; flour offered by the Commisariat; Mr. Muspratt asks for rice, money useless - - - - - - - - - - 280
246.—Distress in Bhudruck Subdivision - - - - - - - - - 281
247.—Public Works in the Balasore District - - - - - - - - 281
248.—Importations ordered - - - - - - - - - - - - 281

Cuttack.

249.—State of things in Cuttack during this period - - - - - - 281
250, 251.—Mr. Ravenshaw's demi-official letter to Lieutenant Governor - - - 281
252.—Officers at Cuttack—Captain Fisher—Mr. Cornell - - - - - 282
253.—State of the Cuttack District in April - - - - - - - - 282
254.—State of things in May - - - - - - - - - - - 283
255, 256.—Offer of flour; reply; state of things in end of May, and telegrams in consequence - - - - - - - - - - - - - 283
257.—Employment afforded by the works of the Irrigation Company - - - 283

Orissa Generally.

258.—Correspondence regarding Orissa generally - - - - - - - 284
259.—Correspondence regarding additional public works - - - - - 284
260.—State of Orissa attracts attention of press in April - - - - - 284
261.—Mr. Sykes' Fund - - - - - - - - - - - 284
262.—Mr. Chapman recommends a General Relief Fund - - - - - 284
263.—Rice for Cuttack Gaol, correspondence regarding - - - - - 285
264.—Telegram from Madras Government; reply - - - - - - 285
266.—Letters in "Englishman; reference by Government of India regarding - - 285
267.—Mr. Moncrieff's application for balance of North-West Famine Fund, and renewed recommendation for importation - - - - - - - - 285
268.—Commissary General's offer of flour - - - - - - - - 285
269.—Offer of balance of North-West Famine Fund by Government of India; accepted by Government of Bengal; 2 lakhs made over; assignments to distressed districts - - - - - - - - - - - - 285
270.—Lieutenant Governor suggests importation to Board of Revenue - - - 286
271 to 274.—The Board demur - - - - - - - - - - - - 286
275.—Mr. Chaplain again urges a General Famine Relief Fund - - - - 287
276.—His letter stating further subscription to be unnecessary, in consequence of assignments from North-West Famine Fund - - - - - - - 287
277.—Want of full appreciation of statements of Messrs. Barlow and Ravenshaw - 288
278.—Lieutenant Governor's instructions relative to assignments; reservation of one lakh for Public Works; cancelled - - - - - - - - - 288
279.—Board's instructions relative to assignments; collectors consulted on the advisability of importation - - - - - - - - - - 288
280.—Government of India call for authentic information; narratives - - - - 288
281.—Telegram from Superintending Engineer asking for rice; Lieutenant Governor again urges importation on Board - - - - - - - - - 288
282.—Commissioner reports and telegraphs state of things; Cuttack Relief Committee's telegram - - - - - - - - - - - - 289
283.—Lieutenant Governor directs Board to import; importations commenced - 289
284.—Famine half realised; measures taken to import - - - - - - 289

Paras.		Page.
285.	State of Pooree in beginning of June	289
286.	Grant of remaining balance of North-West Famine Fund; additional importations ordered	290
287.	Lieutenant Governor returns to Calcutta; further arrangements; 20 lakhs advanced for importations	290
288 to 294.	Importation operations in Orissa; importation only possible by sea; Balasore, False Point, Pooree, the Dhamrah; "Tubal Cain," disaster to; the possibility of doing more considered	290
295.	Landing arrangements	292
296, 297.	The Executive Staff in Orissa	292
298.	Further relief by public works	293
299, 300.	State of Orissa in June	293
301.	" " in July and August	293
302.	" " in September	293
303.	Effect of floods, and consequent additional demand for rice	294
304 to 306.	The failure to meet these demands, and consequent state of things in October	294
307.	Abatement of the famine in November	295
308.	Gratuitous distribution of rice at relief centres	295
309.	Sales, double system of	295
310.	Difficulties as regards superintendence	296
311.	Difficulties experienced in the management of charitable relief	296
112, 113.	Mortality at feeding centres to what attributable	296
314 to 317.	System of feeding; exertions of members of relief committees; actual working and amount of relief; Mr. Kirkwood's statement regarding relief in Cuttack; Mr. McNeile's estimate of the amount of relief	296
318.	Quantity of rice imported; statement showing	298
319.	Statement showing whole relief operations in Orissa	299
320.	Famine in the Orissa tributary estates	300

History of the Famine in Districts other than Orissa.

321 to 337.	Famine in the Chota Nagpore Division	300
338 to 353.	Famine in the Midnapore District	304
354, 355.	Famine in the Beerbhoom District	307
356 to 367.	Famine in the Bancoorah District	307
368.	Famine in the Burdwan District	309
369 to 373.	Famine in the Hooghly District	309
374.	Famine in the Howrah District	311
375 to 388.	Famine in Calcutta	311
389 to 395.	Famine in the Nuddea District	314
396.	Famine in the 24-Pergunnahs	216
397.	" in the Moorshedabad District	316

Concluding Remarks.

398 to 405.	The public knowledge of the facts of the famine, and the question of appealing for public assistance discussed	317
406, 407.	Review of the measures of relief adopted by the Government	321
408 to 422.	Review of the whole subject	323
423.	Officers recommended as especially meritorious	328
424.	Expenditure	329

Part II.

IMMEDIATE MEASURES RECOMMENDED FOR ORISSA.

1 to 5.	State of the country and people; special localties and classes excepted, fostering care rather than direct relief wanted	329
6 to 9.	Laws of trade; exportation; importation	330
10, 11.	State of Tracts desolated by floods	332
13.	Permanent charge; orphans and widows	333
14.	Divisions of duties between Government and the public	333
15 to 21.	Settlement of the land revenue recommended; mode of managing impoverished estates; treatment of, and advances to, the ryots	333
22, 23.	The settlement with reference to irrigation	336
24 to 26.	Encouragement of the Irrigation Company	336
27 to 32.	Improvement of communication with the Province; False Point route and harbour; inland navigation	337
33.	Embankments	338

Part III.

THE RISK OF FUTURE FAMINE, AND GENERAL MEASURES OF MITIGATION.

Paras.		Page.
1, 2.	Comparative risk of different parts of India	339
3.	Recent famines in the N. W. Provinces	340
4.	„ famines in the Madras Presidency	340
5.	Summary of recent famines	341
6.	Great famines of former centuries	341
7.	The great famines of 1783	342
8, 9.	Means of resistance in ancient and modern times	342
10.	The climatic system of India	343
11.	Division into rice and non-rice countries	344
12.	Absence of any source of supply out of India	344
13 to 19.	The great Bengal famine of 1770	344
20.	Liability of Eastern Bengal to famine	346
21.	The nearness of famine in Bengal generally in 1865-66	346
22 to 25.	State of agriculture, population, and landed tenures as compared with other times and place	347
26.	Modern means of supplying a deficiency of food	348
27.	Estimate of the effect of a general failure of the harvest in Bengal at the present day	349
28 to 30.	*Remedial measures;* the tenure of the land; permanent settlements	349
31.	Undertenures in permanently-settled districts, the system of farming to middlemen, and sub-infuedation	350
32 to 34.	The position of the Ryots	350
35.	The great want of all; certainty of tenure	351
36 to 40.	Communications; railways; canals; roads	351
41 to 43.	The food supply, and especially the supply of rice	352
44.	The question of irrigation in Bengal; increase of rice supply of neighbouring countries more feasible	353
45.	Sir A. Cotton's scheme for a canal from the Ganges	353
46.	Canalisation of the Damoodah	354
47.	Facilities for water; storage in Western Bengal	354
48.	Irrigation in Orissa and Behar	355
49 to 54.	The northern and southern systems of irrigation; essential difference in their character explained	355
55.	Necessity of inundation; canals on southern system to supplement those of the north	356
56.	Rainfall in various parts of India	357
57, 58.	Necessity of arrangements for the supply of Civil Engineers	357
59.	The question of exportation	358
60, 61.	Proposed meteorological observations	358
62.	Agricultural statistics	359
63, 64.	Increase in number of labourers for wages; their condition in times of scarcity; the sources of voluntary relief	359
65 to 72.	Necessity of organised system of relief on special occasions; proposed famine; poor law	360
73 to 76.	Works for employment of the poor; arrangements recommended regarding	361
77 to 88.	The mode of dealing with scarcity and famine when they occur	362

REPORT of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Famine in *Bengal* and *Orissa* in 1866.

On receipt of the instructions of the Government of India, contained in the resolution of his Excellency the Governor General in Council of 4th December last (which was accompanied by an extract of a Despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India), we lost no time in assembling and making arrangements for the conduct of the important inquiry confided to us. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General had expressed the opinion that it was desirable that the Commission should proceed to make a local inquiry in Orissa without delay, and immediately on our assembling we proceeded to that province.

2. Mr. Dampier had held the office of Commissioner of the Nuddea or Presidency division, and, before joining the other Commissioners, had already made a local inquiry in the districts of Maunbhoom, Bancoorah, Hooghly, and Burdwan, under the instructions of the Government of Bengal, dated 5th November 1866. We had, however, had no previous opportunity of studying the whole correspondence regarding the famine in Orissa, and that correspondence not being then available in a complete or easily accessible shape, we left Calcutta with very fragmentary information. The correspondence was not complete in our hands till much later. Altogether, then, we commenced our inquiry with a very imperfect knowledge of the official history of the great calamity which had befallen the province. There was this advantage, that we acted with minds that were perfectly fresh and unbiased, but, on the other hand, there was the disadvantage that we were not from the very first able to apply ourselves without fail to all points which a perusal of the correspondence might have shown most to demand scrutiny. On the whole, we hope that the circumstances have not been unfavourable to a due elucidation of the truth.

3. It must at once be understood that it is impossible that our report on the extent and circumstances of the famine can be, in any way, of the same character as that of the late Colonel Baird Smith, to which allusion has been made by the Right honourable the Secretary of State. Colonel Baird Smith made his report regarding a country where the very amplest statistical information was available. The districts of the North Western Provinces are provided with very large establishments, brought, by long habit and close supervision, to a high state of efficiency, and by which the magistrate and collector is kept in intimate communication with every part of his district. The Tehseeldars and their subordinates, the Canoongoes and the Putwares furnish from year to year fiscal and agrarian returns of the most minute description, and can supply, on a very short notice, special information which the occasion may require. Colonel Smith was, therefore, able, by availing himself of the information to be found in the collector's offices, to give most precise information respecting the famine of 1861, and to embody it in precise maps and figured statements.

4. All such establishments and all such information are entirely wanting in the lower provinces. The collector has no establishments whatever of the character to which we have referred. He may be said, as a rule, to have no executive establishments of any kind, and to be possessed of no statistics. Of late years districts have generally been more or less partitioned into sub-divisions in charge of assistants under the magistrate and collector, but these officers are much more judicial than executive in their functions; they cannot be said, in executive matters, to take the place of Tehseeldars. And there are few districts in which the number of sub-divisions is yet considerable. The permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal with the Zemindars, and the invariable

invariable rule of sale in case of default, have been supposed to have rendered unnecessary any further information than the great book of the collector showing the revenue payable for each estate held direct of Government. Most districts have been surveyed of late years as respects only the exterior boundaries of these estates, but nothing like an exact census of the population has been attempted.

5. In Orissa the settlement is not permanent, and remissions of revenue are not unfrequently granted. Thirty years ago a temporary settlement, almost more minute and careful than that of the North Western Provinces, was made by most able and experienced men. But, nevertheless, the Bengal system of administration has been followed. There are no Tehseeldars: the Putwarees have, for the most part, fallen into abeyance; the Canoongoes, though still existing, have been long almost entirely disused, and the annual returns, which they and the Putwarees were originally bound to furnish, have not only been neglected, but have been of late years absolutely prohibited. Consequently, in such a crisis as that which has just occurred, recent statistics are almost as little available in Orissa as in Bengal, and throughout the whole scope of our inquiry, we can nowhere pretend to give anything like exact or even approximate statistical information.

6. This distinction, which may be broadly said to exist between the system of administration in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, and that followed in all other parts of India, must be particularly borne in mind as affecting the subject of our inquiry much more deeply than the mere character of our report, as being in fact the main cause of the lack of reliable information which prevented very many officers from reporting in a confident and positive manner, in sufficient time for the application of a remedy, the degree of failure of the crops and the full extent of the distress which culminated so disastrously.

7. To return to our report, it must differ essentially from that of the late Colonel Smith, not only in the information which it does not supply, but in that which it does supply. In 1861 there was no question as to the conduct of the officers of Government and the sufficiency of the measures taken by them. On the present unhappy occasion these have been impugned, and we understand it to be a principal object of our inquiry to ascertain whether all that should have been done was done. Indeed its present form may have been given to our Commission in some degree with reference to that part of our inquiry. We have thought then that, where such questions were involved, it was proper that our investigation should take a somewhat judicial form. That may not be the best mode of speedily acquiring the most full and minute information on every part of a subject affecting so great a tract of country and so many millions of people, but we have deemed it the most satisfactory mode of arriving at a conclusion respecting the main issues. We have thought it necessary, under the circumstances, that we should not only ascertain the truth, but also exhibit the evidence on which our conclusions are founded. We have desired that the most competent persons should have the fullest opportunities of speaking out, and that their statements should remain on record. We have, therefore, though vested with no legal power of taking evidence, formally examined the most competent of those whose testimony was available. We have been met in the best spirit, and have found the persons, official and non-official, from whom we have sought information, most willing to give it. Unfortunately we were not provided with a professional reporter during our visit to Orissa, but we have endeavoured to record the substance of each examination, and in every instance during our tour the statement so taken down was read over to the person examined, and, where necessary, corrected. The evidence then on which this part of our report is founded, is composed of two parts,—the official documents and correspondence, and the statements recorded by us. With a view to form an opinion on remedial measures and broader questions, we have, of course, availed ourselves of every mode of information, but as respects personal questions we shall rely almost entirely on the recorded and documentary evidence.

8. Our colleague, Mr. Dampier, acting alone before the appointment of our

Commission, had not followed the quasi-judicial form of inquiry in the districts visited by him; but as our joint investigation has embraced the country in which the famine was most severely felt, we have thought that we may well use the information already obtained by him in the remaining districts, both during his special inquiry, and as Commissioner of the Presidency division. We have further requested the attendance before us, of some of the persons best acquainted with the history of the famine so far as it affected those districts.

9. We have visited each of the districts of Orissa, and also the district of Midnapore.

10. In Calcutta we have fully examined the heads of departments, and also some non-official persons whose action in, or knowledge of, the subject of our inquiry was important, as well as the several officers and others, both from Orissa and from other districts, whom we found there, or whose attendance we requested. Finally, we have asked his Honor, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, to be good enough to give us an opportunity of putting some questions to him, and he has at once complied with our request. A paper explanatory of his Honor's action had already been communicated to us, and, considering the nature of our instructions, and the circumstances of his Honor's position, we have not thought it necessary to seek in the form of examination (as in the case of all other officers) detailed explanations of the action of the Government of Bengal; but we deemed it indispensable to inform ourselves on points which affected the conduct of other officers, more especially as regarded the information supplied by them to Government.

11. This was the more necessary on account of the absence of two of the officers whose evidence would have been most important,—the late Mr. Cockburn, officiating member of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Barlow, magistrate and collector of Pooree. Mr. Cockburn, when accompanying the Lieutenant Governor to Orissa, in the early part of 1866, was unhappily seized with illness which eventually proved fatal. Mr. Barlow, after filling in fact the most important place in the whole history of the famine, left for England in October 1866. He is indeed so much the central figure in all the early part of these unhappy events, that our whole inquiry is unfortunately much crippled by his absence, and considerable doubt is thrown over our conclusions respecting an important passage in the history of the famine.

12. It was notified that our sittings were open to those who wished to be present during the examinations conducted by us, on the condition only that the statements made should not be reported and published till the whole inquiry was complete.

13. All the records and the correspondence, official and demi-official, both of the local officers and of the Board of Revenue, have been freely placed at our disposal, and we have been furnished by the Government of Bengal with copies of the public correspondence, and with extracts from the demi-official letters which could be found, so far as they related to the famine. With respect to local offices, however, we must observe that there is a great want of uniformity in the mode of keeping the correspondence, and we cannot always be quite sure that our papers are absolutely complete, though we are sure that nothing has been knowingly withheld. We have, in fact, by local search and inquiry, obtained much that would not have been found elsewhere, and we feel tolerably confident that we are possessed of all that is very material of the correspondence existing on record.

14. We have not hesitated to seek for and make use of demi-official letters, because we thought it probable that in such a crisis much of the business might have been done in that form, and we feel sure, that though the expressions used in these communications are sometimes not such as are studied in view to publicity, they will be judged by the substance rather than by the form of expression, the circumstances in which they were written being remembered. This correspondence is not now to be found in anything like a complete shape, but the fact seems to be that in the early part of the famine less of such correspondence passed than we had expected.

15. The

15. The Resolution of the Government of India states our duty to be in brief to report—

1. The causes of the famine.

2. Whether timely measures were taken to meet the evil, and if not, whether valid reasons exist to account for their absence.

3. In what way such visitations may be prevented or mitigated in future.

On this distribution of the subject, we would observe that the natural causes of the famine lie in very brief space, and are, it may be said, patent, while it is equally certain that sufficient measures of relief were not taken at so early a period as it would have been proper that they should have been taken, if the facts had been sufficiently known and the magnitude of the calamity had been earlier understood. The only cause then of increased suffering, which can admit of very serious question, is the delay which occurred in respect to measures of relief. We, therefore, propose, as most convenient, first to treat of the whole history of the famine, and then to give our opinion regarding the measures fit to be adopted in the future.

16. It was in the province of Orissa that the great calamity of the past year was felt in by far its widest extent, and in its greatest intensity; and it is to Orissa that the attention of the Government and the public has been most strongly drawn. To prevent, therefore, the complication which results from embracing too wide a surface in a single narrative, we propose, in the first instance, to follow the history of the famine in Orissa from beginning to end, noticing generally, as we proceed, the condition of the rest of the country in so far only as it necessarily bears upon the course of things in Orissa, and leaving the particulars of the other districts affected to be noticed after Orissa.

Our account of the past will naturally divide itself, for the most part, into two main heads—the course of affairs till the time when Government took action in the matter on a large scale, that is in the end of May 1866, and the measures of relief then and subsequently taken.

17. The natural cause of the scarcity and famine may be simply stated to be the premature cessation of the rains of 1865, throughout the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, in the middle of September 1865. Speaking generally, it may be said that no rain of any consequence fell after the middle of that month. A portion of the Madras coast, to the south-west of Bengal, was also similarly affected. The total quantity of the rain-fall for the year was not unusually small in most of the districts of Bengal, but it fell abnormally and out of time. Much rain fell early in the season before the usual time for sowing had arrived, and when its continuance could not be depended on, while the latter rains, which are usually expected in the end of September and October, failed.

18. Speaking still in general terms of the countries on the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal, it may be said that the rains brought by the south-west monsoon commence earlier, and fall in greater quantity, and more regularly to the east, and diminish both in quantity and still more in regularity towards the west, so that the eastern countries are altogether more humid than those to the west. Rice is the staple of all those countries. And the same crop which in the more humid districts of the east ripened in 1865, notwithstanding the unusually early cessation of the rains, was prematurely cut off in the drier and tardier districts of the west; the more so as it seems that in part of Orissa the total fall was much below the average, and the period from June to the middle of September was specially deficient prior to the total cessation of rain from the last-mentioned date.

19. It cannot be said that the country generally had suffered from decidedly short crops in previous years. The general impression seems to be, that on an average of some years past the crops have not been very large in Bengal, and it is a question whether the great rise of prices which has taken place is in any degree due to a yield below the average, or whether it is solely owing to increased demand. That the latter cause had largely operated to enhance the price of grain, and in some degree to drain the country, is certain. Not only have the

countries round the Bay of Bengal become of late years more and more the source of supply of rice to Asia and Australasia, but within India recent movements have greatly tended to increase the drain on those same countries. The increased cultivation of more valuable products in some provinces has caused them to draw largely for supplies of grain on others where grain had hitherto been comparatively cheap, and it may be said that the price of food-grains has largely risen throughout India. Thus, then, it has happened that although cotton is little grown in Bengal, and the demand for jute may scarcely have affected to any dangerous extent the supply of rice, still prices have been continually becoming dearer and dearer. And although the wages of labour have also, in some degree increased, especially in the metropolitan districts, everything is much regulated by custom in this country, and it can hardly be said that in most districts the rise in the price of labour has been equal to the rise in the price of grain. Hence, the position of the man depending solely on money wages has by no means improved, and the class represented by such a man probably felt the effect of a season of failure at least as quickly as would have been the case in times when the country was not so far advanced.

The following table, obtained from the Board of Revenue, shows briefly the exports of the lower provinces of Bengal for the last few years, and the price of rice in Calcutta:—

YEARS.	LOWER PROVINCES OF BENGAL. Quantity of Rice and Paddy Exported in Maunds.						Approximate Average Price of Rice in Calcutta in each Year.
	Calcutta.		Outports.		Total.		
	Rice.	Paddy.	Rice.	Paddy.	Rice.	Paddy.	
							Rs. a. p. md.
1855-56	89,11,500	2,705	5,64,137	20,734	94,75,637	23,439	1 2 3 „
1856-57	89,08,088	18,795	7,58,506	48,865	96,66,594	67,660	1 13 6 „
1857-58	72,74,174	5,418	3,24,204	62,724	75,98,378	68,142	2 2 2 „
1858-59	43,80,998	1,113	1,23,066	4,712	45,03,764	5,825	2 7 – „
1859-60	47,34,715	10,756	7,01,771	5,00,408	54,36,486	5,11,164	2 13 – „
1860-61	75,27,556	4,412	5,08,939	3,51,497	80,36,495	3,55,909	2 3 2 „
1861-62	1,06,86,378	18,447	7,60,555	2,25,701	1,14,46,933	2,44,148	2 – 9 „
1862-63	1,14,87,707	6,518	11,02,566	2,28,929	1,25,90,273	2,35,447	2 2 – „
1863-64	1,52,47,048	20,906	11,76,430	2,80,414	1,64,23,478	3,01,320	2 4 – „
1864-65	1,75,55,250	23,710	16,31,272	2,41,150	1,91,86,522	2,64,860	2 15 10 „
1865-66	86,46,497	1,405	8,43,721	1,71,929	94,90,218	1,73,334	3 8 7 „
1866-67 up to February	46,37,147	3,685	6,01,880	39,645	52,39,027	43,330	
Up to 12th March for Calcutta only	1,92,950	–	– –	– –	1,92,950	– –	4 7 7 „

N.B.—The exports from the outports can only be given up to February 1866-67. For Calcutta they have been entered up to the latest date to which the returns have been made up, viz., 12th March 1867.

20. The result of the rice crops of the autumn of 1865 may be said in brief to have been as follows:

In the eastern districts (beyond the Delta of the Ganges in that direction) material injury was not sustained. In the central districts of Bengal, that is, the districts of the Delta and those to the North of the Ganges, although there was, on the whole, a very serious shortness of crop and consequent enhancement of price, and a good deal of alarm was experienced in several quarters, scarcity amounting to famine did not result, except in a comparatively minor degree, and in a comparatively limited tract in what may be described as the most western section of the Delta, not far from Calcutta. This was chiefly in the Nuddea district. It lies in the midst of a rich and accessible country; timely and liberal measures of relief were adopted, and happily all considerable mortality was avoided.

21. The low lying alluvial portions of the districts to the west of the Hooghly escaped with comparitive impunity. It was only in the still more western districts of Orissa, and the higher parts of the western districts of Bengal, where the alluvium gives place to a laterite soil, that the full extremity of famine was reached.

22. The shortness of the crops and consequent scarcity extended to the north, beyond Bengal, into the province of Behar, and it is believed into part of the Benares

Benares province; in fact, it may be said to have reached the whole country of which rice is one of the main staples. But those last-mentioned countries lie beyond the scope of our immediate inquiry, and they are only here mentioned to show that the rice crops of Bengal could not be supplemented from thence.

23. Although the direct effect of the early cessation of the rains upon the crops of different districts was, as has been mentioned, very unequal, the circumstances were such that prices were equalised to a singular degree over a very wide range of country. Not only did Calcutta and the Metropolitan districts draw on the surplus produce of the eastern districts of Bengal, with which there is very easy water communication, but much of the export trade by sea is of a character which must be supplied from some source at whatever price. Sugar planters of the Mauritius and coffee growers of Ceylon and Bourbon must eat. The total cessation of export from Orissa, and the enhanced prices in Bengal, necessarily threw an increased demand on the eastern districts, and on what are called the rice ports, the ports of British Burmah, of which rice is the staple trade. Prices, therefore, were so generally enhanced, as greatly to curtail the relief afforded by the natural course of trade to the districts which had most suffered. In those districts which had yielded good or tolerable crops, the enhanced price, in giving an unusual profit to the agriculturist, and throwing money into the country, enabled the community generally to absorb the labour of the non-agriculturists to such an extent, that though they may have suffered they did not starve. But in the districts where the failure of crops had been greatest, although the cessation of export and scarcity of money at first prevented the rise to the highest famine prices, of such stocks and crops as there were, prices, nevertheless, very rapidly reached a point, which, though not famine point in Calcutta, was really such in districts were rural cheapness of food had been hitherto combined with very low wages of labour; and the labour market being in no way relieved, the labouring and landless classes were very soon thrown out of employment, and reduced to a state of extreme destitution.

24. To the west of Bengal the country rises, and eventually merges into the hilly and jungly regions of Central India. Towards the south-west the line of hills soon takes a somewhat definite shape, and the whole range may then be described as forming a part of the system of the eastern ghats.

The flat alluvial country between the most northern section of these hills and the sea constitutes the regulation districts of Orissa.

25. Near Balasore (the head quarters of the most northern of the Orissa districts) the line of hills may be said to turn inland to the north, while the coast line runs thence nearly east. Within the hills, the cultivation being at best scanty, jungle abundant, and means of irrigation easy, the hardy population suffered less than in the plains. But, between the proper hilly country and Bengal, lies a sort of intermediate tract, that already alluded to as the laterite portion of Western Bengal. This may be described as a partially raised and undulating country abounding in beds of laterite. The laterite soil is not unfertile, but it is dry, and the water easily runs off the undulating surface. The rains, too, of the west being more scanty than those of the east, the cultivation is precarious, and the whole of this tract suffered very severely in the famine. It comprises the greater part of the Orissa tributary mehals of Mohurbhunj and Nilgherry (the remainder of these mehals being more hilly); about half of the great district of Midnapore; a considerable portion of Bancoorah, or West Burdwan; and the Raneegunge country; most of the district of Maunbhoom, and part of that of Singbhoom in the Chota Nagpore division. The station of Balasore may be said to be on a kind of outlying spot of laterite soil, and the town of Midnapore is just on the edge of the laterite plateau, a low and fertile district extending to the sea on one side, while a dry jungly country touches the station on the other. This dry tract then—extending from a point 10 or 15 miles north of Balasore all the way to the hills forming the higher plateaus of Chota Nagpore, and bounded by alluvial plains on one side, by a decidedly hilly country on the other—may be described as that in which, taken as a whole, the famine reached an intensity second only to that in Orissa, and in some portions of which it reached a degree which may be compared with that suffered in Orissa.

 26. The

26. The district of Beerbhoom to the north-east of this tract is also somewhat undulating and dry, but we are informed that most of the crop grown there is of an earlier description which was less affected by the failure of the latter rains. The railway, too, has given very large employment to the people, and altogether this district escaped with comparatively little suffering.

27. In the famine tract of the second degree, which we have just described, the scarcity did not, very early in the season, take the shape of enhancement of prices to a degree which seemed extraordinary when compared with those prevailing in other districts, but early in 1866 there was very extensive evidence of the existence of a poor class unable to buy, in the shape of plundering outbursts of gangs of men in whom hunger had destroyed all respect for property. In fact, in the spring of the year this country was disorganised by grain robberies which did not diminish, till the rains and the exhaustion of men and stocks caused such violent crime to subside from inanition. It has been necessary to mention so much in this place because the Balasore district lying near this tract (though itself of a very different character) was to a considerable degree affected by it, and in respect to its famine history had some analogy to it. In Balasore, also, prices were not high in the extreme in the first part of the season, but they soon became so, and the district was very early disorganised by plunder. This sympton, indeed, usually characterises the early period of famine in India. Starving people from the Mohurbhunj country also much contributed to swell the earliest crowds of emaciated wretches who assembled in the town and station of Balasore. In Southern Orissa the pressure of extreme high prices and extremity of suffering to certain classes came earlier, but there was not so early, or so extensive, a disorganisation from lawless plunder.

28. It has been mentioned that the low land, between the hilly country and the sea, forms what are called the regulation districts of Orissa. These are three in number—Balasore, Cuttack, and Pooree, lying, in the order in which we have named them, from north-east to south-west. Nearly the whole of this tract is of an alluvial character, a flat rice country. The hills do not run down to the sea as on some parts of the coast, although in some portion near Balasore the flat strip of country is of no very great breadth. The whole tract is intersected by a large number of streams crossing it in their passage from the hilly country to the sea. These are generally large water-courses; great torrents in the floods of the rains, broad sandy beds nearly dry during the dry seasons of the year. They obstruct intercourse greatly in both shapes, and little assist it, being scarcely navigable except in the lower parts of some of the larger rivers. In Central Orissa or Cuttack, a large river, the Mahanuddee, though in some degree of the same character as those already mentioned, has brought down diluvium on a large scale and formed a very fine delta, to which some of the larger rivers immediately to the north have also contributed. It may be said, then, that from the town of Pooree (containing the great Temple of Juggernauth, conspicuous from the sea) to the Dhamrah River in the South of the Balasore district, there is a great Deltaic tract fully 50 miles broad, and which comprises nearly the whole of the Cuttack district (much the largest of the three), great part of that of Pooree, and a portion of that of Balasore.

29. The fall of rain in Orissa is much larger than that in many parts of India, and is generally sufficient for the successful cultivation of rice; but it is precarious, and the yield is subject to great variations according to the season. The province is also extremely subject to the opposite evil of inundations. The rivers are always liable to overflow to an extraordinary degree, causing more or less destruction, according to the chances of each season. The sea is also an enemy, occasionally still more destructive. The low lands are embanked against it, but great storm waves have carried everything before them, and, especially in the Balasore district, have done frightful mischief.

30. The waters of the rivers had not been turned to any considerable account for purposes of irrigation, and excepting some petty water supply obtained by the industry of the ryots of some particular sections of the country, these districts may be said to have been without any artificial irrigation whatever beyond that to be drawn in an unusual crisis of drought from natural watercourses and the petty tanks and water lodgments of the country. They depended almost solely on the supply of rain from above.

31. The

31. The province of Orissa comprises, in addition to the low districts just described, an enormous tract of the hilly country of the interior, the population of which is partly Ooryah and partly aboriginal; but this latter portion is not directly administered under the ordinary British law. It is what is called "non-regulation" and under chiefs exercising hereditary jurisdiction in subordination to the Commissioner of the division. Among these tributary mehals are those of Mohurbhunj and Nilgherry already alluded to.

32. The whole province is geographically isolated to an excessive degree. To the north-west and west the hilly tracts merge into countries still more hilly, wild, and inaccessible, by which they are separated effectually from Central and Northern India. There is only a precarious traffic with Sumbulpore by boats of a peculiar construction which navigate the difficult river Mahanuddee in the rainy season, and for a month or two after; for the rest of the year this communication is closed. On the other side, the nature of the coast and the sea is such as effectually to stop all Native traffic for the major part of the year, while during the remaining four or five months the traffic, such as it is, is conducted in rude and barbarous vessels, which have deteriorated from the model of an ancient age of European adventure, but which are capable of crossing the shallow bars and entering the narrow rivers. In fact, but few of these rivers are capable of so much use, and they are all inaccessible to the ordinary class of modern European vessels. For these latter, with one exception, there is no protected anchorage of any kind, and the one exception (False Point—a place of great importance in our narrative) may be said to be in some sense almost a recent discovery. It does not afford any inlet to the interior for Native sea-going vessels, while the anchorage is so many miles from any landing place, and so far from any civilised and populated part of the country, that without very special appliances prepared beforehand it is of little use. At any other point of the coast large vessels must lie in the open roads. It may here be mentioned, however, that one of the rivers of Orissa (the Dhamrah) has proved to be capable of receiving vessels drawing 12 to 14 feet of water, even at the worst season of the year, provided they enter with the aid of steam, and that the old river harbour of Balasore (very early frequented by European mariners) can similarly receive vessels drawing eight to nine feet. Steam, however, had not been available, and practically these harbours were only used by Native craft in the fine weather. The traffic of Balasore so carried on seems to have been still considerable; in the other districts it was very small.

33. Such being the difficulties on either side of the length of Orissa, the only ordinary mode of communication with the outside world is by the route traversing its length. That, however, is so much intersected by the streams already mentioned, and has been hitherto so little rendered practicable by art, that it is comparatively little used by wheeled carriages; pack bullocks still predominate at all times; in the rainy season wheeled traffic is quite impracticable; and when the rains are heavy, even pack bullocks cannot be used. At this day the European officer, who cannot obtain a special steamer, must find his way into Orissa slowly and tediously, as ancient officers may have travelled in the days of Asoka, and the very post takes several days between Calcutta and Cuttack.

34. The people of Orissa are also separate and distinct, of a character and language peculiar to themselves. Their personal character has been a subject of much discussion during our inquiry, and opinions are much divided about it. The Ooryahs are, we should say, physically somewhat larger boned, and not so slight looking as the average Bengalee, though they would be at a disadvantage compared with other Indian races. Their features are, on the whole, good, and both features and language indicate that they are to a great degree Aryan in race. Most of them are very Hindu in religion, and have much caste prejudice. The truth respecting their character is probably to be found between the two extremes of opinion. They seem to be certainly less quick and pushing than the Bengalees, and the higher classes have had much less education, it may almost be said no education; in fact, they are altogether more Bœotian. On the other hand, we do not see reason to believe that they are in their own way less industrious; they have a certain intelligence of their own, and are thought to be less skilled in fraud, and in some respects more reliable. They come freely

to Calcutta for service, and may be said to bear a good character there. In short, those who are accustomed to them, and have become habituated to their obstinate and prejudiced ways generally like them; those who are not accustomed to them cannot endure them. The well known Ooryah bearer, so common in the European domestic service of Lower Bengal, is probably a very fair type of his countrymen.

35. The ethnological province of the Ooryahs somewhat exceeds the present political boundaries, and it is a singular fatality that the most intense famine tract seems to have been nearly that of this unlucky race. They extend into a considerable part of the Ganjam district of Madras, and it was the Ooryah portion of that district that was so severely affected. On the other side the only part of the low-lying portion of the Midnapore district which suffered greatly is more Ooryah than Bengalee. We think, however, that the distinction in this respect between Bengalee and Ooryah land is due to nature and geographical position, not to race. To the Telengahs, their neighbours to the south, they are reputed to be inferior, but we are informed that in the Ganjam district, their greater suffering cannot be in any degree attributed to this inferiority. We shall have occasion to notice, however, as one of the causes which increased the severity of the famine, the absence among the Ooryahs of any energetic trading class such as we have both in Northern and Southern India. The want is, to a great degree, common to Orissa and Bengal.

36. The proper province of Orissa is about 200 miles long; the country of the Ooryah people may be said to have a length of about 250 miles.

The following is the area of the districts of the Orissa provinces:—

Pooree	2,697	square miles.
Cuttack	3,062	ditto.
Balasore	1,890	ditto.

The area of the tributary mehals is about 15,000 square miles.

The following is all that is known regarding the population as reported to us by the Commissioner.

At the time of settlement, the population of two regulation districts was put down as follows:—

Pooree	500,963
Cuttack	553,673

As respects this survey estimate, the numbers for Cuttack seem far too small in proportion to its larger area, and it should be observed that a large portion of this district was not settled, and is therefore, no doubt, excluded from the computation. A subsequent rough census was made of all the districts by the police in 1854–55, by counting houses, and taking an average of persons in each house. The result was—

Pooree	613,536
Cuttack	1,293,664
Balasore	494,056

On this occasion the Cuttack estimate seems to be somewhat disproportionately high. In his recent report of 1st November 1865, Mr. Ravenshaw says that the Balasore population has since been estimated at 800,000. Perhaps this is a clerical error, but seeing the large productive power of that district as evidenced by the export of about 30,000 tons of rice in the year before the famine, the previous estimate does seem low.

Altogether, speaking very roughly, and allowing for increase of population in the 10 prosperous years, 1854–55 to 1864–65, we may estimate the population of the three districts to have been, before the famine, above $2\frac{1}{2}$ or perhaps not far short of 3,000,000. As respects the population of the tributary mehals nothing in the least degree reliable is known.

37. In all this part of India, there is but one monsoon. Where, however, the early rice can be sown or planted with the first rain, it ripens before the end of the season, and there is, therefore, room for a succession of sowings, so that the whole crop does not come to maturity at the same time. It, for the most part, divides itself into two, the minor early crop which ripens in August and

and September (principally grown on the higher lands), and the major or late crop which ripens in December. In Orissa the early crop is called Beallee, the later Sarud, while in Bengal one is called Aoos, and the other Amun. In Orissa the early or Beallee bears an extremely small proportion to the late Sarud crop. What are called the cold weather crops, the grains and seeds of temperate climates grown after the rains, are extremely scanty in that climate, and a small rice crop, called the Dalua, grown at that time, in places where water lies, is also very scanty, and depends on late rains. Hence, in most parts of the province almost the whole food of the season is grown in the one December rice crop. The country seems to be sufficiently well fitted for cotton and sugar-cane and both these staples are grown to some extent, but not so much as to furnish any large exports. Rice is in every way the main staple of the province.

The climate in some respects approximates to that of the south. Cotton, for instance, is sometimes grown in the summer, to reap in the autumn, as in Northern India; sometimes in the cold season to reap in the spring as in the south.

38. That Orissa is a very ancient Hindoo country, its monuments testify, and it is known in comparatively modern times to have flourished under Hindoo rules. Notwithstanding its subsequent conquest by the Mahomedans and the introduction of many Mahomedan terms in substitution for old Hindoo words, stronger traces of Hindoo institutions seem to have come down to our time than in many other provinces, and especially much more than in Bengal. The old district and village hereditary offices and the tenures of land as they are described in the early days of our rule, seem more to resemble those of Western India than those of this Presidency, and perhaps it is so all the more since after a period of Mogul and Pathan (or Affghan) rule, the province was for some 50 years subject to the Mahrattas of Berar.

39. It had, no doubt, been much harried and broken by many vicissitudes when it came into British hands in the beginning of the present century, and as usual, under such circumstances, many semi-independent chiefs had sprung up. The country was then divided into the Mogulbundee or Mogul-settled districts, and the Gurjats or Killajats, that is the territories held by the chiefs, possessors of gurhs or forts, who paid a sort of quit-rent. The latter comprised, first, the hill country; and, second, the jungly country near the mouths of the great rivers. All the chiefs seem to have become British subjects, but the hill tracts were left to them on the old terms, being by law exempted from the ordinary regulations. The chiefships of the low lands have been annexed to the Regulation districts, but the chiefs have remained in possession of the land revenue, subject to the quit rent,—being placed in fact in the position of zemindars at a low permanent assessment. The rule of primogeniture which attaches to offices and chief-ships has also been continued to them.

40. In the Mogulbundee also there were some chiefs, and rajahs, and others, in the capacity of hereditary zemindars; where they were not, the headmen of villages were dealt with; and the province being attached to Bengal, the usual Bengal system was followed of recognising a proprietary right in the person who dealt directly with Government, with a general reservation of all subordinate rights. The latter rights, however, not being recorded, and the judicial machinery not being in those early days sufficient to reach them, the usual result followed, that the man whose right was definite held a stronger position than his whose rights were indefinite, and the inferior ryot-holders were very generally much rack-rented.

41. Of the original zemindarees, some have survived to the present day; a few have lapsed to Government, owing to rebellion and other causes. Of these latter, the most important was the greatest zemindaree in Orissa, that of Khoorda, held by the representative of the ancient rajahs of the province. His mismanagement seems to have created a rebellion of the people of the most serious character, which finally led to his expulsion, and the estate, with some others, is still held in direct possession, or "*khas*," as in some sense the property of Government. In fact Government have all along refused to recognise in these estates subordinate proprietary rights. It has even been proposed to sell the superior estates; but rights or claims, such as have been recognised elsewhere, do practically exist to such a degree that the late Commissioner, Mr. Shore, reported

reported that to turn out the claimants would simply cause a rebellion, and indeed settlements have been made with the ryots and heads of villages, under which Khoorda seems to have attained a prosperity unknown in any other part of the province.

42. As respects the remainder of the Mogulbundee, it seems to have been admitted that the early management had been unfortunate, but a settlement of revenue and rights was made 30 years ago for a term which is now about to expire, the quit-rent estates being excluded from its operation; this settlement is that to which allusion has already been made. Perhaps, more than any settlement which has ever been made in India, it stereotyped the rights of all classes, high and low, as they actually existed. First a settlement was made with each Thanee,* sthanee, or standing ryot (corresponding to the "Meeraseedar" of Western and Southern India); then a contract was given to the village headman (where, as is generally the case, a hereditary headman existed) for the gross village rents; and finally, where there was a superior zemindar, he had a contract for the gross rents of his district or pergunnah. Where there was only one holder above the ryot, he received the whole of the regulated margin of profit, whether he was the large zemindar, or the headman called by that title; where there were two grades of holders, the profit was divided between them. All the future profit to be derived from increase of the rents of the non-proprietary ryots and extension of cultivation during the term of settlement was left to the contractors in their degree.

43. In a few instances the persons entitled to the superior contracts declined the responsibility, preferring to receive the per-centage reserved as the right of proprietors so declining, and these latter estates, together with those already mentioned as having lapsed to Government, constitute the "khas" mehals frequently alluded to in the correspondence annexed to our report, In fact, however, these bore but a small proportion to the whole area, and settlement being almost invariably made with some contracting sub-holder, there was scarcely any case in which the Government received the rents direct from the ryots, although the settlement was in its nature to a great degree ryotwar.

44. The record of rights made at the settlement seems to have given great satisfaction to all parties, and the apportionment of the assessment appears also to have been good according to the ideas of those days. At the same time we think it must be considered that it was not very light according to modern ideas. As respects the holdings of the Thanee ryots, although their assessments were in some sense reduced or equalised, the truth seems to be that many of them had been really paying more than the value of their assessable lands. It appears that they were possessed of an extraordinary number of rent-free plots; that they had also the sites of their houses and gardens rent-free, and other privileges. They had also, of course, the best lands of the village. And the superior holders, unable to deprive them of their privileges, but possessed of a general power of screwing (little restrained in those days), had, in native fashion, made up for what they lost in one way by raising the payments on the assessable land. Under the regular settlement, the rent-free holdings were scrutinised, and many of them resumed, while the assessment on the remaining land was equalised; but the result was, it may be feared, to leave it little short of a rack-rent. The margin of profit seems to have been generally very small.

45. As respects, again, the superior holders from Government, the rule of those days was not the liberal one of half assets only to Government, but two-thirds to Government and one-third for profit and expenses to the zemindar. At different periods of the settlement this margin was variously fixed at from 30 to 40 per cent. There seems, however, to be some doubt whether in a province so peculiarly subject to vicissitudes of season this was a sufficient margin to cover the risks of the most exposed estates in the hands of poor and improvident zemindars. It is no part of such a settlement that remissions should from time to time be granted; on the contrary, the object is to secure a uniform payment for a long period, although, on occurrence of very great calamities, some remission

* Thanee, more properly "Sthanee," may be rendered without translation, "standing," coming from the old Sanscrit word "sthan," a fixed place, and being identical with "sto" "stand," and other forms expressing the same idea.

mission may be granted as a favour and not as a right, and in fact to preserve the country from ruin; just as an English landlord may on such occasions give remissions to his tenants. In Orissa the settlement made no provision for remissions, but in practice they were, during the earlier part of its course, granted to a very large extent, and though they have since been much contracted, they have continued to be a good deal more than nominal. They have been granted both for drought and inundation, but chiefly for the latter. Mr. Moffat Mills, a very great authority in Orissa revenue matters, and no doubt partial to the Ooryahs, stated publicly in a report of great weight that the claim to remissions on such occasions, though not expressed, was implied in the settlement, and that report, having been published by Government, may be considered to have been substantially accepted. So late as 1865 the Board of Revenue laid down the principle that remissions were to be restricted to occasions of general calamity, with the further restriction that inquiry was not to be made on the subject without their previous sanction.

The practical result has been that the zemindars are always avid of remissions, and in the absence of any sufficient revenue machinery, there is a constant struggle between zemindars asserting extreme losses and Government officers distrusting their assertions (generally with reason); while the truth can only be ascertained by special inquiry.

46. The settlement being such as has been described, the country enjoyed great general peace and contentment under it; but the rents of the ryots being, as has been said, high, the zemindars naturally improvident and unenterprising, an active trading class wanting, and the province isolated, wealth did not for some time rapidly accumulate. Grain was cheap and generally abundant, but wages were very low, and the condition of the people rather tolerable than good.

47. Within the last few years, however, since the price of grain has increased throughout India, there has been a decided improvement in the position of the agricultural classes in Orissa. Although the people themselves have not undertaken any large mercantile operations, their surplus grain has been sought by others. The energetic Telingah "Koomtees" of the Madras territory have scoured the country to buy up the grain, and an enterprising French house (Messrs. Robert, Charriol, and Company) have exported largely by way of False Point. The land has acquired a value unknown before, and the province seemed to be entering on a decided course of advancement when the late great calamity came upon it. The following Table shows the export of grain by sea during recent years:—

EXPORT of RICE and PADDY from the Districts of *Orissa*, in maunds of 80 lbs., 1855–56 to 1865–66.

YEARS.	Balasore.	Cuttack.	Pooree.	TOTAL.
1855-56	142,616	-	-	142,616
1856-57	188,658	-	-	188,658
1857-58	34,232	-	-	34,232
1858-59	52,970	-	-	52,970
1859-60	536,382	-	-	536,382
1860-61	354,074	23,044	83,936	461,054
1861-62	327,504	69,880	46,780	444,164
1862-63	407,622	36,696	4,816	449,134
1863-64	520,052	29,464	-	549,516
1864-65	806,576	72,128	58,824	937,528
May to July 1865	39,871	21,962	-	61,833
August to October 1865	8,894	-	-	8,894
November 1865 to January 1866	20,606	220	-	20,826
February to April 1866	-	40	-	40

There has also been a considerable export by land from Southern Orissa to the Madras district of Ganjam and port of Gopalpore, of which we have no statistics; and Northern Balasore has, when the season favoured, exported to Midnapore, Hidgellee, and Calcutta.

Still it may be generally stated that, though rice has of late years borne a good price in Orissa as compared with former excessive cheapness, it remained cheap as compared with most other provinces up to the end of the year 1864.

48. As usually happens under our system, there has been from the first a large transfer by sale of zemindaree rights, and the purchasers have been almost universally monied men of the older-settled and richer province of Bengal, with whom the purchase of landed rights is the favourite form of investment. The result is, that the zemindars are now divided into two classes, the old Ooryah zemindars and Bengalee purchasers, the latter being almost always absentees. A very unfavourable opinion respecting both classes has been freely expressed throughout our inquiry. But the truth seems to be, that they are not much worse than the circumstances of the province might have led us to expect in India, where agricultural development and the investment of capital in improving the soil have never been generally recognised as a function of the superior landholder. The old zemindars as being resident are described as, on the whole, the better class of the two. They are generally neither rich nor provident, and they never think of improving the land, but many of them have been in the habit of storing grain, and have, to some extent, performed the function of the much abused but very necessary bunneah of other parts of India (so wanting, it has been said, in Orissa) by advancing grain to the ryots, though on exorbitant interest, at the time when they are most in want of it. They seem frequently to have as kindly a feeling towards the ryots as is consistent with making as much as possible out of them. The absentee proprietors, on the other hand, though probably personally a much superior and generally an educated class, have as little idea of practical improvement of the soil, look only to make the most of the rents as the return for their money, and do not perform to the same extent either the function of grain lenders or that of patriarchal landholders. Yet the Bengalees in their own country do not seem to be generally very oppressive landlords; they are generally content to let things be regulated by custom.

49. It should here be noticed, that the Government manufacture of salt had long been carried on upon the coasts of Orissa, and gave employment to a large number of people. It was found, however, not to be really profitable—the cost of the salt was greater than of that made on the Madras coast, and imported salt was driving it out of the market. Finally, the Government manufacture was wholly discontinued in the early part of 1863. There only remained considerable stores of the salt previously manufactured, of which it was proposed gradually to get rid. The Molunghees, or salt manufacturers, do not seem to have depended quite exclusively on their salt earnings. Like most people in India, not inhabitants of towns, they were also more or less agricultural, but their holdings had not been sufficient to support them—the wages of their labour was their main reliance. Still the rise in the value of grain, and consequent agricultural prosperity, seem to have led to their absorption in the general community so long as the seasons were favourable, and they had apparently merged in the mass without very serious complaint. The effect, however, was, in the parts of the country in which they resided, to increase the class of agricultural labourers whom any derangement would throw out of employ and out of food.

50. That class seems to have been somewhat large in Orissa generally. Some went to a distance to seek employment on great works and in Calcutta, and they everywhere did the ordinary work of coolie labourers, but they may be principally described as agricultural labourers. Many of them had small patches of land, but not enough for their subsistence, and they chiefly depended on working for others. As upon this class the utmost severity of the calamity has fallen, it may be well to mention (with reference to much of the evidence regarding the modes of relief) that they are generally of the lowest castes who would be least affected by caste prejudices.

51. Another kind of retrospect it is necessary briefly to make. Historical records show that Orissa has at various times suffered from terrible famines.

Great famines are said to have occurred in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries of our era, in the reigns of Raja Kahil Indro Deo, Raja Rai Ooryah, and Raja Pertab Muda Deo. The great famine in Bengal of 1770 was felt grievously in Orissa, and a few years later, in 1774–75, another great scarcity is stated to have occurred. But it is important to bear in mind that none of a general character, and at the same time of the most extreme severity, had happened in the present century. The last great famine, of the traditions of which the old men speak, was in the Native year 1200, corresponding to A. D. 1792–93, in the time of the Mahrattas; and even of that the memory seems to have almost faded away.

52. The most intense calamity of the present century seems to have been the inundations of the sea on the Balasore coast in 1831–32, and the area of that disaster was of course limited. As respects the floods of the rivers, there is a very extensive system of embankments, maintained, partly by Government, and, partly by the zemindars, but it seems to be formed on no uniform or efficient plan, and has never been wholly effectual in great floods. Hence great injuries from inundations have been common. These are necessarily, for the most part, confined to comparatively limited tracts, the people of which may be said to be in some degree habituated to them, and general famine has not resulted. That can only be caused by drought, and drought of the most severe character the last two or three generations had been fortunate enough to escape, although it has occasionally caused great losses, and no doubt much poverty and suffering, and has been the occasion of large remissions of revenue. It may be said that for upwards of 20 years before 1865, the province generally had not suffered from calamities of season to any very unusual extent.

53. The result has been that a great famine of the most intense and desolating character was not a thing distinctly present to the minds of the people of the present day. It was something that they did not realize, and hence it happened that when a great calamity was coming on them, although many talked vaguely of famine, and all of want and suffering, there was not that clear and universal perception of the nature and degree of that which was before them, which in countries where such things are comparatively recent and well known would have forced the subject on the attention of any administration. The people cried loudly that grain was not to be had, and that when procurable it was getting dearer and dearer beyond all precedent and beyond all means of the poor, and that something must be done; but what was coming or what should be done, of that most of them had no definite idea.

54. The statements made to us regarding the crops of the year previous to the famine are rather vague: but looking to the prices in the early part of 1864, we should judge that the crops of 1863 were not below an average in any district of Orissa.

The following is what we have been able to gather respecting the season of 1864, immediately preceding the fatal season of 1865.

All the testimony seems to show that in the autumn of that year the crop in Pooree was considerably below the average, and the price lists bear out that statement, the price rising instead of falling as the crop matured. The increased general demand at that time may have in some degree aided the rise. Rice, which in July 1864 was at 35 seers per rupee, in July 1865 was at 18¾.

In the Cuttack district, the prices seem to show that the crop of 1864 had been by no means bad, and so late as August 1865 purchases were made by the agent of the French house at 30 to 35 seers per rupee. In fact, the greater part of this district, lying comparatively inland, was not so much affected by the general export drain, and grain was both cheaper and probably more abundant before the famine than in the other districts.

In Balasore the amount of exportation seems conclusively to show that the crop of 1864 must have been very good, as is indeed stated by the collector.

The amount of rice exported by sea from that district in the year 1864–65, may be in fact described as enormous, being about 800,000 maunds, or about 30,000 tons.

55. The demand for exportation, generally, may be said to have reached its utmost height in the early part of 1865.

56. In 1865, the rain-fall in Pooree had been very deficient even before September, as the following Table shows. We do not know how far the return of the rain-fall is to be depended on, and it certainly shows some immense inequalities, but, as a register has been kept for at least 15 years, we cannot think it altogether unreliable.

POOREE RAIN-FALL.

Average rain fall for the year, about - - - - -	60 to 65 inches.
Fall of 1864, about - - - - - - - - -	41·8 „
„ 1865 „ - - - - - - - - -	36·3 „
„ 1866 „ - - - - - - - - -	77·2 „

	Average Fall in Inches of the 13 Years preceding 1865.	Fall in 1865.
May - - - - - - - - - -	2·1	13·
June - - - - - - - - -	9·2	5·6
July - - - - - - - - -	12·2	4·3
August - - - - - - - - -	17·3	5·6
September - - - - - - - -	16·8	5·2
October - - - - - - - - -	9·4	0·0
November - - - - - - - - -	1·8	0·0

It will be seen that while there was a wholly abnormal, and comparatively useless, fall of 13 inches in May, the total registered fall of the usual rain months, June to September, is 20·7 inches, or an average of about five inches per mensem. This seems alone enough to cause an extreme failure in a hot rice country, even without looking to the subsequent entire absence of rain in October; and accordingly we find that in September, before there was any alarm whatever in the country generally, the Pooree rate is given at what may, in fact, be said to have been (in Orissa) already a famine price, viz., 13¾ Calcutta seers per rupee.

57. Speaking of the Cuttack district generally, so far as we have information, the prospects of the crops seem to have been, on the whole, good up to September. The following was the rain-fall for each month of 1865:—

	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	TOTAL.
Rain-fall of 1865 -	1·1	2·3	3·6	0·7	7·4	8·1	12·2	7·7	7·5	0·0	0·0	0·8	51·4

The latest fall of rain at Cuttack in September 1865 occurred on the 18th, when 0·77 inch fell. The last previous heavy fall, 2·09 inches, took place on the 9th.

58. In Balasore we find that the Collector states (in his letter, No. 217 of 25th October) that there had been no heavy showers since the middle of August; but this seems somewhat inconsistent with his return of the rain-fall, and there appears to have been no serious alarm up to September or even somewhat later, prices not having then gone very much higher than the point to which exportations

tions had already brought them, *viz.*, 20 to 23 seers per rupee. The following is the rain-fall:—

	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
Rain-fall of 1865 -	0·25	1·35	5·75	5·70	11·55	4·25	5·90	8·25	9·30	0·30	0·0	0·0	52·60

59. It was, no doubt, an unfortunate circumstance that the 30 years' settlement was just expiring, and no new arrangement had been made. The tendency of such a state of things is undoubtedly to discourage agriculture. It appears that it was thought desirable to keep the settlement waiting to see the character and effect of the Irrigation Company's works, while, on the other hand, the Irrigation Company not unreasonably consider that their operations will have no fair field till a settlement is effected. Hence an inclination rather to contract than extend the assessable area and cultivation, and an uncertainty in the minds of all classes. In a matter of less vital importance the effect of that state of things might have been very appreciable; but the recent calamity in Orissa has been of so intense a character, that we can hardly think that questions of settlement affected it in a degree to be very materially taken into account.

60. Orissa being so much a province apart and peculiar, it was a fortunate circumstance that in former days there sprung up a school of officers in a great degree devoted to it and very intimately acquainted with it. The name of Sir Henry Ricketts is still very great in the old memories of the country, and Mr. Mills's part in the history of the province is also very well remembered. Under their auspices was made that most successful of all minute settlements which we have described, and from their settlement-school sprang up worthy successors. Mr. E. T. Trevor, still (although absent) a member of the Board of Revenue, was one of that school, and Mr. Shore had passed the best part of his life in Orissa, of which in 1865 he had been a number of years Commissioner. But of late years promotion seems to have been more rapid than formerly, the exigencies of the service or other reasons to have been more pressing, officers of the same standing and local experience are not now found in charge of districts, and appointments are made with greater regard to general than to local considerations. Under the influence of this change of system, the Orissa school has ceased to exist; both Mr. Trevor and Mr. Shore went to England in the autumn of 1865, and can hardly be said to have left any successors behind them. It may be said that formerly the Ooryahs were somewhat petted. With a natural partiality, the officers of the old Orissa school made the most of their virtues and the least of their faults, and they were generally reported to be, in respect of some rural virtues, above the ordinary native standard of the Lower Provinces. All this is now changed, and officers unaccustomed to them seem inclined to attribute to them a place far below that standard.

61. Of the civil officers in Orissa, the only one of some considerable local experience was Mr. Barlow, an officer then of 10 years' standing in the service, who had been four years Magistrate and Collector of Pooree, and who in this crisis did ample justice to his experience till his departure in October 1866. Mr. Muspratt, Magistrate and Collector of Balasore, had joined early in 1865. In Cuttack changes occurred in the season 1865–66, and a new Collector, Mr. Cornell, joined in February 1866.

62. In most districts, the senior assistant, called joint magistrate, is an officer of some standing; but no such officer was allowed for any of the districts of Orissa, and the assistants were, without any exception, of very limited experience.

63. As Commissioner of Orissa, Mr. Shore was succeeded in an officiating capacity by Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, who joined in July 1865, and considering the important position held by Mr. Ravenshaw during the famine, and the degree to which his conduct must be the subject of criticism, we think it both necessary

on public grounds, and just to him, to notice his antecedents. He had no previous experience or knowledge of Orissa whatever. He had been chiefly remarkable for personal activity, and seems to have had more experience as a magistrate than a revenue officer. He had latterly been brought chiefly to notice as prosecutor of certain Mahomedans of Patna, accused of treasonable correspondence with the fanatic colony of Sitana, beyond the frontier. He was scarcely of that position in the service from which commissioners have been usually selected, and possibly the Government may, in some degree, have been influenced by the circumstance that, when he was first appointed, the appointment was supposed to be of a very temporary character. It is impossible to have inquired into his conduct and proceedings without being struck by his manly straightforward character, but at the same time we feel bound to say that, coming among the Ooryahs from a different people, he seems from the first to have conceived against them a prejudice from which an officer in his position should have been careful to guard himself, and which may have materially tended to lead him into hasty and insufficiently considered judgments on matters which required more serious attention.

64. In the Board of Revenue, Mr. Trevor was succeeded by Mr. Cockburn, an officer who had previously (some years before) had considerable experience of Orissa; but he seems to have returned from England in December 1865, by no means informed of what had recently occurred, and it has been noticed that in going down to Orissa with the Lieutenant Governor, two months later, he was there almost immediately prostrated by severe illness, from which he never recovered, and of which he eventually died. He left Calcutta in March 1866, and was a few days later succeeded by Mr. Schalch, till then Chairman of the Municipality of Calcutta. Mr. Schalch had a very considerable experience of Orissa, having been Magistrate and Collector of Balasore for several years, and he is in fact the only officer of the higher grades or offices of superintendence who had personal knowledge of the province.

65. As respects all the local, and indeed most of the higher officers whose experience had been confined to the Lower Provinces, it must be said that they too had no precise or definite knowledge of great famines; such things, in fact, had never come within the limits of their official horizon, and they were not in the habit of looking to or thinking of them. The whole position in this respect greatly affects the subject of our inquiry. There can, we think, be no doubt that in the North-West Provinces, where terrible famine, within the memory of living man, is vividly present to the popular and also to the official mind, and where, on every break in the rains, every man says to his neighbour, "I hope there won't be a famine," apprehensions would have been aroused early enough and acutely enough, and being aroused, an ample machinery would speedily have ascertained the truth. But in Orissa, even when both people and local officers had a strong consciousness of evil, every thing was indefinite, and the means of ascertaining the truth were wanting. The only well known and systematic report regarding an Indian famine is that of the late Colonel Baird Smith; but though officially published at the time, it does not seem that it was ever popularly circulated in an accessible form, and most people had not read it. Mr. Ravenshaw tells us that he had never seen it till, a few weeks before our inquiry, he found it in his office.

66. It has been a general complaint among the civil officers of these provinces that an effect of the separation from the magistracy of the police and its establishment as a special department, subordinate no doubt as a department, but in respect to its *personnel* quite independent of the magistrates, has been to deprive them of the only means which they had of obtaining information of the interior of their districts. They are now, they say, obliged to look, if they look at all, vicariously with the eyes, and to hear with the ears of the district superintendents of police, some of whom are quite ignorant of the language, and have very little experience of the people of the Lower Provinces. It has been too an especial object as much as possible to restrict the police to their own proper duties in dealing with crime, and to prevent their making pretexts for interfering in matters beyond their proper province after the fashion of the old police. It did, however, happen that in two out of the three districts of Orissa, and those the two in which famine earliest appeared, the police was in the hands of particularly well-

well-qualified officers, intimately acquainted with the language and the people, and who did in fact at the time report the state of their districts as distinctly and loudly as they could be expected to do so without special machinery and special inquiry.

67. Another circumstance, bearing on the history of the event with which we are about to deal, is that there are no European settlers and merchants in the interior of the Orissa districts, who might have seen the state of things and early drawn public attention to it. There are mission stations at Cuttack and Balasore, and also at Peeplee and Jellasore. And at Cuttack the East India Irrigation Company have large establishments. They had undertaken some years before a great scheme for the irrigation of the Delta of the Mahanuddee, and the adjoining country; and their works had progressed almost, but unfortunately not quite, to the point when they might have been brought into partial use, at the moment when the famine commenced. They had spent and were spending large sums of money in payment of labour; but their operations in Orissa had been confined almost entirely to the neighbourhood of Cuttack, where their principal head works are, only one canal having been carried thence to a considerable distance in the direction of Kendraparah. It was probably in very great measure due to their past and present expenditure and to their provident provision of grain for the payment of their workpeople, that actual starvation occurred much later in and about Cuttack than in other parts of Orissa; but the consequence was that the intensity of the calamity came to the immediate sight of the principal European community (in and out of the service of Government) in the province comparatively late. Both the missionaries and the irrigation officers seem, in their own correspondence with their connections in England, to have announced at a very early date the probability or certainty of famine, but they were not in such immediate correspondence with the organs of public opinion in India, nor did they press the matter so directly on the responsible officials, as would probably have been the case had independent Europeans seen more of the early suffering in the parts of the province first afflicted. Eventually, however, the first strong non-official representations seem to have been founded on communications received from the missionaries, and an important and early official reference was apparently founded on those of the irrigation officers sent to England.

68. We trust that we have now sufficiently for our purpose examined the circumstances of Orissa up to the time of the failure of the crops in the end of 1865 and consequent famine. Before going further we would explain that in entering on our inquiry, we felt ourselves in a great degree relieved from one part of the duty which might otherwise have fallen on us, viz., that of ascertaining the actual facts as respects the intensity of the famine, and judging between the somewhat divergent opinions on the subject which seem to have been at one time entertained. Mr. Ravenshaw's reports of November 1st and November 6th had admitted and described the extent of the unhappy calamity in the fullest and frankest manner. We feel quite sure that he has sought to extenuate nothing whatever. The result of his reports and those of the officers subordinate to him is undoubtedly to show that no accounts of the extent and severity of the famine generally (we do not speak of particular assertions regarding particular facts which have been disputed) have been, we might almost say can be, exaggerated, and the private and official accounts are thus placed completely in accord. Under these circumstances, acting, as we have said, in a quasi-judicial manner, we have thought that neither was it possible to ascertain the exact extent of the mortality, nor could the most effective inquiry on the subject be made by us, and we have rather abstained from burdening the statements taken by us with terrible details of a suffering which nothing can now recall.

69. The extent of the mortality never will be ascertained with any accuracy. Mr. Ravenshaw, in his report of November 1st, estimates it at not less than one-fourth of the population of the province. In the supplemental report of November 6th, he shows that in the sub-division of Kendraparah, one-fourth of the people are estimated to have died before 1st August, and the mortality consequent on emaciation and want having continued for several months subsequent to that date, and having been, in the part of the country alluded to, very

very considerably aggravated by floods, he indicates a more excessive proportion in particular parts. The Lieutenant Governor has recently estimated the mortality at one-fifth of the population, but we are not informed of the grounds of that estimate, nor can we attempt to say which is nearest to the truth. The police have made some rough returns by counting houses lately, and now, occupied, but they can be little relied on. We can only say that the mortality has been without doubt enormous. Perhaps some of those who have witnessed the most horrible scenes may be inclined to take a more gloomy view of the destruction than will be borne out when the survivors have settled down again in quiet and comfort. We do not think that the appearance of the country generally warrants any estimate of the loss of one-half the population; and even one-fourth might seem too high an estimate if it referred to able-bodied adults only in the parts of the country which we have seen. It cannot be there said that one-fourth of the land has generally ceased to be cultivated, nor probably that one-fourth of the families have ceased to exist. But, on the other hand, the mortality has undoubtedly been so great among the old and the young of so many families which have escaped total destruction, and in so many parts the great mass of the proper labouring population (as distinguished from farming ryots) seems to have been really so much swept from the face of the earth, that we cannot take on ourselves to say that the estimate of one-fourth is too high, even in parts which have not suffered much from the floods of 1866.

70. We have not yet been able to obtain any details of the great famine in Bengal of 1770; but comparing the recent famine with anything which is known to have occurred in India in the present century, we incline to the opinion that this in Orissa has been, while it lasted, the most intense. By far the severest Indian famine which is widely and well known, and probably in truth quite the severest of the century till the present, is that in the North-Western Provinces in 1837-38, and that may therefore be taken as the standard of comparison. It was spread over a wider surface; the natural calamity was probably greater; the injury to the agricultural community more severe, and the fiscal effect more lasting; but the people had much greater facilities of emigration, and especially there were very much greater facilities of importation of grain, and an energetic trading class to avail themselves of those facilities. The famine in Orissa stands almost alone in this, that there was (till a comparatively late period of its history) almost no importation, and the people, shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions. Things came to that pass that money was spurned as worthless. Prices were constantly merely nominal; where rice was to be bought at all, it reached the rate of five, four, and even three Calcutta seers (of 2 lbs. each) per rupee at the chief stations where the external relief afforded was greatest, and in the interior of the districts still higher rates are reported, even to one seer per rupee. These rates are far beyond those known in any famine in this century of which we have information.

71. The famine of 1837-38 is so well known an event that it is singular how little connected account of it is to be found, as may be judged from the references to it in Colonel Baird Smith's report. That it was very terrible there can be no doubt; the famished people seem to have wandered far in a most miserable state, and it lives in men's minds in most painful characters. But a very large proportion of the sufferers seem to have dragged on their existence to die of disease the following year, which is said in that shape to have been almost more fatal than that of the actual famine. In Orissa the work of destruction seems to have been more speedy. The more rapid course of the calamity sooner eventuated in death or life, and while, as we believe, a larger proportion died in a few months, we found that in December and January last the mass of the surviving population of the country visited by us seemed to be already in comparatively good ease and free from remarkable disease, if we except small-pox, which is hardly a famine disease. During the famine, people seem to have survived for a time as living skeletons reduced to a state which would have been impossible in a colder climate; but we fear that almost all these unhappy people died at last, and that of the poor creatures whom we saw still maintained at the relief centres, and whom we may call the residue of the famine, many will never really recover.

72. Colonel

72. Colonel Smith's information regarding the famine of 1837-38 was avowedly very incomplete, and even allowing for the difference in the general scale of prices in these days, it seems now hard to imagine such severity of suffering if prices were never and nowhere dearer than those mentioned by him. Yet he says that, after careful inquiry, he had not been able to ascertain that in any instance the price of wheat rose higher than 11½ seers per rupee. The ordinary price of wheat in the 12 years preceding that famine seems, from Colonel Smith's tables, to have averaged at Agra about 30 seers per rupee. It was cheaper to the north, dearer to the south-east; and 30 seers may be taken to have been about the average of the country. In Orissa the average price of rice, as shown in returns for each district (ranging over four to seven years immediately preceding the famine), which we have obtained from the Commissioner, may be taken to have been about:—Pooree, 32 seers per rupee; Cuttack, 34 seers; Balasore, 32 seers; or for the whole province say about 32 to 33 seers;* so that it is evident that in Orissa in 1866, the pressure of prices both actual and comparative was very much more severe than in the North Western Provinces in 1837-38. On the other hand, a fixed and good settlement, the receipts in payment of grain exported, and the absence of any widely extended succession of bad years, had probably made money more abundant in Orissa. Colonel Smith mentions that the daily burials by the police at Agra were at one time reported to average nearly 400, which is greater than at any station in Orissa, the largest number of bodies disposed of by the police at Balasore in any one day being 245; but Agra is a much larger place; it was the centre of a much larger country, the metropolis, not only of the country, but as it were of the famine, to which people flocked from all quarters; upwards of 80,000 working paupers being maintained from public funds at that one station alone; and the means of the police at Balasore were unable to reach the bodies of those who died in the fields and bye-ways; many skeletons in fact lie there to this day. The order, quoted by Colonel Smith, from the books of the station of Cawnpore (also one of the worst places in 1837-38), directing the hire of a boat and small establishment to remove the bodies, seems hardly to equal the exigencies which occurred in Orissa.†

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* The Cuttack prices given by the Commissioner are stated to be exact, being taken from account of actual purchases made by the French merchants in the years preceding the famine. Probably they may have purchased at the times and places most advantageous to themselves, but, at any rate, it seems clear that even after the enhancement of recent years the rate of rice in Orissa did not average less than 30 seers per rupee, and was generally cheaper.

† Since this was written, we have obtained, by the kindness of a private gentleman, a report of the Agra Local Relief Committee for the months of April and May 1838, probably nearly the worst period of the famine at that station. The following extracts will give some idea of the state of things. The last paragraph extracted shows that there was no difficulty in buying flour to those who had the money to buy. And the numbers employed on public labour at a single station shows the immense scale of the relief given by Government.

"From its position and the early measures of relief which were adopted, Agra became one of the chief, if not the principal resort of the famishing population of these provinces.

* * * * *

"The abstract of the two months gives the following result—

Total admitted in April and May into the hospital department of the Asylum	8,082
Sent to hospital direct	622
Discharged or left the Asylum	2,814
Died	3,049
Remaining on 1st May 581	1,597
Ditto 1st June 1,016	

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"But the benefits of the Asylum have not been restricted to these 8,082 cases alone; they form only a small portion of the total number relieved, and the Society beg attention to the following abstract statement, showing the numbers of persons of all classes who have applied to and been relieved at the Asylum during the months of April and May—

	April.	May.
Purdesees	57,029	63,865
Labourers	2,962	6,485
Blind, lame, and infirm receiving rations	6,563	11,057
Sick, as per above statement	1,076	7,006
	67,630	88,413
Or a daily average	2,254	2,884

"To enable a comparison to be made between the number relieved at the Asylum, and the total of destitute who have flocked to Agra during the months of April and May, the Society have obtained from official records the returns of paupers employed on public labour on the following dates:—

April 1st	55,390	May 1st	77,993
„ 8th	62,142	„ 8th	85,979
„ 15th	66,575	„ 15th	84,833
„ 22nd	74,702	„ 22nd	81,718
		„ 31st	72,175

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"The

73. The famine in the North-Western Provinces in 1861 cannot be compared in respect of the intensity which it actually reached with either of those which we have been contrasting. Colonel Smith indeed supposes the natural calamity in 1860 to have been nearly as great as in 1837–38, although he does not estimate the failure of the crops in 1860–61 to have been by any means absolute and total throughout the distressed country. The high prices which occurred in 1860–61, in the early part of the season, were relieved by enormous and most energetic private importations. The gentleman who was then Commissioner of Delhi tells the President that the grand trunk road was said to have been worn out in 15 days by the enormous use of it, and the President himself saw the railway stations between Allahabad and Cawnpore blocked up with grain awaiting transport, and every cart, bullock, camel, donkey, in short every means of conveyance available in the country, in active use to transport grain from Oude. Public works were early undertaken on a great scale, under special arrangement, to make them expressly available to the starving, and public subscriptions flowed in with such liberality that the overplus remained of which so valuable use was made in the famine on which we now report.

74. A most important lesson is, we think, distinctly to be learned from the study of Colonel Smith's report. We are not quite sure whether, in estimating the losses, he takes fully into account the great destruction of the inferior grains of the rainy season, which depend solely on rain, or chiefly refers to the subsequent crop of which he saw the failure before him, the wheat and other main staples, a great portion of which is always kept alive by artificial irrigation; but his estimates seem to show that, in his opinion, the failure, taking broadly the whole of the distressed districts, did not exceed that which was from the first admitted in the most sanguine estimates to have occurred in Orissa in 1865, viz., half the produce. He specifically states the loss in several of the bad districts at about 4-10ths, in some it was more, in some it is estimated to have been less. The famine country of 1861 is, generally speaking, a grain-producing country. With the exception of a good deal of cotton in some portions of it (and the cotton cultivation had not then been abnormally extended), food grains may be said to be the main staple throughout, and in good years there must no doubt be a large surplus produce. Particular estimates apart, it is plain that the failure of the produce of the whole tract was not complete, that there was in parts (good and bad being intermixed) a very considerable yield. Yet it is abundantly evident that if there had been no importations and no relief works, the famine would have been frightful and very fatal. It may be assumed then, as the result of Colonel Smith's inquiry, that in the ordinary modern condition of things in India, something much short of the entire and absolute failure of the whole crops of a year in any province will suffice to produce that state of extreme famine when food is scarcely to be had for money, if the market be not relieved by importation from provinces more abundantly supplied. Still more will this be the case when, either by previous short crops, or by exportation, or both, the stocks have been already reduced below average; and as respects a famine caused by absence of grain as distinguished from one caused by absence of money, the effect of previous short crops and of exportation is much the same. Modern enterprise and means of communication in relieving countries insufficiently supplied, drain those in which grain is more abundant to an extent which probably did not occur in the old days of native hoarding. In fact, in India, where famines have generally been present to the memories and traditions of the people, the want of means of communication was much counteracted by the disposition to hoard

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"The Society regret to state that for several months past sickness has been very general in and about Agra, and that the mortality has advanced steadily from 121 on the 15th April to 173 on on the 30th idem, and has ranged at an average of about 227 per diem in May; happily, disease has not assumed a contagious form; cholera for a time raged destructively, latterly, fevers with rapid cerebral affection, the causes of this in some cases producing coup de soleil, also dysenteric disease, have proved most fatal."

"To no particular cause can be assigned the peculiar degree of unhealthiness which has this year been apparent at Agra beyond the very oppressive heat which has been experienced, and the extraordinary state of the atmosphere. The impossibility of restraining the natives from devouring unripe fruits, green mangoes, melons, &c., prevents the adaptations of measures of medical treatment with that precision and success which might be expected in more controlable patients. The emaciated starving pauper may be seen at any moment expending his pittance in the purchase of a slice of melon, rather than in buying atta (flour) which would sustain him. To prevent this, and to ensure to him wholesome food, the only remedy would be the substitution of rations for pice, but this the Society cannot venture to undertake until at least the amount of paupers falls down to some manageable number. The subject is one which continues to occupy much of their attention."

hoard largely the grain for which little could be got in years of abundance. An unhappy combination of circumstances which renders exportation in time of abundance large, but brings no importation in the time of want, produces such terrible calamity as has just occurred in Orissa.

75. We think it quite impossible to distinguish between the mortality directly caused by starvation and that due to disease, directly or indirectly, connected with starvation, want, and bad food. Not only do our remarks regarding the the want of statistics apply to this subject also, but in truth want and disease run so much into one another that no statistics and no observations would suffice to draw an accurate line. The death of the emaciated and exhausted from cold, exposure, and bowel diseases, either before receiving, or upon receiving food (the last is a very common form), may in fact be considered the direct result of starvation. The principal disease of a destructive character, in respect to which it is often impossible to say whether it has been caused by want, is cholera. We believe we are correct in saying that, even where there is no epidemic cholera very generally spread, it has constantly happened that the famine-stricken have been carried off by that disease, or by something presenting similar appearances. It is also certain that, independent of famine, cholera prevails in Orissa in the early part of almost every year. The Juggernath temple seems to be a focus from which it constantly spreads; and, in the early part of the famine, it was undoubtedly difficult to distinguish between two causes of death, cholera and starvation, which, in fact, we find in the early reports to be generally coupled together. The truth we take to be simply this, that the ordinary outbursts of cholera were aggravated and extended by want and bad food. The first effect of the scarcity, universally, was to drive the people to subsist on unusual and unwholesome food, jungle roots, and such like, and we find that cholera constantly accompanied want. We have it first in the districts of Southern Pooree, where excessive want first appeared, then about Pooree itself and Gope, and, later, in the eastern portions of Cuttack. At Balasore also it appeared at the same time as starvation. It depended very much on the idiosyncrasy of the narrator whether the mortality was ascribed to cholera, or to want, or to both; and as in ordinary times cholera is sometimes called by milder names, so starvation may sometimes have passed for cholera. The presence of cholera seems at any rate to have had a material effect in rendering less palpable and undeniable the whole effect of want in the early stages of the famine, but was certainly to a great degree the result of want. We have heard comparatively little of fever during our inquiry.

76. Cholera is, of course, more impartial in its blows than simple want, making less distinction between rich and poor; and where the want among the poor had aggravated the epidemic into a great intensity, the classes a degree better off also on many occasions suffered severely from the disease, especially those in what may be called a state of semi-want—the poor ryots who did not starve, but whose food was rendered unusually scanty and poor. But in other respects the testimony is universal, that the calamity of the famine fell with by far the greatest severity on the workers for wages, the agricultural labourers, coolies, and small artizans; especially, among the latter, on the weavers, already plying a declining trade.

77. Still more remarkably than in the North-Western Provinces (as noticed in such striking terms by Colonel Smith) was the advantage possessed by all the classes having any sort of rights in the land. In this instance, not only they had better means and better credit than the labouring classes, but, being to a considerable extent in the habit of keeping grain for home consumption, those who had crops of some kind were better provided than the non-agricultural classes when grain was not to be bought.

78. There was, of course, very considerable variation in the degree to which the crops failed in different parts of the country. But besides the entire want of any accurate statistical information on the point, the fact is that the tide of famine eventually surged so high all over Orissa that local inequalities may almost be said to have been submerged and lost sight of in one wide-spreading sea of calamity. It can only be said that famine was felt by far the earliest in the Pooree district, and in that major portion of the district which lies nearest the sea, as distinguished from the greater part of the sub-division of Khoorda, where an active irrigation had saved much of the crop. In Cuttack grain was

more abundant and cheaper till the failure in October, and the effect of the money, labour, and grain of the Irrigation Company has been noticed as retarding the evil in what may be called the higher parts of that district; while in the lower it may be assumed that a good deal of grain was produced in the moister alluvial lands; so that altogether that district was reached by the most intense famine later than the others. In Central Balasore and the adjoining Mohurbhunj country the failure seems to have been greater and starvation earlier than in other parts of the district, even, it appears, than in the Bhudruk sub-division, where the distress was afterwards extreme. Beyond this general statement, and the details to be gathered from the examinations, we do not think that we can with advantage attempt to depict and mark out with precision the comparatively good and bad tracts.

79. It will be self-evident in the whole of our proceedings that there is an extraordinary discrepancy in regard to the use of the word "famine" by different persons. In some of the earliest papers the word was freely used; but the failure having been early called in official documents "scarcity" and not famine, it seems as if, as the scarcity and want became more intense, the official use of the term "famine" was gradually pushed back into narrower and narrower limits. The Board of Revenue, in their Administration Report of 20th August 1866, under the heading "The scarcity," seem to maintain that there was no "famine" in Orissa till the very last days of May; and they appear, in fact, to desire to restrict the word to the case when there is not food to be had for money as distinguished from suffering from dearness and want of means to buy. In that sense it might be said that there was no famine in the North-Western Provinces in 1837–38 or in 1861. One gentleman holding a high appointment, which gave him special means of obtaining information, has gone the length of telling us that he does not remember to have heard of general famine till the floods of August occurred. We shall use the word "famine" in its ordinary and popular acceptation of suffering from hunger on the part of large classes of the population.

80. With reference to the statements and opinions just noticed, we are reminded that his Honor the Lieutenant Governor has in recent reports expressed the opinion that the greatest mortality in Orissa was caused by the floods in the latter part of the season, and it may prevent confusion in our narrative at once to say that we have found no one who shares that opinion. The greater part of the suffering, if not the greater part of the mortality, occurred before the floods; of the subsequent mortality much occurred in tracts which did not materially suffer from flood, and much would have everywhere occurred even had there been no floods. The floods, therefore, were altogether a secondary cause of the mortality in 1866, although undoubtedly, in extensive tracts, it was considerably increased by that cause. It has been stated to us, probably with truth, that in some of the flooded tracts, although the greatest positive mortality was independent of floods, the highest rate of mortality was during their prevalence. The necessity of large measures of relief in the latter part of the season was very greatly increased by the same cause; and, in respect of the lasting exhaustion of the tracts most especially effected, it may be said that the floods coming after the previous drought have not improbably left still deeper traces from which recovery will be slow and painful. In the other parts of the country we trust that, the sad loss of population apart, recovery under the influence of good crops will be rapid.

81. Having thus stated so much of the facts, and of our opinion on matters which may, we think, be considered as for the most part beyond dispute, the most important section of that part of our report on which we are now engaged is to trace the gradual rise and progress of the famine, with special advertence to dates; to consider how far information on the subject was available, and how far it was made use of; how far proper measures were taken to meet the growing evil; and how for the want of more effectual and timely measures was, on the one hand, inevitable, or, on the other, due to causes within human control.

82. We have thought it right to print the whole correspondence which has come into our hands, having material bearing on the famine in Orissa from the time of its commencement to the end of May, when it may be said to have become

become an acknowledged fact, and the subject of measures of direct relief undertaken by Government. From the beginning of June and the commencement of importation of grain, the correspondence becomes so voluminous that we do not think that it would be possible to burden our report with the whole of it. We have therefore confined this part of our Appendix to what may be called general correspondence on matters affecting the general character of the famine and the system of relief; but we append in narrative form an account of the history and results of the relief measures adopted, and of the whole course of that part of the famine in each separate district. For these we are principally indebted to our colleague, Mr. Dampier.

83. We commence the proper history of the famine in Orissa in the beginning of October 1865. The first series of the correspondence in our Appendix relates to the period from this time till the date of the Board's Report, submitted to Government in the end of the following month. We place the Pooree correspondence first, then that of Balasore; while local Cuttack matters are so mixed with the Commissioner's general reports that we have given them together. We have then, as has been explained, the Pooree district considerably exhausted and alarmed by very insufficient rains following a previous indifferent year, and prices not far short of rates which the poor would call famine rates; that is, rice was about 2½ times the average price. We have Cuttack prosperous, rice as yet tolerably cheap, and the crops generally promising. We have Balasore prosperous in the profit of a good crop and large exportations of the previous year, but prices enhanced so as considerably to affect the very poor in a district where wages were particularly low.

84. About this time the absence of rain would no doubt begin to alarm the cultivators, and so early as the 10th October we have an alarming report from the south of the Pooree district. The falls of rain in this latter part of the season are usually intermittent, and in most parts of the country, where the crops had not previously suffered, people hoped on for some days longer.

85. It was, however, the peculiarity of this occasion that a very few days made all the difference between good crops and the most extreme failure. When the middle of October passed without signs of rain, the alarm became serious, and when the 20th was passed, the whole country was in a panic; the rice trade was stopped; the country ceased to supply the towns; at both Cuttack and Pooree the bazaars were closed, and everywhere the alarm and inconvenience may be said to have been extreme.

86. Throughout this famine, from the very first, it was symptomatic of its character, as rather due to scarcity of grain than scarcity of money, that each fresh accession of alarm constantly took the shape of stopping sales at the regular marts altogether, rather than of mere sudden enhancements of price. The fact seems to be that the dealers, timid and liable to panic, felt themselves very much bound by custom, and at that season of the year a large portion of their transactions were really sales on credit, or advances to be repaid at customary rates, exorbitant enough in appearance, but really hardly remunerative under the special circumstances. In the bazaars some dealers had really no grain, others were unwilling to sell on the old terms, and were afraid to raise the terms too suddenly; and the remainder felt themselves unable to meet the demands which would have been thrown on them if they had kept their shops open when those of others were closed. Hence, the dealers following one another, general closing movements took place, which were only got over when the supply had a little accumulated, and the alarmed public were glad to accept very enhanced rates. These movements were too general, and the classes of traders had too little bond of union over so large a tract of country to admit of the explanation of mere wicked combination, even if the subsequent result had not been conclusive on the subject. Mr. Barlow (Magistrate and Collector, Pooree) seems to have taken a much more correct view than the Commissioner. *See* his letter of 8th November (Appendix).

87. In the latter part of October Mr. Barlow held his office at Cuttack, and was living with Mr. Ravenshaw. The police of the Pooree district, it will be seen, gave a very gloomy view of things, as did Baboo Ramakahoy, the native

Deputy Magistrate in charge of Pooree. The "impending famine" was spoken of by both, and rice, where procurable at all, was selling at real famine rates. Mr. Barlow, from the first, exhibits his active interest in the matter, and in the beginning of November he returned to Pooree. He found things better; the chiefs of the monasteries (about Juggernath) had been induced to open their stores of grain, and the enhanced prices had brought in a certain supply; although he said to Mr. Ravenshaw, "We have no really heavy dealers with large stocks as you have." His communications may have been slightly tinctured by the more sanguine views of his superior, the Commissioner, to whom he was writing, and he does not seem to have represented the prospects of the crop in the most gloomy colours; while the Commissioner was *certain* it would not be less than half, Mr. Barlow *was disposed to hope that not more than half would be lost, but of this he would report further.* The police accounts, he said, are bad, if *you believe them,* but he thought some of the police officers inclined to exaggerate, and he did not think "*badly, that is very badly,*" of any except certain parts of his district. On the other hand, he explained that to the poorer classes the present rates were "absolutely prohibitive." In his first letter from Pooree he said, "The general appearance of affairs is favourable, until you examine further down; and remember that there is a large class of people, the bouries, coolies, and chasees, to whom the prohibitive rate is equally starvation with the altogether non-existence of grain at all. I confess I see no remedy for this, for with (as there must no doubt be) a vastly short crop, not even the gathering of the new harvest can possibly make rice less than three annas a seer in the town, while the mofussil will be, and is, actually denuded altogether to supply the large markets. The accounts from the mofussil as regards present condition are deplorable, especially in the localities of Nubbah, Gope, and around the edge of the Chilka *viâ* Hurridas and Boosoonpoor, where it is stated that food is altogether not procurable, and people are either living on roots, &c., or emigrating to Cuttack and elsewhere. By also last reports no rice had been offered for sale at the bazaar at Lattaharun, a largish mart of Kodhar, for a fortnight, which indicates the nakedness of the land. This would be bad enough as a last extremity could it be hoped that relief with the harvest was near, but, as I have already said, I do not anticipate reduction of price, and so the distress must increase."

88. In a subsequent demi-official letter, which has been lost, he reported the existence of extreme distress in Mallood and Parricood, two estates between the Chilka Lake and the sea, and it is to be gathered from the Commissioner's letter reporting the matter to Government (No. 280, of 14th November 1865, Appendix) that "the Collector anticipates that as the season advances similar distress will spread." It will be observed that both the Collector and the police speak of distress as particularly bad in Nubbah (the police sub-division comprising Mallood and Parricood and the southern part of the district), in the country all round the Chilka Lake, Hurridas, Boosoonpoor, &c., and in Gope, the eastern police division of the district. To this may be added the central division Rahang, in the immediate vicinity of Pooree, which is mentioned by the Commissioner (no doubt on the authority of Mr. Barlow's lost letter) as one of the parts where the loss of the rice crop has been most general, and where, in fact, serious distress very early appeared. These early notices are of some importance, since it will be found that much misconception arose from the belief of the superior authorities that extreme distress was confined to Mallood and Parricood. Those estates were first visited and described, and were probably the scene of the most severe early distress; but the expressions "Mallood, Parricood, &c.," or "Mallood, Parricood, and the Lake districts," seem to be used by local officers in a much wider sense to express the south-western portions of the district, while that distress early extended to the central and eastern portions also, is certain. Mr. Barlow seems at this time to have recommended the importation of a shipload of grain to the Mallood coast. The Commissioner did not support the recommendation, considering it the duty of the zemindars to relieve the distress; but he asked for permission to relieve distress in the neighbouring Government estates as distinguished from those of private landlords.

89. The first report from the Collector of Balasore is dated the 26th October (Appendix),

(Appendix), and encloses a petition from certain zemindars, praying for time to pay the revenue on the grounds,—

1. That the crops are ruined.

2. That the ryots, unable to get advances, cannot pay their rents.

3. That the poor ryots blindly disposed of all the produce, and kept no stock for this year, owing to too much exportation last year.

On these Mr. Muspratt, the Collector, observes—

1. The rice crop of the district does not promise to reach to one-eighth of the crop of the last year.

2. The ryots are forced to borrow rice and not money.

3. The statement is but too true, and he gives figures to prove the assertion.

He expresses the intention that he and his subordinates should visit the district to examine what estates have suffered, and solicits favourable consideration to the petition.

The Commissioner, however, did not support it, and the Board of Revenue rejected it as "inadmissible" on the 9th November.

90. On the 31st October, in reply to a memorandum of the Commissioner, the Collector again reported regarding the stocks and markets, explaining that the merchants had no large stores in hand. He shows how last year's crop was carried off by "Telinghee" merchants from the south, how the price rose in consequence, and how this year the Telinghee vessels, having arrived as usual, were unable to obtain cargoes; he stated that though rice was brought to market in small quantities, it was dear, and obtained with difficulty. In fact, about this time, the price rose to a point which made export on any large scale impossible; and with the exception of a comparatively small quantity already bargained and sold (as explained in the evidence) none was exported. Mention is made of some cases of arson and robbery in consequence of the dealers' refusal to sell or rather advance grain. On the 9th November, the Collector reported rice to be selling at 11 to 16 seers per rupee, and exportation nil. It should be mentioned that, at Balasore, the Calcutta seer of 80 rupees weight is used; at Cuttack and Pooree the local seer is 105 rupees weight.

91. In Cuttack, as early as the 21st October, so serious a stoppage of sales occurred that the Commissioner telegraphed and wrote to Government. The shops, however, re-opened next day. The Commissioner attributed the difficulty to combinations among the dealers, and was desired not to interfere with the natural course of trade. The closing movement was shortly repeated, and the Commissioner received letters from the officer commanding the cantonment and the heads of various departments, complaining of the difficulty experienced by the soldiers and public servants in obtaining food. The Collector of Ganjam also wrote, stating that a similar panic had occurred in his district, owing to cessation of the usual imports from Orissa, and mentioning a rumour that the Bengal authorities had prohibited export. On the 27th October the Commissioner reported to the Bengal Government at some length. *See* his letter of that date (Appendix).

92. On the 6th November he again reported to Government and to the Board, stating the price of common rice at Cuttack to be then eight (local) seers per rupee, but supplies procurable; in Pooree the greatest distress, rice not procurable. As respects Balasore, he mentioned the Collector's estimate of the crop, but thought it considerably below the mark. He also repeated the Collector's statement regarding exportation. On the 11th November the Commissioner again reports to the Board of Revenue regarding Cuttack, much as before; crops on low lands near coast believed to be good; Balasore accounts conflicting, crops very bad in some places, fair in others; at Pooree, rice procurable by those who can afford to buy at seven (local) seers per rupee, but not procurable in some of the local marts of the interior; Collector anticipates a very short crop; deplorable accounts from *Rumbah, Gope,* and the *borders of the Chilka*; people either living on roots or emigrating. The letter to Government

of the 14th November regarding Mallood, Parricood, &c. (already alluded to in paragraph 88), followed, and was referred by Government to the Board of Revenue for report.

93. On the 11th November the Collector of Cuttack asked the orders of the Board whether regular inquiries into losses by drought are to be instituted throughout the district this cold season. There was no doubt, he said, that a large portion of the crop would come to nothing, and petitions for inquiry and remission were pouring in. Should an inquiry be sanctioned, the Collector proposed deputing officers for the purpose, and he took the opportunity of representing that the services of another officer with full powers were urgently required. The Commissioner opposed the proposal to make inquiries, except in the few cases in which ryots held direct of Government without the intervention of any middleman or farmer of any kind. (*See* letter, 13th November, Appendix.) On the 20th November, the Board approved of the Commissioner's views, and the correspondence was communicated both to the Collector of Cuttack and to the Collector of Pooree also.

94. On the 18th November the Commissioner submitted a resolution of the Committee to postpone the intended agricultural exhibition on account of failure of crops and general scarcity of food. The Government approved.

95. Throughout all this correspondence it will be seen that the Commissioner was inclined to take a more sanguine view than the Collectors.

He tells the Collector of Pooree (letter of 14th November, Appendix) that though the accounts from all parts are full of grumbling, he is certain that, with the exception of a few fields, the crop will nowhere fall short of half*, and in many places will be nearly a full crop. "Don't let the people get downhearted;" he goes on, "even with half a crop there ought not to be a famine. Get the people to help themselves, a somewhat difficult matter in Orissa, but there is nothing like trying." The Collector of Balasore, he tells "I have no doubt there is more rice in your district than you imagine; and further, that the crops of the current year will suffice for the year's supply." In the memorandum of 27th October, circulated to the Collectors, he speaks of combination among the dealers; is "informed that large stores are in their hands;" there is "nothing in the prospect of the crop to warrant apprehension of a total absence of food."

96. That these expressions were not merely used for the purpose of giving encouragement and allaying panic is evident, for Mr. Ravenshaw reported in no less sanguine terms to the Board and Government. In submitting the very worst reports, he said that, with small exceptions, the crops would yield fully half; that this might cause high prices and some distress, but not starvation. "There is," he said, "a general disposition to make the present season's crop appear worse than it really is." On the 27th October, while anticipating a half crop, he adds, "There are large stores in the hands of dealers, probably enough to supply the market for a couple of years." And further, he is "confident that sooner or later, it (the grain) will find its way into the market." This was no doubt hastily written at a very early period; but the idea of large stocks and a full half crop, the two together quite sufficing to feed the people, seems to run through his correspondence. His personal opinions apart, he seems to have fairly represented those of the Collectors. But he showed his confidence in his own opinions since he does not seem to have considered further personal inquiry in the regulation districts necessary, and started on a long tour in the hilly tributary mehals on November 20th. In this view, taking Mr. Ravenshaw's opinions as fully formed and acted upon, we think that they were rash and founded on wholly insufficient information. He was entirely new to the division, had never seen the districts, and was not in a position to form confident opinions opposed to those which he received from the Collectors, who in fact, themselves, had as yet no sufficient opportunity of forming complete opinions. It is fair, however, to say that, as respects the stocks in hand, Mr. Ravenshaw was, to a great extent, supported in his opinion by the majority of those about him in the town of Cuttack.

97. On

* It should be explained that most of the estimates are in the parts of a rupee, 16 annas being 1 rupee; therefore, 8 annas is half, 12 annas ¾ths, and so on.

97. On receipt of Mr. Ravenshaw's letters of 22nd and 27th October, the Government of Bengal sent them to the Board of Revenue, and requested the Board "to report specially on the present state of the crops and markets, and the prospects of the country throughout the lower provinces," and "to suggest any measures by which it may appear to them the Government can aid with advantage with a view to mitigate the effects of the present scarcity." The Lieutenant Governor, it was stated, was unofficially aware that the attention of the Board was directed to the subject, and that they were in possession of regular and late information from all the divisions. The time, his Honor thought, had come when this information should be made the basis of a comprehensive consideration of the question upon which it might be determined whether any, and what measures of relief are called for and practicable.

98. We have not been able to find that the Board really were in possession of all the information which the Government supposed, or that they procured it before writing their report. Moreover, the crop does not ordinarily fully ripen till December; the Board made their report in November on information scarcely extending to the middle of that month, and that information was, it has been avowed, "very imperfect." We have already mentioned the information supplied from Orissa. As respects the other divisions to which our inquiry has extended, we are aware that information was demi-officially sought from the Commissioner of the Presidency division, and the Board seem to have had some sort of communication with the Collector of Midnapore, but we have not been able to find that the Commissioner of the Burdwan division was asked to furnish any report regarding Western Bengal, nor that information was obtained from the province of Chota Nagpore. The Commissioner of Burdwan remembers no such inquiry, and, after a special reference to the Board, we can find no correspondence. Any information, verbal or otherwise, received from the Burdwan and Chota Nagpore divisions (Midnapore excepted), must therefore have been of the very slenderest kind, and thus it happened that Maunbhoom (eventually one of the worst districts) and Bancoorah were at that time, for the most part, overlooked. Mr. Chapman, the Secretary to the Board, seems to have seen in Calcutta a merchant and landholder of Balasore, and he says that there were other similar means of intelligence. He explains that the object was to make a rapid report on the materials then available. It was made accordingly on the 25th November, and is an important document to which we would beg attention (Appendix).

99. The Government of Bengal, on the 11th December (Appendix), quite approved of what the Board had done, and concurred generally in the opinions expressed. The provision of public works would be considered in that department. Permission was given to expend money in estates belonging to or in charge of Government for relief of the helpless poor, and by giving employment to those willing and able to work, but otherwise unable to obtain work. Every endeavour was to be made to induce the landholders to do the same. Relief committees were recommended in districts where distress prevailed. "It is on the exercise of private liberality, his Honor believes, that in an emergency of this kind the chief dependence must be placed."

100. On receipt of the orders of the Government of Bengal, the Board circulated their report and the Government reply to all revenue officers as "*an easily accessible record of the principles upon which the Government considers itself at liberty to afford assistance in times of scarcity*," and it is this use of the report which gives it its greatest significance and importance. We must, therefore, examine what the Board laid down for the guidance of all the officers subordinate to them.

101. As respects the facts, the Board, while avowing the estimates of the outturn of the crop to be altogether uncertain and conjectural, do not themselves seem to have taken a very favourable view. Indeed they appear to have rather anticipated about a half crop throughout the greater part of the lower provinces, the divisions of Dacca and Chittagong (where the crop was not much under the average) only excepted. Such a result might, we think, if realised, have led to starvation more wide-spreading than that which has actually come to pass. As respects the whole of the country within the scope of our inquiry, they say that the worst districts were undoubtedly the Cuttack division (especially [illegible]) and Midnapore. With regard to Orissa (which is called the Cuttack division), the

the estimate of the Commissioner of a half crop is mentioned, "but perhaps he is rather too hopeful."

102. Speaking generally, prices throughout the country were stated to be almost double the ordinary rates, and "it may be assumed, from the high prices which have ruled of late years, that the stock of grain held in the country is not very large."

103. They go on—"Even if this be so, the Board see no reason to doubt that the present crop will suffice to provide food for the actual necessities of the people. This is a very important point, for, if this opinion can be relied on, there will be no *famine*. The Board fully believe that it can; and they have some hopes that prices will not be very materially more unfavourable throughout the year than they now are."

104. We cannot concur in the opinion expressed in this paragraph that short stocks followed by so universal a failure of the rice crops throughout the lower provinces (the eastern portion of Bengal excepted) and the surrounding countries, as is described in the Board's 11th paragraph, justified the confident expression of a belief that there would be no famine. No exception is made in respect of Orissa, the alarming accounts respecting which had led to the report, which was known to be worse off than other divisions, the crop in which, the Board feared, might not amount to a half crop, and the peculiar geographical and other circumstances of which do not seem to have been taken into account. Read by the light of Colonel Baird Smith's report (as respects the effect of such a degree of failure as the Board describe), we think that such a state of things demanded further and more careful inquiry. The report was issued as a sort of handbook and guide, after extreme distress in parts of Pooree had been reported, and seems calculated to restrain the apprehensions of officers whose districts might possibly yield something less than a half crop.

105. The bulk of the population being agriculturists would, the Board thought, obtain compensation for short crops in high prices. For the labouring population not in a position to profit by the high prices, "suffering, though, the Board humbly trust, not generally famine, is in store this year."

106. To mitigate this evil, the Board relied on the following measures:—

First, the early and regular publications of the retail prices current in each district. This, the Board thought, would ensure the application of the ordinary laws of political economy, which could alone, in a case of so wide-spread scarcity, afford real relief. "All that the Government can do is to encourage and facilitate their operation. There can be no doubt that it is altogether beyond the power of Government to mend matters by any extraordinary operation in contravention of those laws. Even if it be true, as has been often asserted (though the Board are by no means prepared to admit that it is certainly the fact), that the operation of these natural laws is in this country slow and uncertain, it follows only that it is the more clearly the duty of Government to do nothing that can clog or impede their working, and that it must direct its efforts to the removal of obstacles and to the promotion of confidence among grain dealers."

They proceeded,—"All that the Government can really do, certainly all that it is necessary for it to do at present, is to encourage and assist in the employment of the labouring classes, especially in those districts where the distress is greatest." The Board further proposed that Government should set an example to all the great landlords by acting with liberal public spirit in all Government estates. As respects the landlords, they said—"It was the hope of their feeling bound to assist, and interested in assisting, the agricultural population at such a time as this, that was one considerable motive with the Government of 1793 for the creation of these powerful landowners. It must always be an important object of public policy in Bengal to encourage, and by every moral force compel, these gentlemen, who make, many of them, enormous profits, in ordinary years, to assume, when occasion arises, the obligations and responsibilities that undoubtedly lie upon them."

107. The Board conclude—"At present the Board do not think any further measures called for; and if their hopes are realised, nothing more will be called for. It is of the utmost consequence to wean the people of the country from the habit

habit of relying upon Government for help, in circumstances to which no one but themselves can really materially help. In this view it is important that the Government should leave no expectation outstanding that it will be prepared to make an attempt at general assistance which, in the present case, it could certainly not render to any good purpose.

"Even where famine actually supervenes, the chief, if not the only, reliance must be upon the efforts of local private liberality."

108. The means of mitigating the suffering expected, and even famine if it unexpectedly supervened, as laid down by the Board, were then briefly—

1. The publication of official prices current.
2. The provision of labour for the poor by public works.
3. A liberal expenditure on Government estates, and the use of every possible means to induce the landholders to follow the example.
4. As "the chief, if not the only, reliance" in more extreme cases, local private liberality to be exercised through local relief committees.

It has been pointed out to us that whatever may be the merits or demerits of the principles enunciated by the Board and generally adopted by the Government of Bengal, they were laid before the Supreme Government in India and the Government in England, and were published at the time, without eliciting expressions of disapprobation. This is dwelt upon in a note by Mr. Chapman, published in the Appendix.

109. Subsequent to the report of the Board, circulated as above described, we do not find that any further systematic attempt was made to obtain conclusive information regarding the out-turn of the crops and the probable effect on the country. It is true, as stated by the senior member of the Board, that the condition of part of the Pooree district immediately forced itself on the attention both of the Board and of Government; but the unfortunate mistake seems to have been made of supposing the distress, known to exist there, to be confined to a very isolated and limited space, and no general report regarding the state of any of the districts of Orissa, or of any other of the districts within the scope of our inquiry, seems to have been then called for.

110. This seems to us to have been an extremely unfortunate omission, and we have some difficulty in forming an opinion on the question to whom it is to be attributed. The Board were certainly charged with the execution of the measures which Government had approved, with the exception of those relating to proper public works, and the nature of the Orissa settlement threw on them certain further functions. But no further general report was called for by the Government, and the question how far the duty of ascertaining the state of the country and people, and watching systematically the progress of the scarcity, was directly that of the Government or primarily that of the Board, would depend very much on the general distribution of functions. It will be observed that neither the members of the Board nor the Lieutenant Governor have been able to refer us to any very distinct rules defining the functions of the Board. According to the regulations the Board are bound to supervise and control the revenue officers in the performance of their duties, and to observe all orders which they may receive from the Government, but there is nothing more definite affecting the present question.

The view of the Board, as expressed in the statements made to us by the members and secretary, appears to be, in general terms, that they were bound to carry out the orders of Government and to take notice of everything regarding the scarcity and famine which was reported to them or brought to their knowledge; but that they were not responsible for obtaining general information on matters not specially brought before them. It is somewhat technically explained that "famine" was not in the early months a special and separate subject in the Board's office, as it afterwards was, and hence it was not treated generally, but only with reference to particular reports and letters submitted to the Board, each of which was dealt with separately.

The local officers, it will be observed, throughout the correspondence, seem sometimes to address the Government, sometimes the Board, no clear rule being followed.

We think that there was an absence of definite rule on the subject, which is to be regretted.

111. The circular publishing the Board's report and the reply of the Government of Bengal was, we think, calculated to impress the local officers with the following:—

That the facts regarding the crops, so far as ascertained, were not such as to justify the expectation of severe and wide-spread famine.

That Government would not interfere directly, but must leave the ordinary laws of trade to work a remedy, and could only assist in the employment of the labouring classes and in respect of estates directly in the hands of Government; that there should, therefore, be no expectation that Government would attempt general assistance. And that even in case of actual famine, the chief, if not only, reliance must be on local private liberality.

112. At this distance of time, and without any statistical record whatever, it is impossible to form any accurate estimate of the out-turn of the crop in Orissa in the end of 1865. It is very clear that the peculiar nature of the failure was such (owing to absence of the rain required to fill the ear) that the actual yield was much less than the appearance in the straw, and the whole extent of the loss was probably not known, even to the agriculturists, till the grain was threshed out in January. On the whole evidence, it seems to us that the crop, taking the province generally, was certainly less than the Commissioner's estimate of a half crop. Singularly enough, the principal adherents to a different opinion are the officers of the Balasore district, who, in the first instance, took the very worst view; the Collector having reported the crop to be one-eighth of the previous year, and the superintendent of police described it as an "utter failure." The Collector's first opinion was, no doubt, extreme, and he afterwards changed it, having induced the superintendent of police to alter his report from "utter failure" to "partial failure;" but looking to the large producing powers of the Balasore district (as evidenced by previous exports), and to the total and extreme want in that district many months before the following crop was due, we feel sure that the Collector's present estimate is too high. The truth seems to be that taking considerable tracts together as a whole, those more favourably situated may have yielded about half a crop, or perhaps, in some few instances, slightly more, while those less favourably situated yielded very much less. If we were to hazard a general average upon the whole evidence as to the total yield of the province, perhaps we might say about a third of a full crop, but this estimate is in truth conjectural in the extreme.

113. It may here be stated, as respects the greater part of Orissa, that not only may the circulation of the Board's report have in some degree tended to allay official anxiety, but also in December the reaping and coming into the market of the new crop, such as it was, to a considerable extent mitigated the prevailing alarm and distress among the people. In India grain is always very much cheaper at harvest time than at other times, and it is said that on this occasion the unflinching enforcement of the demand for revenue and rent contributed greatly to produce that effect by forcing the crop into the market. Comparing the result as respects prices in the season 1865-66, when the demand was enforced, and that in 1866-67, when it was suspended, we can believe that there is much truth in this statement. Towards the end of December the coarsest rice is quoted at about 14 Calcutta seers per rupee in Pooree, 15 in Cuttack, and 15 in Balasore. In Pooree the local market was probably in some degree favourably affected at this time by local circumstances, the opening of the stores of the monasteries, and the wreck of a grain ship on the beach. Harvest time, besides making grain cheaper, also gives employment to the agricultural population. In Orissa it is from the end of January to the beginning of the agricultural year at the commencement of the rains that the labouring classes are least employed, and that in ordinary years the poor may suffer most. In 1865-66 there was a sort of lull in December and January as respects the alarm in the Cuttack and Balasore districts. In the Pooree district only did the alarm and distress continue with little abatement.

114. Before going further, we should mention that in November Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, strongly urged on Government the necessity of importing and storing grain to meet the "famine which is now an acknowledged fact

fact in several of the western districts, of extent and severity daily increasing." The correspondence is published in the Appendix. It appears that Messrs. Gisborne and Co. had in fact no special knowledge or business-connection with Orissa, and that Orissa was only mentioned among several other western districts. The proposal was to buy rice in British Burmah and to ship it partly to Port Canning, and partly to Orissa. Speaking of the proposal as a whole, we do not think that the information then possessed by the Government would have justified its acceptance. As respects the former (and in some sense the main) part of the plan, the importation into Port Canning, the result showed that it was not necessary. Rice never failed in Calcutta, which throughout the year exported. Whether information shortly afterwards received would have justified the partial acceptance of the proposal as regards Orissa, we shall soon consider.

115. We would also here draw attention to another correspondence immediately following the Board's report, and printed in the Appendix. First, on the ground of the general scarcity and distress in the country, and again on the ground of distressing accounts received from Pooree, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (in December 1865) applied to the Government of India for special grants of five lakhs in aid of local funds for railway feeders, and one lakh for works in the Pooree district. After some correspondence regarding details, the Government of India replied to both these applications together, by granting (on the 24th January 1866), "five lakhs as a general grant-in-aid to local funds for famine works including the feeder roads in Cuttack and Behar." There were in fact no railway feeders in the Cuttack division, and the works in the Pooree district were provided for from other sources. The sum of five lakhs granted by the Government of India was applied exclusively to railway feeders in other districts, and not in a shape that would ordinarily be called "famine works," inasmuch as they were not all in proper famine districts, and were not conducted upon any special system of famine relief. The fact was (as explained in the first letter of the correspondence), that the local funds of Bengal had been reduced by failure of income and excessive expenditure previous to 1865-66, and without special aid these works must have been very much curtailed. The five lakhs was applied to carry them on, and thus a certain employment was continued throughout the country generally which would otherwise have ceased, without its being made apparent that there were famine works in operation. The mode in which the money was applied was reported to the Government of India in very general terms on the 14th April 1866, a list of the works being furnished; and on the 21st May the Government of India, in the Public Works Department, replied that the instructions issued appeared to be proper and called for no remark.

116. The circumstances under which the zemindars of Orissa claim and obtain remissions of revenue have been already stated, and it has been noticed that the collectors of Balasore and Pooree applied very early in the season for permission to make inquiries respecting the failures of 1865; but that both applications were summarily rejected, the Commissioner and Board of Revenue concurring in opinion. More pressing applications to the same effect were made by the Collector of Pooree in the end of November and beginning of December, and the correspondence on the subject is printed in the Appendix. We have prefixed the orders of the Board of the previous season to which allusion is made. Mr. Barlow sent out officers to make inquiries, but had doubts if he was justified, since, as he said, it was the peculiar effect of the Board's instructions which refused to allow any inquiry prior to orders, that it became impossible to furnish information from which it might be known whether the prescribed test of "general calamity" was reached, and therefore he could only say that by report it was understood that the losses on some pergunnahs had been very heavy. On this occasion the Commissioner sanctioned inquiry and report in special cases of extreme loss, on the understanding that no promise or expectation of remission was to be given, the matter being kept perfectly open for the Board's orders.

The Collector of Balasore seems also to have been making some general inquiries at this time, and a diary submitted by him is inserted. He has explained in his evidence that the prices there quoted by him are not expressed in the ordinary seer, but in a smaller seer of local use.

117. On the Collector of Pooree's application, with the Commissioner's orders upon it coming before the Board, they negatived it in very decided terms (Appendix). They regretted that the Commissioner had instructed the Collector to enter upon any investigation of claims of zemindars to remission, as such inquiries tended to raise expectations which, not being realized, must result in discontent and disaffection. No remissions were to be granted, and all hope of receiving any were to be positively barred.

This order was signed by both Members of the Board, Messrs. Grote and Cockburn. It has been shown to us, that it was first drafted by Mr. Cockburn who had known Orissa well. On the other hand, he had very recently returned from England, and had not taken part in the previous inquiry regarding losses.

On receipt of the Board's orders, the Commissioner desired the Collector to observe that the Board had disapproved of the permission even to satisfy himself of actual loss in zemidaree estates, expressed his entire concurrence in the orders, directed the Collector to consider them final and conclusive and to cancel his proceedings, and sent a copy of the orders to the other Collectors for their guidance.

118. We think that the Board of Revenue were not justified in passing these decided orders. Their own orders of a few months previous distinctly recognised the claim to remission on account of *general* calamities of season, and there was certainly no ground for assuming that the failure of 1865 in Orissa, and more especially in Pooree, did not amount to a general calamity. Whatever the previous profits of the zemindars, there was not the least reason to suppose that, in the particular year, they would spare the ryots if they were not themselves spared. We are told on all hands that the difficulty has always been rather to obtain for the ryots the concessions given to the zemindars. But the zemindars themselves always base their applications on the ground that the remissions are required to enable them to remit to the ryots. The circumstances of Orissa are such (the claim to remission for general calamity being admitted) that it is wholly impossible to make detailed inquiry regarding the effect, on the crops, of general calamity of season, without creating some expectation of remissions. We think that the effect of the orders necessarily was to stop all such inquiries in whatever form and with whatever object. It did so stop them. The Collector of Pooree at once desired the officers making inquiries to discontinue operations; the result of the partial inquiries already made was never reported; and the extent to which the crops had failed, and the consequent failure of the supply of food on which the population had to rely, were not made known to the higher authorities.

119. The next correspondence which we have printed (Appendix) is that regarding the establishment of Relief Committees. The Commissioner suggested them on the 3rd December. The Collector of Pooree replied that he was already at work, and his proceedings will soon be mentioned in full. The Collector of Balasore called a meeting, formed a committee, and collected some small subscriptions, but reported that relief was not immediately required. "It is expected that the fund will have no calls made upon it before February." The Collector of Cuttack also called a meeting, though he reported, 29th December, that it was not nearly so fully attended by the zemindars as he would have wished. He concludes, "I have now travelled over a considerable portion of the district, and am not of opinion that just immediately any great amount of distress prevails in the district, but I fear that the spring of the coming year will find things changed for the worse, and that the poor non-agricultural class, composed of artizans, &c., will feel the scarcity very much. It is well to be prepared, therefore, and to have matters put in train, that when the season of distress comes, timely aid may be at hand."

The resolution of the Cuttack Committee, which accompanied the letter, points to more severe distress in Pooree and the tributary mehals. There was delay in collecting subscriptions, as they were not immediately required, but all the correspondence speaks of more severe distress to be expected as the season advances.

120. Next in order (Appendix) comes a correspondence regarding the Commissioner of Orissa's tour. On the 18th November he reported his intention to proceed to the tributary mehals, and proceeded there accordingly. In reply, the Government presumed that he had made his arrangements "with due

due regard to the present scarcity of provisions in the Cuttack division, and the probability that special measures may have to be taken for the relief of the people."

To this the Commissioner (being already far on his tour) replied on the 14th December:—"There are no arrangements, in connection with scarcity of provisions, that I am aware of, likely to necessitate my immediate return to Cuttack. With the exception of some portion of Pooree bordering on the Chilka Lake, there is no such scarcity as need create necessity for any extraordinary measures." On this explanation the Government approved of the tour, and the consequence was that the Commissioner was absent for upwards of two months, and did not visit any of the regulation districts that cold season. In his original scheme he had said that he should be at no great distance from headquarters, and prepared to return at a moment's notice, but we now learn from his examination that in fact he penetrated very far into the hill country, visiting parts scarcely seen by any European before; and it is evident that his correspondence was delayed many days.

We think the absence of the head of the division, at such a time, very unfortunate. A few days with Mr. Barlow might have been more useful than all the correspondence carried on at such a distance. The Government eventually ratified the Commissioner's plans, but that again depended on an estimate of the condition of affairs, which has since proved to have been very erroneous, and which was not, we think, at the time warranted by sufficient information. It does not appear that there was any political matter of really great importance requiring the Commissioner's presence in the mehals visited by him at this time. —*See* the Lieutenant Governor's statement. (Examination.)

121. Allusion has been made to the prices current which were called for and published. The Government, after communication with the Chamber of Commerce, seems to have made the suggestion, and the Board of Revenue called for weekly returns from each district and regularly published them. On the one hand, the Board seem to have placed an almost superstitious reliance on them as a panacea for all evils, and, on the other, their accuracy has been much questioned. We would, therefore, here notice the whole subject before proceeding with the history of the famine. As respects accuracy, it is now admitted that the official returns cannot be relied on as exact. Such tables, prepared by persons unaccustomed to the work, are apt to be occasionally loose and inaccurate; and that is especially so when, owing to shortness and irregularity of supply, there can hardly be said to be any well-sustained market rates. It is stated by the Secretary to the Board (Mr. Chapman), that the column "ordinary price at this season," turns out to have been generally inaccurate, and a comparison with the averages calculated on the returns furnished to us, as well as the extreme discrepancies in the returns of neighbouring places, seem to show the fact to be so. For the rest, in the native mind, it is above all things difficult to disconnect the two ideas of returning actual prices and fixing a price. The police and others who made the returns may sometimes have returned rather prices as they ought to be, than those at which rice was actually available; and, even if the prices were real, Government servants could sometimes get rice when others could not. Error was then probably more frequently made in representing the rice to be cheaper than the reality, rather than the contrary.

122. In the head-quarter stations of districts such error was not likely to be large, but there is another source of discrepancy which has been made very apparent in the Cuttack returns. The Board have throughout taken the "cheapest sort" as the standard of the price of the food of the people. But it appears that in fact there is generally in the market a minor quantity of fine rice on the one hand, and of a red imperfectly husked variety on the other, while the mass of rice in the market, in fact the ordinary food of the people, is an intermediate kind more properly designated as "common rice." The statements of the officers of the Irrigation Company, founded on actual transactions, seemed at first hopelessly irreconcilable with the Board's prices current; but we discovered that while the Collector of Cuttack was furnishing prices of two sorts of rice, dearest and cheapest, according to the Board's forms, the Commissioner was at the same time sending a price current of his own, stated by him to be carefully prepared from personal observation. He gives three kinds, and his

his intermediate kind, called "common rice," does not very materially differ from the rates given by the Irrigation Company, although he explains that the supply and sales were so irregular that the price varied from hour to hour, and from one street of Cuttack to another.

123. In truth, all minor differences apart, the main point in respect of which the prices current were, it proves, wholly misleading, is that they were very frequently (in fact through the greater part of the season, and in most places it may be said most frequently), wholly nominal, rice not being procurable. It is most certain that it was not procurable, at the quoted rates, in any quantity. Even when the shops were open, any attempt to buy more than ordinary daily rations, it may be said, the slightest rumour that purchases were to be made, at once sent prices up to prohibitive rates.

124. It also seems to us, that supposing the tables to have been reliable, the Board of Revenue hardly made consistent use of their own materials and their own principles. Prices, in districts of cheap grain and low wages, were too much judged by a metropolitan standard, and were on that basis supposed to be reasonable when they were really extreme in relation to the ordinary local prices; allowance was not sufficiently made for the cheapening at harvest time, and the invariable enhancement as the season proceeds; and even it may be said that when prices rose to rates more and more distinctly famine, throughout February, March, April, and May, both the Government of Bengal and the Board, deserting their own principles of political economy, seem to have actually or tacitly acquiesced in the explanation that the rates were no true index of the supply, and that the dealers were only combining to hold back stocks with a view to artificial enhancement of prices.

125. The fact that even prices apparently tolerable are no sufficient index to the state of the people, if other local circumstances are put out of view, is well stated in the following extract of a letter from Lieutenant Money, Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom— a remote and uncivilised district:—

"I must make another attempt to try and convince you that there really is famine in the south-east of Maunbhoom, and that the returns I have sent up from a few grain marts cannot be taken as indicative of prosperity in Raipore. Our resources were weak when the failure of crops came on us. The immediate sufferers are of two classes: those who cultivate just enough for themselves and families to live on from one harvest to the other, and those who live by labour, working mostly for petty farmers, who pay them in food. The first of these two classes lost their crops, and not only so, but have by this failure been plunged deeply into their mahajuns' books, as most of them borrow grain for sowing on promise of repayment, at exorbitant interest, when the crops are ripe.

"This is not a class who have money with which to buy food, and being already deep in their mahajuns' books, the latter do not care to lend them rice now. The second class are starving, because the petty farmers who at this time of year, as a rule, employ them, will not do it, having themselves no rice with which they could pay them.

"I must maintain, as a fact, that the prices current at one or two bazaars are no criterion of the real state of any particular spot some little distance from them."

126. The Board of Revenue, especially, seem to have taken every cheapening of price as an indication that their first expressed opinions were right. On the 24th January 1866, they reported that prices in Pooree were "happily insufficient to tempt exporters from the opposite coast." It is true that the last Pooree price current then before them, that of 15th January, showed rice to be from $11\frac{3}{4}$ to $13\frac{1}{4}$ Calcutta seers per rupee, but about that very time the Collector (as we now find) was elaborately explaining to his immediate superior, that it really was not to be had, and the Pooree prices current of the two following weeks, ending 23rd January and 29th January, showed a very rapid fall, first to $10\frac{1}{4}$ and then to $8\frac{3}{4}$ seers, in fact, to about four times the average price of food. Such a rate in any country means famine, especially if a long period must elapse before another harvest. Yet we cannot find that the Board corrected the impressions which their letter of 24th January might have created, or that the subsequent enhancement in all the districts to 8, 7, 6 seers, in March and April,

and

and still further enhancement in May, caused any special inquiry on the subject till it was too late.

127. For convenience of reference we here give a Table of the price of common rice throughout the season at Pooree, Cuttack, and Balasore respectively, made as approximately correct as we can by collating the different returns :—

APPROXIMATE Prices of Common Rice in Pooree, Cuttack, and Balasore, given in Seers of Rupees, 80 weight per Rupee.

	Pooree.	Cuttack.	Balasore.	Average.
Latter part of October 1865 - - - -	8 to 13	8 to 15	11 to 16	12
Week ending 13 November 1865 - - -	8	12	15	11⅔
Ditto 20 ditto - - - -	10	11	15	12
Ditto 27 ditto - - - -	11½	10½	16	12⅔
Ditto 4 December 1865 - - - -	12	11¼	16	13¼
Ditto 11 ditto - - - -	12	11¼	16	13¼
Ditto 18 ditto - - - -	13	13	16	14
Ditto 28 ditto - - - -	14	14	14	14
Ditto 1 January 1866 - - -	14	14	13	13⅔
Ditto 8 ditto - - - -	13½	14	13	13½
Ditto 15 ditto - - - -	12½	12	13	12½
Ditto 22 ditto - - - -	10	12	11	11⅓
Ditto 29 ditto - - - -	8¾	11¼	10	10
Ditto 5 February 1866 - - -	8¼	9½	11	9¾
Ditto 12 ditto - - - -	9¼	8⅓	9	9
Ditto 19 ditto - - - -	8½	9	9	9
Ditto 26 ditto - - - -	9⅓	9¼	9½	9⅓
Ditto 5 March 1866 - - -	8¼	9¼	9½	9
Ditto 12 ditto - - - -	8	9¾	10	9¼
Ditto 19 ditto - - - -	8¼	9¼	10	9⅙
Ditto 26 ditto - - - -	8	8¾	7½	8⅙
Ditto 2 April 1866 - - - -	7½	7½	7½	7½
Ditto 9 ditto - - - -	6⅓	7⅓	7½	7⅙
Ditto 16 ditto - - - -	7¾	6¼	8½	7⅓
Ditto 23 ditto - - - -	6⅔	6	8½	7
Ditto 30 ditto - - - -	6¼	6	8	6¾
Ditto 7 May 1866 - - - -	6½	6¼	8	7
Ditto 14 ditto - - - -	6¾	6	8	7
Ditto 21 ditto - - - -	6¾	5	6¾	6⅙
Ditto 28 ditto - - - -	6	4¾	6	5½
Ditto 4 June 1866 - - - -	6	4¾	6½	5¾
Ditto 11 ditto - - - -	5½	4½	6	5⅓
Ditto 18 ditto - - - -	5¾	4	5½	5
Ditto 25 ditto - - - -	5¾	4	5	5
Ditto 2 July 1866 - - - -	6¼	4	5	5
Ditto 9 ditto - - - -	6⅛	4	5½	5 3/16
Ditto 16 ditto - - - -	5⅜	4⅓	5½	5¼
Ditto 23 ditto - - - -	5¾	4¾	6	5½
Ditto 30 ditto - - - -	5½	5	4¾	5
Ditto 6 August 1866 - - -	5½	5½	4½	5⅙
Ditto 13 ditto - - - -	5¾	5	3⅛	4⅜
Ditto 20 ditto - - - -	5¾	4⅞	4¾	5⅛
Ditto 27 ditto - - - -	5½	4½	4½	4⅚
Ditto 3 September 1866 - - -	5½	5	5	5⅙
Ditto 10 ditto - - - -	6½	5½	5	5⅝
Ditto 17 ditto - - - -	7⅝	6	6	6½
Ditto 24 ditto - - - -	7¾	7	6	7
Ditto 1 October 1866 - - -	7¼	7	7	7⅙
Ditto 8 ditto - - - -	8⅜	7	8¼	7⅞
Ditto 15 ditto - - - -	7¼	7	9	7¾
Ditto 22 ditto - - - -	7¾	7	9	8
Ditto 29 ditto - - - -	7¼	8¼	9	8⅙
Ditto 5 November 1866 - - -	- -	8	11	9⅓
Ditto 12 ditto - - - -	- -	11	17⅓	14¼
Ditto 19 ditto - - - -	- -	13¾	17	15⅜
Ditto 26 ditto - - - -	- -	15¾	20	17⅞
Ditto 3 December 1866 - - -	- -	15	20	17½
Ditto 10 ditto - - - -	- -	15	19	17
Ditto 17 ditto - - - -	- -	10¾	19	14⅞
Ditto 24 ditto - - - -	- -	10½	19	14⅞
Ditto 31 ditto - - - -	- -	12	15	13½

It will be observed that, though there are some local oscillations, the downward course of the average rate is singularly regular. The result of the price table is, that for the space of five months in the best supplied markets, and those most aided by Government sales, the price of food, supplied in a very intermittent way, ranged from five to ten times the ordinary or average rate. In the interior of the districts food was generally not to be procured for money, and when sold, ranged up to about thirty-five times the ordinary price.

128. We now proceed with the history of the famine from the date of the Board's Report; and our next series of papers (Appendix) comprises the period from 25th November to the Lieutenant Governor's visit in February. There being, as has been said, a sort of lull in the alarm in Cuttack and Balasore, it refers almost exclusively to Pooree, till the very end of the period. The letters are perhaps placed too exactly in chronological order for easily following the correspondence in each matter, but in truth the whole correspondence is very much intermixed, and the perplexities caused by the chronological order of the letters is a good reflex of the complication which in fact resulted from the concurrent action of so many authorities. The Commissioner is far away in the hills, and though, so far as concerns writing letters, he is most attentive, his letters come far behind time, and are of comparatively little use; while the Board of Revenue, Government in the General Department, and Government in the Public Works Department, seem all to be maintaining a sort of parallel correspondence. It is only to be regretted that so many letters, so many projects, and so much zeal, should have ended in so little practical result as we shall find to have been the case, and that so much should have failed owing to the want of a common understanding between the different authorities engaged.

129. The Commissioner then being, as we have said, absent on his tour, on the 25th November 1865, the Collector of Pooree sent to the Board of Revenue the following telegram:—"Starvation at Paricood, Mallood; deaths increasing. District Superintendent viewed distress. Men deserted and families destitute. Organization of local relief attempting, but difficult from general scarcity. Ask public aid. Grain shipped to Metacooah better than money. Parricood zemindar behaving well."

The facts being thus plainly and decidedly put, the Collector's communication met with prompt and earnest attention, as the correspondence shows. The matter at once occupied both the Board of Revenue and the Government, and a succession of demi-official notes will be seen to have passed in a single day (Appendix). We shall briefly review all the correspondence immediately following the first telegram taken together.

130. It may be at once said that the proposal to renew the salt manufacture (to the cessation of which the local distress about Mallood, Parricood, was in great measure attributed) recommended by the local authorities was at once rejected as inadmissible. But other measures were resolved on, as follows:—

In the first instance no objection seems to have been made in principle to sending rice, and after a good deal of discussion on the question of ordering 500 tons from Burmah, it was resolved to send 250 bags* (about 18 tons) by the coasting steamer. It was also determined to ship salt from the local depôts, and sell it at Chittagong, partly to give employment in loading and despatching the salt, and partly in the hope that the vessels employed would bring back rice. Finally, works for the employment of the distressed were sanctioned.

131. Eventually, however, the rice was not sent. It has not been made very clear why this was not done; it is only stated that the steamer could not take it; but we apprehend that even if room might have been made in the steamer for so small a quantity, on an emergency, her owners would not have been willing to stop, especially on a difficult shore, for so small a despatch, since later in the season in May we find that a despatch on Government account of 600 bags to False Point was refused, the Steam Company declining to send the vessel

* Each bag is two maunds, and a maund is 80 lbs.

vessel with less than 3,000 bags to a port at which they did not usually touch. Mr. Barlow went out to land the rice—the people even assembled to eat it—but it never came.

132. As respects the salt, on consideration, the Lieutenant Governor thought it better, before shipping on Government account, to "invite" Chittagong merchants to come and buy it, the price of the salt being much reduced to the rate at which it was sold on the adjoining Madras coast. The merchants were invited, but never came, and so that plan also came to nothing. There is much correspondence regarding the salt scheme, but such being the result, it is of little interest.

133. The public works only remain, and their history must be traced in greater detail. Meantime it may be stated that at the Collector's request 5,000 rupees was at once sanctioned from the Government Estates Improvement Fund, to enable him to give employment to the poor at Satparah—a Government estate not far from Mallood and Parricood. The other works were of a more important character, requiring greater arrangement, and were not put in hand till the following month.

134. It was soon very apparent that the distress could not be effectually met by local private charity, which was not forthcoming with any liberality, except in one most praiseworthy instance of a man of very limited means, the zemindar of Parricood. In one of his first letters, however (27th November, Appendix), Mr. Barlow says that, while he cannot guarantee that as time goes on, Government may not, as a last resource, be obliged to come forward more generally to keep the people from absolute death and starvation, still the general conditions of the district did not lead him to anticipate that such would actually be the case. In the present instance he said the circumstances were peculiar. Writing demi-officially to the Commissioner the same day, he gives an account, quoting the District Superintendent of Police, which, referring to several pergunnahs in the eastern part of the district, seems to show them to be almost as bad as those in the west. It is as follows:—

"Lacey says that at Sonakullah (one of the surburakaries in Khoorda, on the road before you get to Banpore,) loss of crops is complete, and the people are suffering as badly. And from what I hear of the pergunnahs of Poorubdohaee, Attais, Korloo, Domarkhund, and Utrol, that the crops are all gone, coupled with the fact that there has been a heavy and unusual case of dacoity and plundering twenty-eight bullocks carrying grain on the road, at a village near Gope in that direction. I am afraid that distress is great in some other parts of the district besides Parracood, &c.; but these places are connected with the general condition of the country, and have better means of obtaining extraneous help to a degree which, I have said in my letter, prevent the cases being exactly comparable. Every thing is perfectly quiet all over the district. Lacey noticed in his report that the Parricood zemindar is relieving very liberally, but his stores of grain are nearly done.

135. On the 29th November Mr. Barlow submitted (Appendix) a definite scheme for relief works on a large scale in roads running across the district. From the very first it was stated, as a necessary part of the scheme, that wages in food should be given and grain stored for the purpose, importations being again recommended, and on the 6th December the Commissioner (who had already in his No. 305½ of the 2nd December, recommended the importation of "a few ship-loads of rice") strongly recommended the road scheme, adding that advances should at once be made for the purchase and storing of rice (No. 315¾). The Commissioner had also, on the 5th December (311½), under demi-official sanction from the Board, authorised works on Government estates, and recommended another road across the great Khoorda estate, to be paid from the Government Estates Fund, and the works were sanctioned and commenced in the following month. Mr. Grote (then alone in the Board) had, on the first mention of a road project, approved of payment in rations, and on the 12th December the Board formerly directed that on the Satparah works labour should be paid in grain, enough being given support the labourer and those dependent on him in health. These instructions were specifically approved by the Lieutenant Governor on the 21st December.

136. Early in December (Appendix), we find Mr. Barlow urging on the deputy magistrate another work for relief, the restoring a sacred tank at Pooree called the Naraindra Tank, to be paid for by pious Hindoos, and this work was prosecuted with considerable success.

137. Mr. Barlow's scheme for roads was urged by him with great zeal. He enlisted in the cause the Superintending Engineer, whom we find (16th December, Appendix), promising that the labourers should be paid by daily labour and not by contract, and who, on the 18th December, recommended the scheme, including the payment of the labourers in rice.

138. On the 19th December (Appendix), the Lieutenant Governor issued orders for the prosecution of the road-works proposed for the relief of the distressed population, viz., the portion of the Calcutta and Madras road running through the Pooree district between Cuttack and Ganjam, and the Cuttack and Pooree road, the latter being part of the great pilgrim route to Juggernath. Two sums of 44,000 rupees and 25,000 rupees, total 69,000 rupees, were assigned for these roads respectively. It does not appear that any special officers were appointed; but it was impressed on the Superintending Engineer that the matter was urgent, and that it was of great importance that the relief of the distress should be put on a proper footing. He was desired at once to proceed to the spot, and to furnish the local executive engineers with detailed instructions. Further, "the judicious management of large bodies of starving poor will require especial attention, and you are requested to see that proper arrangements are made." Then follows an instruction to which attention is necessary, as it is the germ of an unfortunate policy, and in some degree misunderstanding, which destroyed the efficiency of the whole scheme:—

"It has been suggested that the relief should be given in the shape of wages paid in grain; but it is not desirable that the officers of the Public Works Department should be concerned in any arrangement of this kind. The ordinary rates of money wages should be paid to all who seek work on those terms, and any further relief required must be supplemented by the committees formed for the purpose and by such action as the civil authorities can take. The Lieutenant Governor wishes you to put yourself in free communication with the Commissioner, and to arrange with him all matters that are not purely professional."

139. On the 22nd December, the Board (No. 172 A, Appendix), in reply to the Commissioner, refer him to the above orders, and add, "the Board do not think that the Government need import grain at present, as suggested by Mr. Barlow." This letter was submitted to Government in the Public Works Department, and the Lieutenant Governor seems at that time to have been of the same opinion as respects the importation of grain. A recommendation was also made by the Board, supporting the Commissioner, to carry on the works on the road between Cuttack and Midnapore: but it does not appear that at this time this portion of the road was worked up to the ordinary estimates, or that works of any special famine character were undertaken upon it.

140. In support of the opinion that it was not then necessary to import grain, Mr. Chapman has produced a letter written by Mr. Barlow from Camp (No. 1 A, Appendix), on the 13th December, when he first heard that the expected supply of grain (referred to in our 130th paragraph) was not to be sent to his district. He seems to have supposed that the supply was to be sent to Gopalpore, in the Madras district of Ganjam, and to be transported by him from thence. On this supposition he applied for permission to sell it there, stating that it was not worth while to transport it by land from such a distance, and that it could be procured on the spot on rather more favourable terms as to cost. This letter may have been written under some feeling of disappointment; but it is also to be noticed that in Mr. Barlow's letter of the 22nd December (No. 298, Appendix), recommending importations, he treats it a good deal as matter of price. He there adds that the presence of the cargo of the wrecked ship, which was likely to be offered for sale, alone prevented his "*decisively* asking that grain may be ordered for me by ship." Again, on the 24th December (No. 307, Appendix), after reporting the result of telegraphic inquiries from Chittagong, and still treating it as matter of price, he

he says, "under present conditions, therefore, of the local market, it would be useless to order the grain to be imported." It appears in the early part of the correspondence that it was expected that any grain sent should be paid for from local sources, and it may be assumed that at this time, in December, just when the crop was coming in, either rice was to some extent to be had in the Pooree district, or Mr. Barlow had not yet discovered that it was not procurable.

141. This correspondence also makes clear why it was that in this part of the season rice was not imported by private merchants. In fact, it did not appear that it would have paid to do so, while prices were quoted at the rates which were published in December and part of January. Prices in all the neighbouring provinces were so generally enhanced that even rates which in Orissa, usually so cheap, approached to famine rates, did not suffice to bring in grain. It seems to have been principally with reference to the December correspondence that the Board afterwards, on the 24th January (when in truth things had wholly changed), made the report already alluded to, that prices in the Pooree district were "happily insufficient to tempt exporters from the opposite coast." Supposing the facts to have been as the Board supposed, we think it might have been much more properly said that prices generally were unhappily too high to admit of profitable import.

142. In December, Mr. Barlow had been making a tour in the most distressed part of the south-western portion of his district, and on the 29th December he submitted to the Commissioner a full report and diary, containing details of an extremely distressing character, which will be found in the Appendix. He seems to have felt bound to be very careful not to exaggerate or too highly colour his picture; but nevertheless he gives his "revised opinion as to the prospective condition of the people" in the brief words of a previous telegram, viz., "Destitution general and complete," and he added, "it is that to which I most distinctly hold."

143. The above specially refers to the pergunnahs visited by Mr. Barlow; but he goes on:—"I think I may properly accompany this report with a brief notice of the measures that have been suggested or put in operation for the relief of the distress in the district. I speak of all parts of the district, for I have received several reports from the Assistant Collector engaged in duty in Chowbeescood Khas Mehal and the neighbourhood, announcing that the most serious distress is prevailing in that part of the country surrounding the lake, east, and that many deaths by starvation have occurred." The reports of Mr. Livesay, the Assistant Collector, will be found in the Appendix; and a letter from him to Mr. Barlow, of the 13th January, shows very clearly that famine was prevalent at that time, and that mortality had resulted in the eastern part of the district in the Gope division. Mr. Barlow concludes his letter of the 29th December by reviewing the various measures proposed for relief. We may here say that nothing could be more active or devoted than his action in the matter.

144. The Commissioner forwarded Mr. Barlow's report to the Board on the 12th January; but about the same time (being himself still far away in camp), he seems to have thought it necessary somewhat to restrain the Collector's zeal with respect to the expenditure of money on Government estates. In his letter, No. 333 A., of the 11th January (Appendix), he says, "I would, however, deprecate the commencement of too many works of any sort at the same time; where people are starving, they will go 10 to 12 miles to procure work and food, and it appears unnecessary, in order to afford relief, to undertake works of questionable utility in any village merely because there happens to be a scarcity there; the people must go to the works, and not the works to the people. The orders of the Board contained in the latter paragraph of their letter to you, should be carefully adhered to."

145. The state of the country at this time is further shown by Mr. Barlow's letter to the Commissioner, of the 16th January (No. 47, Appendix), recommending the Government to induce people to refrain from visiting Pooree by "making widely known the fact of famine existing in these parts." He

added that if people congregated as usual, "cholera, among other diseases, working upon the starving and reduced mass of human beings, must produce destruction and loss of human life to a degree fearful to contemplate." The Commissioner seems to have somewhat softened the report of present famine into, "Cholera is unusually prevalent in Pooree, due probably to scarcity of food," but he also dwelt on the risk of famine and the disastrous consequences which might result from an influx of pilgrims, and in that shape his communication was widely published.

146. On the 30th December, in a letter to the Superintending Engineer, referring to his suggestions that the labourers on relief works should be paid in rice, the Secretary, Public Works Department, says (Appendix), "The Lieutenant Governor does not approve of any part of the wages of the labourers who may be employed on the works above referred to being paid in kind; the payments should be made in coin at the usual rates, and anything that may be necessary to enable these wages to purchase food advantageously will be carried out under local arrangement." On the 6th January the Superintending Engineer writes to the Commissioner, "As it is very necessary to provide food for so many coolies, and as this will not be within the power of the department to arrange for, I have directed the executive engineers to communicate with the Collector, soliciting his aid in obtaining an ample supply of rice at a fair market value." And on the same date, reporting to Government to the same effect, he says, "I am afraid that no bunneahs will come forward to sell grain at any fair rate." On the 11th January (No. 333 D, the Commissioner directed the Collectors of Pooree and Cuttack to afford every assistance in procuring food. In case of necessity, he authorised them to "purchase rice *at the cheapest available market*," and retail it. For this purpose he suggested that the Public Works Department might advance money from the sums sanctioned for the roads.

147. Whatever may have been the case in December, it is abundantly clear that in January rice was not to be had in any quantities in the Pooree district. Mr. Barlow (ever actively anxious about the measures of relief in progress, whether under himself or in another department), on the 15th of that month wrote a letter to the executive engineer with reference to the proposal for purchasing food for the labourers, to which we solicit attention. It will be found in the Appendix. He speaks of "*a danger likely to interfere materially with, if not actually put a stop to, the works*," *viz.*, the want of food. He shows that, while as yet but 300 persons employed near the town make great complaints of the difficulty of procuring grain, and express great anxiety to receive their wages in kind instead of money, when the numbers increase, and the distance from the town becomes greater, supplies will not be procurable, since "*it is one of the features observable in the famine*" that "*the city is the only place where a certain supply (small though it be) of grain is to be found, while in various parts of the interior none at all is procurable.*" He goes on, "The difficulty foreseen must be met, since under no circumstances whatever must this opportunity of relief, which the liberality of Government has provided through your department, be allowed to fail or become crippled, whether it be from want of energy or fear of responsibility;" and he proceeds to give details of a plan for purchasing and storing grain; the Public Works to advance money, with which he would import rice and deliver it at the works.

Prices were then still quoted in the latest returns at the cheaper rates which they had reached during the harvest, but Mr. Barlow explains: "It is a fact that these quoted rates are profitless, and only mislead where they are taken as a guide, and for as much as 500 rupees worth (or one might say 100 rupees worth), the supply of 1,000 or more coolies for a day, could not be obtained perhaps on a single occasion (and most undoubtedly not kept up for any time) in any place where there is a bazaar in the district; it is obvious that so far as the benefit in supporting your labourers is concerned, the quoted rates might be just as well a rupee a seer. In either case the article is not procurable." While thus in the district a large supply could not be procured at all, and any action in the way of intercepting the small supplies procurable would extend the distress in the country generally, he "*makes it a condition*" that the rice required should be imported, and would do so even if the cost does not compare

pare favourably with the present quoted rates of the district. He puts it then specifically whether the Public Works Department would--

1. Agree to his plan of importing.
2. Agree to it without limit of price.
Or 3. Agree to it with a limit of price.

148. The executive engineer, Lieutenant Nolan, received the proposition in the best spirit, at once agreed to it, and without delay reported the matter and forwarded the correspondence to his superior the Superintending Engineer, requesting permission to make the required advances, with the brief but emphatic declaration, "*Not only our works, but the people's lives, are depending on an early supply of rice.*" (Appendix.)

149. Both Mr. Barlow and the Commissioner had derived the idea from the prices current that rice was to be had on better terms at Balasore, and they both wrote for it. The answer, however, was decisive: "No rice had been purchased, since none was procurable." At Balasore also the quoted rates seem to have been quite nominal, as regards at least any considerable supply.

150. Meantime, however, another difficulty had arisen. The higher we go, the greater seems to be the respect for the departmental rules usually called "red tape." The Superintending Engineer, though zealous in the cause, thought the proposal that his department should advance funds for rice, quite contrary to the orders which he had received, and telegraphed to Calcutta on the 24th January, "Commissioner and Collector of Pooree wish me to advance 20,000 rupees for purchase of rice. I object, considering that your orders leave the onus of providing rice on the civil authorities. Orders requested at once."

The order was decisively conveyed on the 26th January by the Secretary to Government of Bengal, Public Works Department, under instructions of the Lieutenant Governor* in the following terms:—

"Your proceedings in refusing advance approved. This department cannot have any concern with providing rice."

151. On that very same day, the 26th January, the Board of Revenue issued the following order to the Commissioner:—"You will have observed from Government order (Public Works Department), dated the 30th December last, forwarded to you with No. 6179, that his Honor the Lieutentant Governor does not approve of the payment *in kind* of the wages of the labourers employed on the public works undertaken in your division, to afford relief to the people who are suffering from the scarcity of food. I am desired, therefore, to request that you will instruct the Collector of Pooree to pay *in cash* instead *of grain*, as previously ordered by the Board, the wages of the persons engaged in digging a tank in the Government estate, Satparah, in that district (*vide* Board's letter, No. 705 A., dated the 13th December last). The cash payments should be fixed, however, upon the principle of their previous orders, *i. e.*, so much only should be paid as will provide food sufficient to sustain the labourer and his family in health."

152. These orders, reversing the previous orders for payment in food, and strictly limiting all payments to cash, are stated to have been in pursuance of a principle laid down by Government. It does not seem to us that the Government did lay down any principle, but rather only a departmental and professional rule of the Public Works Department; and since the true meaning of the orders in the latter department was not that labourers should not be fed, but only that this duty should fall on the civil department exclusively, the order seems inapplicable to works carried on by the civil officers themselves. It was, however, carried out to the great detriment of the local measures of relief. A copy of the Board's order was communicated to the Government of Bengal in the general department; but his Honor the Lieutenant Governor does not recollect that it was brought to his personal notice, and states that if his attention had been attracted to the matter, he would certainly have disapproved of it. There seems, in fact, in this whole matter to have been an unfortunate misunderstanding

* See his Honor's statement, answer No. 8, Examination.

misunderstanding between the Public Works Department and the Revenue Department of the Government of Bengal, which lasted for months, in fact till the full outburst of the famine, and produced very injurious consequences. The Public Works Department threw the provision of food on "the civil authorities," while the civil officers, being wholly prohibited from purchasing food by the Board of Revenue, acting on what they supposed to be the views of the Government, were unable to supply the labourers.

153. It does not very clearly appear on the correspondence up to the 31st January, nor in the evidence (most of the above correspondence came to light after the evidence was recorded), how intelligence of the state of things was conveyed to the Commissioner, leading to his telegram of the 31st January, which we are about to notice. The explanation must be sought in Mr. Barlow's letter, No. 338, though officially dated the following day, 1st February (Appendix). It appears that the executive engineer was to have provided 20,000 rupees and Mr. Barlow 10,000 rupees, making a total of 30,000 rupees, available for importation; but that Mr. Crommelin, the Superintending Engineer, having demurred, and having been finally prohibited from making advances as already stated, Mr. Barlow had seen Mr. Crommelin, who himself took charge of the letter regarding importation addressed to Mr. Nolan, for the purpose of laying it before the Commissioner. In fact the correctness of Mr. Barlow's views regarding the rates had been already proved by the very rapid enhancement of prices, the quoted rates having gone up from 13 seers for the week ending 15th January to 8¾ seers for the week ending 29th January, or, as we have already said, to decided famine prices. "It is not necessary for me to repeat here," says Mr. Barlow to the Commissioner, "the various arguments which I made use of (in his letter to Mr. Nolan) to show the absolute necessity of carrying out the arrangements at once for storing grain to feed the labourers on the various works, if it is intended to give practical effect to the Government orders for giving relief by employment to the distressed people of the district at this time. I will only, therefore, add that further inquiry has made it more certain than ever that grain for storing cannot be obtained in this district, and consequently, whatever is done, recourse must be had to importation from other districts."

154. Mr. Ravenshaw returned to Cuttack from his tour on the 31st January, and it is evident that immediately on his arrival, either through the officers of the Public Works Department or otherwise, the substance of the above information, and something more, reached him. A critical time had arrived, and he despatched, that very day, the following telegram to the Board of Revenue, which seems to us of a very important and emergent character:—

"Famine relief is at a stand-still. Public Works Department refuse to advance money to Collectors to purchase rice. Pooree must get rice from elsewhere. May I authorise advance for this purpose for* Cuttack, Balasore, and Pooree."

The answer received was very decisive, as conveyed in the following telegram from the Board, dated the 1st February:—

"Your message received. The Government decline to import rice into Pooree. If the market favours importers, rice will find its way to Pooree without Government interference, which can only do harm. All payments for labour employed to relieve the present distress are to be in cash."

155. The result of that unfortunate telegram seems to have been to stifle and put an end to discussion regarding the importation of rice, from that time till a period when the state both of the weather and of the people rendered it too late to import it with successful effect.

156. Mr. Ravenshaw, accepting to the full the principle of action imposed on him, issued a series of orders in that sense. On the 2nd February he wrote to the Collector of Pooree—"You will have learned from copy of Board's letter, No. 16 A., dated 26th January 1866, that not only on works undertaken by the Public Works Department, but also those sanctioned as measures of relief

* The word is so written; but we think that "from" must have been intended.

relief from local and khas mehal funds, labour is to be paid for in cash, and not in grain; this will not only vastly simplify your arrangements, but will prevent any possible interference with the ordinary course of trade in grain.

"I feel convinced that you will, after probably some difficulty at first, find that where there is money to pay for food it will be procurable at the ordinary market rates, and any attempt to undersell the market would even, in the case of extensive charity, produce very serious confusion and complication." He went on to suggest that endeavours should be made to procure shopkeepers to sell grain by paying them a monthly salary, to be defrayed from the local relief subscriptions.

On the 5th February, in answer to Mr. Barlow's letter, No. 338, of the 1st February, he wrote to the same effect—"Both Government in the Public Works Department," he said, "and the Board of Revenue have decided finally that the wages of labourers employed in famine relief works are to be paid in money and not in grain. It is considered that to supply grain will interfere with legitimate trade."

157. On the same date he goes still further. On the 1st February Mr. Barlow had reported (*see* his letter, No. 339, Appendix) that works had been commenced from private subscriptions on the Naraindra tank, and that the subscriptions to the relief fund, paid or promised, amounted to 5,000 rupees. He added, "I do not anticipate much further increase to the amount subscribed to the relief fund. We are now endeavouring to purchase rice for storage, and it is the idea of the Committee that the mode of relief should take the form of distribution of cooked food regularly at certain principal places central to the localities where severest distress prevails."

Mr. Ravenshaw's reply, No. 375, of 5th February (Appendix), approves of all "with the exception of distributing cooked rice." He proceeds, "It is the object of the Government and the Board of Revenue, in the recent orders connected with works commenced under Government control, to provide means of subsistence to the destitute who will take the trouble to work for it; but the distribution of rice or payment in grain has been disapproved as bad in principle and inconvenient in practice, The Board's opinion referred to undoubtedly applies to works undertaken by the relief subscription fund; where the people employed are capable of work they should be paid in money.

"I altogether disapprove of distribution of cooked food, even to the most destitute, or you will soon find the whole population thrown on your hands. Work is exceedingly distasteful to the majority of the population, but it is hoped that they will prefer it to the only other alternative—starvation."

158. We think there can be no doubt that these orders were most mistaken and unfortunate. It is probably due to them (though we had not the order at the time, and did not sufficiently sift the point in examination) that the Pooree Committee, departing from their previous intention, adopted their system of out-door relief by allowances in money to distressed families at their own houses. For that system, administered by native subscribers themselves, very much is to be said in the case where food is procurable; but in the present instance it had this peculiar disadvantage, that it prevented the full extent of the distress from becoming unmistakeably apparent. Nothing is more clear than this, that though on the one hand many will not resort to relief centres for cooked food till the last extremity, on the other, the misery among the very poorest is never properly known till the offer of food brings out from their hiding places the poorest and most miserable objects. This was very evident in other districts were relief in food was given. Balasore presented terrible famine scenes long before the district was nearly so bad as Pooree; and in Midnapore, Mr. Herschel, the Magistrate and Collector, tells us how the existing misery was suddenly brought to his knowledge when food was offered. In Pooree, while the distress was becoming deeper and the mortality greater day by day, it was not concentrated and brought to view by the distribution of food. If the Committee had been left to act as they originally proposed, they might possibly have imported and distributed rice, and set an example which would have led to earlier measures on a larger scale.

159. On the 10th February Mr. Ravenshaw sends a second reply to Mr.

Barlow's letter, No. 338, of 1st February, and after referring to the Board's "final instructions," he says, "It will, therefore, not be necessary for you to take any further steps to purchase rice or to supply it to the people, beyond affording every encouragement and facility to private mahajuns and dealers to open stores and sell at current rates to the people.

"I have to acknowledge with thanks the well-directed and vigorous exertions you have made in the matter, and can only regret the impossibility of carrying out your proposed arrangements regarding payment for labour in grain."

There, in fact, the correspondence regarding relief by supplying food seems to have ended, till it was afterwards revived in a terrible shape.

160. After visiting the works the superintending engineer addressed detailed instructions to the executive engineers, and communicated them to the Commissioner and to Government. The correspondence is printed in the Appendix. The executive engineer, Pooree division, was told that the work on the Pooree road was intended "for alleviating the distress of the suffering population round and about Pooree," and "the chief distress being at and to the south of Pooree," he was to commence work on the part of the road nearest Pooree. The following portion of the instructions must be quoted:—"Taking into consideration the limited extent of work to be executed by this department in the distressed districts, and the almost certainty of the distress becoming far more extended a few months hence, and the drain on our resources consequently greater and more urgently necessary, I consider it incumbent upon us to, as far as possible, husband our available resources so as to be able to meet any necessity that may hereafter arise.

"To enable us to do this we must now only employ those who are really in distress, and not extend an offer of employment to all and every one who may apply for it. In many places the population is comparatively well provided, and by no means in actual want. By employing men from such localities at the present time we are not relieving actual distress, but are spending funds which may and probably will be most urgently required hereafter.

"Keeping in view, then, the fact that no really distressed man, woman, or child is to be turned away from the work, I rely on your at present keeping your gangs as small as possible. I am perfectly aware of the difficulty in distinguishing between those who are or are not in actual distress, but a little discrimination will prevent much imposition. The districts from which people come will be a very fair guide in regulating employment.

"If these instructions are fairly carried out, I think your gangs will not, at present, exceed 1,500.

"You will, of course, pay the labourers daily, or allow them piece-work if they wish for it; but you will bear in mind that it is not your duty to have anything to do with the providing of food for the people, as this duty falls entirely on the Civil Department; at the same time, if it be in your power to do anything to assist in the matter, I need hardly say that you should do so."

161. It should be explained that though the work on the Ganjam road was in the Pooree district, it is in the Cuttack division of public works. The instructions to the Cuttack engineer were to the same effect; but there is one important order which is omitted in the letter to the Pooree engineer—"Daily payments or piece-work, if preferred by the labourers, must be insisted on. No petty contracts can be allowed." Under these instructions considerable relief was for a time afforded on this road by daily payment to people not strong enough to work by the piece.

162. The Superintending Engineer's instructions to both engineers to keep the gang as small as possible, on the ground of "the almost certainty of the distress becoming far more extended a few months hence," seem to us to have been altogether a mistake. We do not know what ground he had for assuming that more money might not be had; on the contrary, he had been told that, if necessary, applications for additional funds would be favourably considered; and, in fact, it will soon be seen that the money granted was not expended. Relief, in the form of regular public works, is only effective in the early stage of distress, and by way of preventing the people from lapsing into extreme distress. In fact, it may be said to be the relief of the able-bodied, and little effective for those already far reduced by starvation. From February to May

is

is the season when such relief is most wanted. From the commencement of the rains it is for the most part impossible and ineffectual, as it proved in the present instance. Little work can then be carried on, and moreover, if distress has not passed a certain point, labour is absorbed in agricultural operations; if it has passed that point, it is for the most part beyond effectual relief by works.

163. In communicating his instructions to the Commissioner, Mr. Crommelin says, that they "are based on the conclusions arrived at by us both, viz., that though there is doubtless a great deal of distress among the generality of the population, yet that actual want is restricted to but a small tract of country;" while, "in all human probability, the effects of the present scarcity will be more severely felt a few months hence, and will require, of course, a larger amount of relief." As respects the supply of food, he says, "The subject of providing food for the people is one of great difficulty, and I do not venture to offer any decided opinion on the subject, as the district officers and yourself are so much better acquainted with the resources of the district. However, I think I may say that I fully agree with your opinion expressed to me personally, viz., that it would be better to pay bunneahs a certain monthly salary to induce them to supply food than for Government to interfere and purchase and sell on its own account, provided, of course, there is grain in the country. If there should not be, it would seem absolutely necessary for Government to purchase rice at once for retail sale. Whatever decision you may arrive at on this point, I trust you will give the necessary orders to the district officers to see, if possible, that the people employed both on the Ganjam and Pooree roads are properly supplied, as I am of opinion that, unless the civil authorities do make such arrangements, the people will be supplied in no other way, and the efforts made by this department will fall to the ground."

164. In reply, the Commissioner (No. 36, of 11th February) fully concurs in the opinions expressed, and approves of the orders issued, adding—"You will observe, from the enclosed copy of the Board's No. A, dated 26th January, that it has been finally determined not to pay for labour in grain." There that correspondence seems to end. It was reported to Government with Superintending Engineer's (1636, of 3rd February) in which it was likewise stated that other works were not required at present, but that should further expenditure be afterwards necessary, it would be duly reported.

165. It has been explained to us that this correspondence was not laid before the Lieutenant Governor before his Honor's visit to Orissa, and that after his return it was disposed of by this indorsement—"No orders; these matters were discussed during Cuttack tour." We have not been able to obtain any exact information regarding the nature of these discussions. Mr. Crommelin (examination) does not remember any consultation; had no conversation with the Lieutenant Governor regarding rice or relief works, but the subject was probably mentioned in conversation with Colonel Nicolls. Mr. Ravenshaw (examination) does not recollect any discussion on the special subject of the difficulty regarding relief works for want of grain. Colonel Nicolls (Secretary to Government of Bengal, Public Works Department) (examination) knows that his Honor was aware of the question. He says that the general subject of the relief works was discussed in Orissa, and the result was that the arrangements made were satisfactory; does not remember anything particular about the supply of food; that rested with the Commissioner and Relief Committees; had no reason to suppose that they had not made sufficient arrangements, but did not make special inquiry, "the duty of seeing after this arrangement not being in our department." Never heard of the Commissioner's telegram; his attention was never attracted to the subject. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor (examination) does not remember any actual discussions on the subject with Mr. Crommelin. Mr. Crommelin was in constant communication with Colonel Nicolls. The impression derived by his Honor was that the works were going on satisfactorily.

166. The result was that no further orders were issued till June. Mr. Barlow did all that he possibly could; but there can be no doubt that the works were rendered to a very great degree inoperative for want of rice to feed the labourers. Mr. Ravenshaw's own statement is to that effect (examination). He says

says that the local officers were directed to make arrangements to enable the labourers to procure food, but it was found impossible to do so, the Collector having neither rice nor agency at his disposal, and finding it impossible to attract shopkeepers. Mr. Crommelin says, "I think the want of grain excessively diminished the efficiency of my works as measures of relief." Mr. Nolan, the Executive Engineer, says, "there were great fluctuations in the number employed, and the scarcity of rice was the chief cause." And even about Cuttack, Mr. Levinge, Executive Engineer of the Irrigation Company, tells us (examination) "in the end of February there was great difficulty in procuring rice for money," and "on the 14th March at Kendraparah, Cuttack district, there was an almost absolute impossibility of procuring rice." He states that, in the early part of the year, "the supply of labourers was greatly affected by the scarcity of rice; the numbers fluctuated exceedingly. We were only able to keep together the imported labourers by paying them in rice. I introduced this system about the middle of January, immediately after we imported rice from Calcutta." He explains, however, that they had not rice enough to feed all the labourers, and goes on—"I attribute the diminution of the number of labourers from January to February and from February to March entirely to mortality and the difficulty in procuring food. I consider that this system of part payment in rice should have been applied also to the Government works, and I think that the efficiency of the works undertaken and the relief of the distress was greatly diminished by the neglect to adopt this system."

167. There was another cause of difficulty not peculiar to Orissa—the attempt to enforce task-works. The professional officers have a natural dislike to disbursing money for insufficient works; even when daily pay is given, they are expected to show an out-turn in proportion to the disbursement, and their ordinary rates and professional character are put in jeopardy when exceptional systems grow up. On the other hand, whether in Orissa, or in Ireland, or in most other countries, people employed from charitable reasons have the greatest possible objection to task-work. At first, on the Orissa works, daily pay was given; but the out-turn proved quite insufficient, and then the officers in charge enforced task-works.

168. In January, when food was not so scarce as a little later, and task-work was not, enforced people came freely to the works; but under the Superintending Engineer's directions they were not all received, only selected persons. This difficulty, however, soon disappeared. On the Pooree road, task-work at rates which seem, under the special circumstances, insufficient, was introduced early in February, and the want of food and task-work together seem to have almost stopped the works. The number of persons employed in February averaged only about 100, the Superintending Engineer having hoped to limit the gangs to 1,500 *see* paragraph 160). That was, we gather, the condition of things during the Lieutenant Governor's visit, and it seems the more surprising that it should not have provoked special discussion.

On the other road, in the Ganjam direction, food seems to have been easier to procure, and both daily pay was given for a longer period, and task-work was offered at better rates, so that some considerable relief was there afforded to about 1,200 persons, we are told. There, however, the works were subjected to two unfortunate interruptions, and later, just when things were getting to their worst, the rule of task-work was introduced.

169. Altogether, there can be no doubt that these works failed to fulfil their original intention of giving relief to "large masses of starving poor," since they only employed comparatively small numbers of persons paid in a form which scarcely enabled them to live.

170. We are decidedly of opinion that, in the beginning of February 1866, the time had come when the Government might properly have imported rice into the Pooree district, and we think that the telegrams of Mr. Crommelin and Mr. Ravenshaw of the 24th and 31st January mark the point when either importation should have been ordered to render effective the public works contemplated for the relief of the starving, or special inquiry should have been made which, in all probability, would have brought to light the deficiency of grain and the necessity of importation for purposes still more extended. If grain

grain had been ordered for the works, they might have been immensely extended. Probably the Pooree Relief Committee would have sought to be supplied from a similar source; the want would have been made apparent by the rush of consumers; from other quarters demands would have been freely made; and much might have been done in time which was unfortunately only attempted out of time.

171. But it now appears that the facts never fully came to the knowledge of the Head of the Government of Bengal; and we may properly here—

1st.—Inquire how this defect of information occurred.

2nd.—Inquire how the belief arose that there existed in the country stocks sufficient to feed the people.

3rd.—Explain why private enterprise did not suffice to meet the demand, and why it would have been, in our opinion, proper that Government should, as an exceptional duty, import food.

172. We have attributed great importance to Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January, and the Board's reply of the following day.

The Board do not seem to have looked at the mattter in the same light.

It is pointed out that the correspondence of Mr. Barlow and Mr. Nolan, which we have quoted, was not laid before the Board, that the telegram was in some sense a single and isolated communication, and that the usual official practice would be that an important telegraphic communication would be followed by a full report, which, in this instance, never was sent. So much is true. But, on the other hand, we think that the telegram was on its face, of extreme importance, and that coming in an isolated and sudden way immediately on the return of Mr. Ravenshaw from his tour, it should have received especial attention. If Mr. Ravenshaw had been what we may call a stronger officer, more experienced, better acquainted with the condition of affairs, and more confident in the opinions which he hastily telegraphed, no doubt he would not have been content with a single refusal, but would have pressed the matter; in fact, we think he should have pressed it. It must be remembered, however, that but a short time previous he had received the Board's orders of the 10th January, disapproving of his conduct in permitting inquiry into losses by a drought in very decided terms. About the same time he received the Board's letter of the 26th January, desiring that wages should be paid in cash and not in grain, as a rule settled both by the Board and the Government. His own opinions had generally been that large stocks of grain existed, and his telegram of the 31st January was, as it were, extorted from him by the pressure of the moment. The reply, short, sharp, and decisive, came so quickly as to leave little time for report. On the whole, then, we can hardly be surprised that Mr. Ravenshaw accepted the order as conclusive, though we must regret that he carried it out with such unflinching zeal, and even went considerably beyond it.

173. It appears that the words of which the Board made use in their telegram—"the Government decline to import rice into Pooree"—were not founded on any special communications with the Government, after receipt of Mr. Ravenshaw's telegrams, but only on the Board's general knowledge that it was not the policy of Government to import. As the wording of the telegram was calculated to convey the impression that the particular order was the order of Government, and the result may have been unfortunate in preventing remonstrance at the time, or discussion when his Honor soon after visited the province, we have thought it necessary to inquire under what circumstances it was issued. We find that, on receipt of Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram, the Secretary to the Board made the following note: "We may tell Mr. Ravenshaw that the Government has no intention of importing rice into Pooree. If the prices are such as to make the import of rice profitable, it will find its way there naturally."

1-2-66. *R. B. C.*

Upon this Mr. Grote noted: "Quite so. I presume Mr. Ravenshaw has just returned from his tour, and knows nothing of rice being sold at 12 seers per rupee

rupee in Pooree, and has not heard of our disapproval of paying in rice for labour."

1-2. *A. G.*

Under this Mr. Cockburn's initials are appended; and the telegram went in the form already given.

174. We are compelled here to make the observation that, as long as Mr. Ravenshaw's reports and opinions were in accordance with those of the Board of Revenue, he was considered a most reliable authority; in fact he has been described by that body as "sagacious"; but it seems to us, when he expressed opinions of a contrary tendency, they were sometimes treated without the same respect. In the present instance, his ignorance of that which he ought to have known seems to have been too readily assumed.

175. We have no doubt that the telegram of the 31st January ought to have been communicated to the Government of Bengal. But it is stated that the Members of the Board were then in intimate communication with the Head of the Government, and it is pointed out that within a few days of that time the Lieutenant Governor himself proceeded to Orissa, accompanied by a Member of the Board who had signed the Board's order, so that, in communication with Mr. Cockburn and the local officers on the spot, his Honor had the opportunity of becoming much better acquainted with the facts than the Board were. This brings us to the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Orissa, which we have made the concluding point of the correspondence which we have been analysing.

176. To show what information regarding the famine was in possession of the local officers at that time, we have here placed in the Appendix an abstract of notices in the reports of Mr. Livesay, Assistant Collector, engaged in making inquiries into losses by drought previous to receipt of the Board's orders, and further reports of the District Superintendent of Police. Of the latter, those made to the magistrate seem to have been generally communicated to the Commissioner; those made to the Deputy Inspector General were not formally communicated either to the Magistrate or the Commissioner; but Mr. Lacey states that he was living next door to Mr. Barlow, and in constant communication with him; that, in fact, Mr. Barlow was in full possession of his views. The reports of Mr. Livesay and Mr. Lacey establish with precision the fact (which is also to be generally gathered from the evidence) that throughout the period up to the middle of February, famine of a distressing character may be said to have been constantly present in parts of the district other than Mallood and Parricood, the divisions of Chowbeescood, Rahang, and Gope being much affected.

177. On the 2nd February, the Superintendent of Police makes a record of his opinions, which subsequent events have proved to be singularly correct:— "*Rice 7 seers* per rupee. I fear it will be 3 and 4 seers before we have got through the next six months. A terrible famine is now certain.*" Some reports of the local native officers in the early part of February also suggest a prospect of extreme gloom at a time when so many months of want lay before the people.

178. At this time starvation had appeared at Balasore also, and a great outburst of lawless plunder (from the first attributed to want) had taken place in the district. There is nothing to show that the influx of starving people to the town and station of Balasore had been brought to the Commissioner's notice at the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit, but we have given a list of gang robberies in the Balasore district from the beginning to middle of February, because these cases are reported to the Commissioner, and much of this must have been known to him. The general plunder of grain and the circumstance that in every case the plunderers were recognised, or are said to have been recognised by the plundered, as persons well known to them, sufficiently indicate the character of the crime.

179. The Lieutenant Governor's visit to Orissa was a short one, and occurred in the middle of February. It will be seen that Mr. Cockburn and Colonel Nicolls

* Local seers of 105 rupees.

Nicolls were of the party. It seems to have been understood on the spot that the principal objects of his Honor's visit were to see the irrigation works at Cuttack, and hold a durbar to receive the Native chiefs and zemindars; but his Honor informs us that his objects were of a more general character, and that, so far as his visit had any speciality, it had reference to the famine. His Honor made very little stay at Pooree, having landed there one day (13th February), and left for Cuttack the following evening. At Cuttack his Honor remained from 15th to 19th (one day being a Sunday), and in that time he held a levee and a durbar, visited the public offices, missions, and schools; visited the Irrigation Company's works and anicuts one day, and the Kendraparah Canal another; was entertained at a banquet by the Irrigation Company; and was throughout most accessible to the Natives of all classes (Mr. Ravenshaw's examination). On the evening of the 19th, his Honor left for Calcutta, travelling by way of False Point.

180. We have mentioned these particulars, inasmuch as there seems to have been an unfortunate misunderstanding throughout the visit, the effects of which were very serious. His Honor tells us neither before nor during his visit did the special difficulty regarding the procuring of rice for the labourers, the opinions on the necessity of importing entertained by some of the local officers, nor the correspondence which had passed on the subject, come in any shape to his knowledge. His Honor seems to have remained under the full impression that satisfactory arrangements had been made. He does not remember to have had much conversation with Mr. Cockburn on the subject of the famine, and the misapprehensions of the Board remained undiscovered. Mr. Cockburn was well the day on which the party were at Pooree, but was taken ill that night, and seems never again to have been fit for business. His illness was, we believe, of a peculiarly depressing character, which disinclined him for business, and even for conversation.

181. It is clear that the local officers did not press the facts within their knowledge on the Lieutenant Governor, as they might and should have done. But, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that they had already received what they conceived to be decisive, peremptory, and final orders. Mr. Ravenshaw had, as has been seen, accepted those orders in the fullest degree. He tells us "the idea of a general famine had not at that time entered my head;" and though he says that during the Lieutenant Governor's visit the prevailing scarcity and general difficulty in procuring grain were constant topics of discussion, and that his Honor spoke to him several times on the subject, he adds that he (Mr. Ravenshaw) expressed an opinion that there were probably sufficient stocks of grain in the country, and that though it might be dear, it would be procurable for money. The subordinate officers may possibly have thought that it was not for them to volunteer information in the presence of their chiefs; and the head of the Public Works Department seems to have thought that the duty of providing food having been altogether put on the civil authorities, it was not for him to make representations on the subject. The fact seems to be that only officers of official boldness were likely to speak voluntarily under the circumstances, and the subordinate local officers do not seem to have had that boldness.

182. Our greatest difficulty is to understand why Mr. Barlow and the other local officers of the Pooree district did not make the state of affairs fully known to the Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Livesay and Mr. Lacey, who had seen and reported the distress, and the latter of whom had so recently expressed such strong opinions of the certainty of terrible famine, were both present, and seem to say that, not being asked, they did not speak. The local officers of public works were also well aware of the distress and difficulty about rice. Mr. Nolan's letter of the 16th January has been quoted, and Mr. Crane, overseer of the road close to Pooree, says that when he took charge in the beginning of February, the people were in a wretched and emaciated state; that when the Lieutenant Governor passed, the famine was bad, but not at its worst. Native officers and others had interviews with the Lieutenant Governor, and seem to have spoken generally of the state of the country as bad, and to have said that people were dying, but not to have specifically urged the importation of rice; the fact being that they had not the least hope that Government would under-

take such a duty. His Honor has explained that the visible appearances of famine mentioned by some Native witnesses were not really of the precise character which their statements would imply.

183. As regards Mr. Barlow himself, it is in respect of his reticence at this time, and the character and want of urgency and frequency of his reports in the period immediately subsequent (when the famine was certainly greatly increasing), that we are much embarrassed by his absence; and as he is in England, we would suggest that in justice to an officer who has so honourably distinguished himself in this great crisis, an opportunity should be given to him of explaining his own views and motives; at present we can only conjecture them. He constantly repeats in his letters that he can only state facts, and cannot pretend to be a judge of questions of political economy. The orders which he had received in reply to his proposals to import rice, pay for labour in food, and distribute cooked food regularly at certain central places, were, as it has been seen, of the most decided and final character, and apparently conveyed on the express authority of Government and the Board. It appears that the Board had, in some degree, misapprehended the Government, and failed to apprehend the Commissioner, while the Commissioner had, as it were, over-apprehended the Board, and had, in consequence, issued to Mr. Barlow the orders quoted in our 156th, 157th, and 159th paragraph. The consequence seems to have been that Mr. Barlow did not venture to recur to the subject of importation. Still we cannot but think that the Lieutenant Governor must be mistaken in supposing that Mr. Barlow in any degree acquiesced in the opinion that the stocks in the country were ample. His recent written statements to the contrary were so forcible and so reasonable, that this seems impossible. Mr. Crommelin also could hardly have expressed any such decided opinion—*see* his letter quoted in our 163rd paragraph.

184. As respects the general distress in the Pooree district, it is mentioned by the Lieutenant Governor in the minute communicated to us that it was represented to him that things had not changed for the worse since Mr. Barlow's report of the 29th December was written. In truth that report gave a very gloomy view of matters, and in one respect there certainly had since been a change for the worse, viz., that rice was very much enhanced in price, and the difficulty of procuring it greatly increased. It was, in fact, in February at complete famine price, as we have before shown. It will be observed, too, that almost every one seems to have concurred in the view (derived from universal experience of the course of the seasons) that whatever distress there was in February, it must increase as the season advanced; the most sanguine justified delay and the husbanding of resources on that ground.

185. The Lieutenant Governor, however, informs us that when he visited Pooree, Mr. Barlow's view was not gloomy; that he went over the report of the 29th December, and was told that there was a decided improvement in every place except Gope, and that all that was required was employment for the distressed. We can only suppose that Mr. Barlow, not seeing as we now see, that the full tide of famine had about this time begun to flow in, after the slight relaxation (if it can be called relaxation in Pooree) of the harvest season, and accepting the doctrine of political economy laid down by his superiors, that demand for food would create a supply, was ready to hope that the offer of labour would mitigate the distress.

186. At Cuttack the state of things was different. As we have before explained, the money and labour (to some extent paid in rice) of the Irrigation Company, and perhaps the smaller export of grain, had rendered the distress later, and there was as yet no actual famine. But even there the latest official return (12th February) gave the rate of rice seven to nine Calcutta seers per rupee, a decided famine price, and one which unexplained would distinctly point to severe famine as the season advanced. The opinions entertained regarding the existence of stocks held back by combination, we shall afterwards notice. Meantime it is enough to say that the present existence of these famine prices fully attracted his Honor's attention; so far the people themselves loudly appealed to him by their cries.

187. Of the written petitions presented to his Honor and placed at our disposal

disposal, only one seems distinctly to pray for provision for feeding the poor as its sole object. Most of the others, while describing the distress forcibly enough, make it a ground for asking remissions of revenue. All were referred to the local authorities.

188. His Honor mentions that in Cuttack he scarcely saw any other of the people than the urban population, and among them the great complaint certainly was against the grain dealers; the cry was "cheapen rice," "fix a rate!" In this shape it was that the matter was principally noticed in his Honor's durbar speech, which was printed and circulated to officials and non-officials. He spoke of the calamitous effect of drought, and added, "Such visitations of Providence as these no Government can do much either to prevent or alleviate." He explained that Government could never interfere with prices. "If I were to attempt to do this, I should consider myself no better than a dacoit or thief." His Honor proceeds to say that the duty of relieving individual distress peculiarly rested on zemindars and landed proprietors, and finally added that employment had been given to many thousand persons both on the Irrigation Company's works and on the public roads; "much has thus been done and will continue to be done to avert the more serious consequences of a great calamity."

189. We think it certain that the existing state of things was not fully brought to the Lieutenant Governor's knowledge during his visit to Orissa. It will be seen that his Honor's time was very fully occupied during his short stay. The very facility of access which he afforded to the Natives may have had an unfortunate effect in preventing any general and full consultation with the officers of Government; for we are told that there were no such consultations held. The statements of the zemindars, always aiming at remissions already refused, were naturally regarded with distrust, the urban population gave vent to their feelings in a shape which provoked a just reply, and none had any definite ideas of the duties of Government on such an occasion.

190. Wholly just as was the Lieutenant Governor's reply to those who cried out to cheapen grain by fixing a price, there seems to be no doubt that the general effect of his speech was to create a very considerable feeling of dissatisfaction. The declarations which it contained seem to have been taken by both officials and non-officials as a final exposition of the policy of Government not to interfere otherwise than by providing labour in the mode already arranged. Although, therefore, owing probably to the want of a sufficient understanding, his Honor's visit was not positively important in the history of the famine, it occupies a prominent position in the popular memory, and has a negative importance as having seemed, by what his Honor did not do, to settle the policy of the Government. The idea of the possibility or probability of a widely extended and very severe famine does not seem to have been brought home to his Honor's mind, and no special instructions with a view to such a contingency were left behind him. From that time, in fact, although it is abundantly evident that the famine grew daily, the reports and appeals from the quarters from which they had before been so frequent and so urgent, appear to become less frequent and less urgent. There is no more question of importing rice or paying the labourers in food. The system seems to be more settled, the distress more accepted as a necessary evil, and the reports made to Government and the Board are, till May, principally occupied with details.

191. While we greatly regret that the views of those officers who were aware of the scarcity of rice and of the severity of the distress, present and apprehended, were not properly represented to his Honor, we must also express our opinion that it is an extremely unfortunate circumstance that the information which those officers possessed was not elicited at this time, and that the circumstances which were known did not suffice, as it were, to put the Government of Bengal on inquiry with respect to those which were not known. It is, we think, a subject of great regret that, both at the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit and subsequently, a more intimate relation between the superior and the inferior officers did not bring them more completely into accord; that in consequence most important information possessed by the inferior officers should not have reached the head of the Government. This was the more the case when the local officers were not possessed of special official boldness; and bold-

ness of that sort is the exception, not the rule. There are many things which an officer, if encouraged to speak freely and unofficially, will say, and which he will yet not take upon himself to volunteer. Mr. Ravenshaw distinctly tells us that he discouraged demi-official communications when Mr. Barlow proposed them, and that he had little such communication with his superiors.

It seems especially surprising that the Lieutenant Governor, placing the reliance which he did on public works as the means of relieving the acknowledged distress, should have left the province without discovering that there were circumstances which rendered those works quite ineffectual for the purpose.

192. As respects the existence of ample stores of grain in the province (the second question mentioned in our 171st paragraph), it had been shown that Mr. Ravenshaw originally held the opinion that grain would be forthcoming, and that, notwithstanding he had subsequently recommended the importation of grain, he repeated his former opinion during the Lieutenant Governor's visit. It seems to have been supposed (and we gather that the Right Honourable the Secretary of State so supposed) that this opinion was held by the "local officers" generally. We cannot find such to be the case except perhaps at Cuttack. We cannot think that it was generally held by the officers of the Pooree district, so many of whom had recorded facts and opinions in a contrary sense. In the very commencement in October, the native deputy magistrate used the expression that he was informed that the chiefs of the Pooree monasteries and zemindars had stores "so much so that they can supply the whole district with rice for two years," and (though it does not directly appear) this may in some degree have led to a similar expression on the part of the Commissioner. But it is clear that, within a few days, the deputy magistrate satisfied himself by personal inspection of the stores of the persons supposed to be the chief holders, and entirely changed his opinion. Mr. Barlow, in his very first letter from Pooree, distinctly tells Mr. Ravenshaw that the stores supposed to exist in Cuttack have no existence in Pooree, and his subsequent letters already quoted speak for themselves. Again, nothing can be more distinct and clear than the Collector of Balasore's early expositions of the way in which his district had been drained of stocks, and though at a very much later period (long subsequent to the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit), he seems on one occasion in some degree to have held somewhat different language; this was when the Commissioner had made some stay in his district, and he may not improbably be supposed to have been influenced by the opinions of Mr. Ravenshaw, with whom he seems to have been on terms of personal intimacy. As the Lieutenant Governor mentions, there was no Collector at Cuttack during his stay, and we see no trace of any opinion regarding the existence of stocks left by the Collector who had just quitted the district. The gentleman (Mr. Cornell) who soon after assumed charge did, in a letter written very much later, say "There is sufficient grain concealed or stored for this season, I hope," but he avows that coming new to the district, and being occupied with office details, he made no special inquiries regarding famine, and that having constant communications with the Commissioner, he considered it rather his duty to act in accordance with the Commissioner's instructions than "to originate views of my own."

193. As respects non-official opinions, there can be no doubt that the general idea that the dealers were keeping back their stocks in order to enhance the price was held very strongly by the great majority of the people of the town of Cuttack, and probably of other towns. The populace held it very decidedly, and very many or perhaps most people of respectable classes shared in it, yet, on the other hand, most of the more trustworthy persons disavow it. Mr. Ravenshaw can give no express authority for it, and we cannot see that any sufficient basis for the opinion can in any way be shown. Some of the subordinate officers of the Irrigation Company may have shared the popular notion, but it is quite shown that their superiors did not; on the contrary, they had imported grain for the use of their own labourers, and both they and the missionaries seem to have written to England accounts pointing strongly towards famine. In almost all countries in time of dearness and scarcity, the popular feeling is excited against the grain dealers, and they are accused of trafficking on the necessities of their countrymen. We must think that Mr. Ravenshaw's view was rather a yielding to this popular feeling than a well-balanced opinion supported by that of officers of greater local experience than himself.

194. The

194. The truth we take to be that, in some shape, there must have been a considerable quantity of grain in the country. If there had not been this, then, in the absence of any extensive importation, almost the whole population must have perished, and the fields must have remained unsown; that so many survived, and that most of the land was sown, can only be attributed to the existence of certain stocks in certain hands. But that there were stocks in the sense of ample stores for all, only kept back by artificial combination, was an idea wholly opposed to the *primâ facie* probabilities of the case (as noticed in the Board of Revenue's first report), which only the best evidence could justify, and for which in fact there was no real and substantial evidence or justification whatever. Popular opinion accused certain classes of keeping back grain, and even among those classes some excused themselves by pointing to others as the persons who should properly be attacked; but with the exception of indicating four or five well-known persons who had stores, large in themselves, but a mere trifle as respects the whole country, no man could really put his finger on the real holders of the supposed great stocks.

195. The third question for discussion remains. Our reasons for thinking that in February 1866, supposing the Government to have been in possession of the information which was in fact possessed by the local officers, it would have been proper for Government to take measures for importing grain into the Pooree district, or to make more special inquiries on the subject, are the following:

Great destitution certainly existed in the Pooree district, giving rise to extreme suffering and considerable mortality. It was evident that this distress must increase as the season advanced, unless effectual relief were afforded. The papers now brought to light clearly show that rice was not to be had in the district in any considerable quantity, and, already at famine prices, any attempt to buy to any extent sent it higher. The possibility of relieving the people by public works on a large scale entirely depended on a supply of rice. Without rice to supply the labourers, such works were nearly useless. Government, therefore, accepting the duty of affording relief in some shape in time of famine, the only question should have been whether the want of rice would be relieved by private importations, or whether Government must undertake the duty.

196. We have already said enough of the position of Orissa, of the character of the people, and of the very wide range of the dearness of the season 1865–66, to explain why importations did not from the first flow in. It was not in fact till the end of January or February that the quoted prices would have justified an enterprising trader in importing rice into Pooree. The local traders are wholly unenterprising, and they were wholly unaccustomed to such a trade. The mercantile faculty seems to be very much a matter of race; both among Bengalees and Ooryahs that faculty appears to be extremely wanting. Neither are the proper bunneah castes or races of Northern India found in Orissa in any numbers, nor is their place taken by any other energetic class. The principal mistake of the Orissa traders seems to have been a negligence which permitted prices to become somewhat unduly cheap (the circumstances considered), when a part of the small crop was thrown into the market by the demand for rents. Their only idea seems to be to buy as cheap as possible at that season, and sell dearer or advance on exorbitant terms as the season advances. When the season advanced and prices rose, these men had not, as a rule, the energy to attempt to import from a distance. And in fact import was far from easy. On the land side there was nothing considerable to import, and that little the rajahs would not permit to be taken away. The Mahanudde would be closed for several months to come. To the south there was famine in Ganjam, itself a district which usually imported. Pooree cannot be called a port; there are no ships. Unluckily, as we may almost say, Balasore, the only port in Orissa where something might have been done by Native merchants, was the last place to experience the extreme rise in prices. The local traders there were at this time doing nothing or next to nothing. Again, the news of the rise in prices at Pooree would take some time to reach more distant traders, unaccustomed to import grain into Orissa; they would take further time to think about it, and ascertain that the rise was certain and lasting. But in the end of February or in March, the monsoon changes, the south-

south-west winds commence, the surf becomes heavy, access from the north and east difficult. In short, in March, the Native trade in that coast absolutely ceases. Nothing material was to be looked for from that source.

197. There remains the question whether European merchants might have been expected to import in European vessels. Trade does not very easily adopt new channels. Such unaccustomed operations on such a coast, with no agencies, and no facilities for landing and storing, would be at all times difficult, and from the time of the change in the monsoon becomes especially so. The difficulties increase till the proper monsoon bursts in June, and then (as a sad experience has now proved) they become overwhelming. Importations, therefore, in European vessels, were hardly to be expected, certainly not to be depended on, and in fact none took place.

198. In truth all question of interfering with private trade is set at rest by the simple fact that there was at this time none to interfere with, and the very small trade, which extreme necessity subsequently created, was not really interfered with when Government importations commenced. The demand was very far more than could be satisfied by any means.

199. We may here explain what this subsequent trade was. Gopalpore, in the Madras district of Ganjam, and about 60 or 90 miles from Pooree, seems to be a place of considerable commercial activity, and when the scarcity and famine occurred in that district, and the usual supplies from Orissa were cut off, there seems to have been considerable private importation by sea to Gopalpore. But if the necessities of the Ganjam people were great, those of the Pooree people were greater, and as the season advanced, the rich people of Pooree drew from thence some supplies of sea-borne rice, small indeed and not enough to reach the mass of people, but which still seem to have had the effect of keeping prices one degree better than the point which they reached when at their worst in Cuttack and Balasore. One convoy of Gopalpore rice even reached Cuttack. It is evident, however, that when necessity caused the better classes of Pooree to draw in this indirect way these small foreign supplies by competing against another famine district, rice might, with great advantage, have been landed at Pooree. The Gopalpore Roadstead, it may be mentioned, seems to be just as exposed as Pooree, and when the season farther advanced, the supply from thence became even dearer and scarcer than before.

200. At Balasore, late in the season, one or two attempts to import were made, but with very little success, and some of the native ships employed were wrecked. It was not till the end of the season, when the monsoon subsided, that there were considerable imports to this port. In May and June, when prices had reached a high famine point, there was a small import on bullocks' backs down the road from Midnapore (also a famine district), and the Collector very properly let this trade take its own course, declining to hire the bullocks till they were stopped by the rains.

201. The only European firm which might perhaps have been expected to import, by way of False Point, was that of the French merchants already alluded to, Messrs. Robert & Charriol, who had formerly exported by that route. Their last cargo had been exported in June 1865; some grain subsequently purchased for export was re-sold in Orissa when prices rose. They had laid up their boats, put aside their gear, and given up the trade. As the season advanced and prices became higher and higher, they did think of importing, but the difficulties of landing and transporting grain were then excessive; the country was disorganised by famine and plunder, and nothing was done till Government guaranteed and bought their cargoes.

202. Here we may mention a sad and curious episode. When the Board did *not* send rice to the distressed part of the Pooree district in the beginning of December, they mentioned that a vessel was leaving on private account for Gopalpore. The name of that vessel we have not learned, but about that time one vessel we know did leave Calcutta with rice for Gopalpore and Madras, the French ship "Philaneme," belonging to Messrs. Robert & Charriol, who, however, did not own the cargo. It seemed as if a kind Providence had destined for Pooree the rice of which that district had been disappointed, for the "Philaneme" was wrecked on the beach at Pooree on the 11th December, and the cargo was

was got safely ashore with the exception of a small portion somewhat damaged. It was long guarded from the famishing people by a police force, and it was the expectation that it would be sold, which has been mentioned as at that time somewhat deranging the Pooree market. But unfortunately there was a dispute between the owners and insurers whether the cargo should be treated as a total loss, and though Messrs. Charriol were well aware that the most advantageous course was to sell, and strongly advised it, neither party would take upon himself to give the order to the captain of the vessel, since that might have been to accept the loss. Mr. Barlow, looking to his own price currents, and perhaps expecting to buy cheap, under the circumstances, proposed to buy 13 Calcutta seers per rupee; but that price would have involved a loss on the whole transaction, which no one would accept, and he was told by the owners of the ship that the rice could not be sold. It now appears that there was a very simple mode of getting over the difficulty, viz., to have offered such a price as would have covered the whole cost and left no loss to any one. In the beginning of February the prices quoted at Pooree (to say nothing of the necessities) would have amply justified such an offer, and though the captain on the spot could not sell a grain, if the Government and the Board (who had both been informed of the matter) had been then disposed to buy, they might no doubt have arranged the question in Calcutta; but they were then altogether opposed to buying on Government account; the opportunity was lost, and the cargo of the "Philaneme," after lying at Pooree till the end of February, was actually carried away to Madras in a steamer (on account of the captain, who, in the absence of instructions, was forced to act on his charter party), and sold at a heavy loss to all concerned.

203. It seems to have been in some quarters considered that the importation of food by Government, either directly or through contractors, would have been a proceeding of an almost unprecedented character, as in fact one which involved the sweeping away of the established landmarks of society. That seems to be the view taken by Mr. Chapman in a memorandum which he has communicated to us. In a paper on famine relief by Mr. Strachey, submitted by the Board of Revenue to Government in February 1866 (Appendix), and of which they recommended the publication as calculated "to dissipate some of the ignorant prejudices that are so prevalent just now," Mr. J. S. Mill is quoted as follows:—
"Direct measures at the cost of the State to procure food from a distance are expedient when, from peculiar reasons, the thing is not likely to be done by private speculation. In any other case they are a great error. Private traders will not, in such cases, venture to compete with the Government, and though a Government can do more than any one merchant, it cannot do nearly as much as all merchants."

The exception when "from peculiar reasons the thing is not likely to be done by private speculation" seems entirely applicable to the case under discussion, and to have been entirely overlooked. In fact, however, Mr. Strachey's note was not published as the Board proposed, but was rejected by the Government of Bengal (Appendix) on the 11th February, as containing only principles familiar to every educated person, and relating to a state of things which did not then exist, and likely to lead to misapprehension.

It is true that, so far as we know, in the North-Western Provinces, in 1837–38, and certainly in 1861, Government did not import grain. But there again the quotation from Mr. Mill fully applies. An energetic trading class was willing to do, and did do, the work (for which there were also much greater facilities than in Orissa) very much better than Government could have done it. It is also the case that Colonel Smith, having, no doubt, in view the state of things in Northern India, publishes an old order of the Government of India during a former scarcity, by which bounties were offered on importation, as (it may be assumed) an example of the false ideas of former days. But, on the other hand, in Ireland, so near all the resources of British commerce, on the very first symptoms of famine, the Government seems to have imported food; and throughout the Irish famine, administrations, composed from either side of politics, appear to have largely undertaken the supply of food to the starving people.

It is, we think, by applying general principles without regard to local circumstances that error arises in such matters. If only as an employer of labour in

in Orissa, we think that Government would have been justified in taking the most effectual means of paying that labour in the shape most effective for the object in view; and if so much had been done in February, we believe, as we have said, that the matter would not have stopped there; the ice being, as it were, broken, many and great necessities would have been pressed with irresistible force, and much might have been done in the months which elapsed before the setting in of the violent monsoon in June.

204. We understand that after the Lieutenant Governor's return from Orissa, the question of importing grain into that province was the subject of discussion between his Honor and his Excellency the Viceroy. It is mentioned by the Lieutenant Governor that his Excellency was strongly inclined to do so, but yielded to the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor and others, that it was not expedient or necessary. We have no details of the personal communications which passed between the members of the Governments of India and Bengal, and as no official communication seems to have been made to the Government of India in February, we need not further allude to matters within the knowledge of that Government to whom our report is submitted.

205. But as we shall have little more to say of local applications for the import of grain in the ensuing months, we may here notice a suggestion of the same kind shortly afterwards received from another quarter. We allude to the letter addressed by Major General Sir A. Cotton to the Under Secretary of State for India, and transmitted to the Government of India, who, on the 12th March 1866, called on the Government of Bengal to "report whether the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor considers it necessary for the Government to take any further steps than those already authorised with a view to relieve and assist the people." (*See* the Correspondence, Appendix.)

206. Sir A. Cotton's suggestions had reference to "the immediate prospect of famine in Bengal," meaning, it may be gathered, the territories subject to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. After explaining the nature of the arrangements necessary for the efficient conduct of public works on a large scale as measures of relief, General Cotton alludes to the extensive works planned and in course of partial execution by the East Indian Irrigation Company, states, that their operations are only limited by want of funds, and strongly recommends that money should be advanced to them, to enable them to extend their operations as the famine placed labour at their disposal. He then goes on to recommend the immediate construction of a large flotilla to provide for the carriage of enormous masses of food from the eastward.

207. There can be no doubt of the great advantage of the measures of precaution in regard to public works recommended by General Cotton. But it so happened that the great roads running through the length of Orissa had been long ago designed, and useful employment for almost any quantity of labour might have been found on them, in raising great embankments, collecting metal, and such like works eminently suited to famine relief. Superintendence and other means might probably have also been found sufficient to enable the Government to employ all who would come upon the works; food only was wanting. We also believe that the Irrigation Company were not directly prevented by want of funds from employing all the labour that offered on their works. But a larger supply of food would have enabled them to employ more labour on their existing works, and possibly to extend their works, and it seems probable that the offer of funds would have led to their importing food at this time. The whole question, therefore, is in this instance narrowed to one of food. On this point the suggestion regarding a flotilla has now a melancholy interest, for, although we do not think that even then the information available to Government and the time and circumstances were such that the Government could well have undertaken the construction of a great flotilla, we now know that if but a few cargo boats and two or three light steamers and vessels had been taken up in the port of Calcutta, and sent down to the coasts of Orissa, incalculable good might have been done. Not only might an immediate supply of rice have been landed for public works and other most pressing necessities, but when the greater necessity arose in the monsoon season, large quantities of grain might have been very quickly conveyed from False Point into the interior in several directions by river steamers towing good boats, when, as it happened, small quantities were very slowly and painfully,

painfully, and with much loss, conveyed by miserable boats struggling inefficiently against wind and current. Light steamers and native vessels might also have been engaged, and might have well supplied the Dhamrah and Balasore Rivers.

208. But we have already explained the circumstances which led the Government of Bengal to think importation unnecessary. We have shown that the Government had, in the first instance, generally, and the Board of Revenue afterwards more expressly and particularly, declined to import,—that the special circumstances rendering such action on the part of Government proper, were not brought to the Lieutenant Governor's notice, and did not attract his attention during his visit to Orissa, and that the Commissioner and townspeople of Cuttack had a confident belief in the existence of stores of grain, only kept back by grain dealers to enhance the price. Hence it happened that the Government of Bengal reported on the 28th March (Appendix) that there was no prospect of famine in Bengal; that in Orissa, where the scarcity was greatest, the wants of the people had been materially relieved by public works and those of the Irrigation Company; that the case was not so pressing as to justify the Government in advancing money to the Company, and that as respects food, there was "no reason to suppose that the stock in the country is insufficient for the consumption of the people."

209. There is one statement in the letter of the Bengal Government of the 28th March, for which we cannot in any way account. It is this—"the natural fluctuation of prices has been found sufficient to attract food to the districts in which it was scarcest." This was certainly not the case. It may have been so in Behar, a Hindostanee country full of the energetic bunneeahs of Hindoostan. We believe that Gya, one of the districts in which there was much alarm in the early part of the season, was relieved in this way (there were great complaints in some of the adjoining Bengalee districts that their sufferings were aggravated by the export of grain to Gya), but it was not so either in Bengal or in Orissa. There was no doubt large trade from the eastwards to Calcutta, but the most suffering western districts of Bengal were never relieved by any sufficient private trade, and to Orissa there was scarcely any import whatever. About this time very small quantities of grain began to find their way from Gopalpore to Pooree, but that was then a mere drop in the ocean, and does not seem to have been reported till much later. In their report of the 25th November, the Board of Revenue had said generally: "The Board hear everywhere of grain being in movement, and they have no doubt that the laws of demand and supply are everywhere in full and active operation," but as regards Orissa, their only subsequent report on the point was that in which they stated prices in Pooree to be insufficient to attract importers. We cannot find anything in the reports to justify a belief that in March a sufficiency of food *had been* attracted from elsewhere to the districts which were most suffering.

210. Our next series of local correspondence (Appendix) comprises the period from the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to the end of May. All the statements show clearly (what is also to be gathered from the correspondence) that during this period the famine grew and spread throughout Orissa till it reached enormous proportions. The price of grain increased to more and more severe famine rates, it became scarcer and scarcer, and starvation became more and more general. In April the price of the very coarsest rice had reached 6½ Calcutta seers per rupee both in Pooree and in Cuttack, fully five times the average ordinary price of food; yet in the whole three months, from the middle of February to the middle of May, the subject of public importation by Government is scarcely mentioned and never directly applied for in the local official reports. That subject seems to have been regarded as completely settled and disposed of. We have put together the local correspondence of this period, regarding each district of Orissa separately, reserving the general correspondence respecting the province as a whole for another series.

211. In the Pooree series the first paper shows that the District Superintendent's opinion of the probability of severe famine was reported to the Inspector General of Police.

212. The Lieutenant Governor had left directions for a report regarding cholera,

cholera, and also, it appears, regarding relief measures; the latter direction being officially conveyed in a letter of the 21st February, desiring "a further report, up to the present date, as to what has been done, and what more is required." The report on cholera was submitted in the shape of a letter from the Superintendent of Police, who concluded as follows:—"In a time of scarcity and distress like the present, when unwholesome food, such as 'lotus stems,' the core of the screw-pine, and various wild roots and fruits are resorted to, and in many instances wholly depended on, as food, and when the great majority of the people are reduced to short allowance and have to deny themselves many small matters necessary to health, a disease like cholera is intensified, and there is reason to apprehend that as the distress increases, which is apparently unavoidable, the sickness will increase."

In reply to the call of the 21st February, Mr. Barlow, on the 5th March, asked for time till he could see for himself, and adds this sentence, certainly remarkable after his former very urgent representations: "I may at once state that, for the present time at any rate, I do not consider any further remedial measures on the part of Government are necessary." It will shortly be seen that in some degree he explains this himself; but we think that it must be considered as written under the feeling that the importation of rice had been conclusively negatived, rather than as indicating that he did not consider it desirable; and that the general expression of opinion is materially qualified by the words "on the part of Government," is evident from the cotemporary proceedings. On the 25th February, we have the first formal proceedings of the Pooree Relief Committee drafted by Mr. Barlow's own hand, in which he speaks of general gratuitous relief as "impracticable both in view of the magnitude of the distress prevailing and the smallness of the funds available." Local funds being thus insufficient, it seems to have been arranged that an appeal should be made to a wider public. At first, we are told, it was settled that the Native Deputy Magistrate should write to the native papers, and the European officers to the English papers; but the latter measure was not at the time carried out.

The Deputy Magistrate, as a Member of the Relief Committee, did write a strong, and it may be called an official, appeal to the "Hindoo Patriot," and Mr. Barlow approved of his conduct. Baboo Ramakhoy's appeal was published by the "Hindoo Patriot" on the 5th March, and strongly supported by the paper.

The Baboo says (Appendix): "Starvation, in its literal sense, is to be seen in every part of the district. When such is the state of things seen during the harvest season, it is impossible to imagine what disastrous consequences will follow in a short time;" and he makes a very touching appeal for aid. Mr. Barlow's allusions to a "prompt result" seems rather to be to the publication and earnest support of the paper than to pecuniary result, since money appears to have come in with extreme slowness. Indeed, it may be generally observed that all local appeals to the general public failed; nothing but a *general* fund seems to satisfy the general public. Later, when the Magistrate and Collector of Balasore made an appeal for his district, referring contributors to Mr. Chapman, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, we find Mr. Chapman shortly after announcing that only 10 rupees had been received; not enough to pay for the advertisement.

213. Mr. Barlow himself wrote to Mr. Schalch, then Chairman of the Calcutta Municipality and Commissioner of Police, asking if he knew of any fund from which relief could be given. Mr. Schalch has not kept the letter, but remembers the circumstance, and that he wrote to Mr. D. Cowie, asking if there was any balance of the Cyclone Fund. Mr. Cowie does not remember the circumstance; but there was no balance of the Cyclone Fund available for the purpose, and the matter dropped. It was certainly unfortunate that the balance of the North-West Fund was not then discovered and used.

214. We have next, details regarding sanction for the sums required from the Government Estates Fund* to carry on the Khoorda-road, already authorised and commenced, and to make an advance of 1,000 rupees for seed grain to the ryots

* This is a fund formed by a per-centage on the rents reserved for improvements in Government estates.

ryots of a Government estate, which last proposal the Commissioner opposed, but the Board and Government sanctioned. The letters regarding the works are full of the usual struggle about task-work, which the local officers tried to enforce, and the labourers resisted. Liberal task-rates were offered by Mr. Barlow and Mr. Barton (the assistant in charge of the Khoorda sub-division), who were both very zealous and active about the works; but many refused the terms, and the numbers were reduced in consequence. The Commissioner says:—"It will be observed, in connection with Mr. Barlow's paragraphs 4 and 5, that the rates allowed for piece-work give fully two annas per day to each workman, and notwithstanding this, many have absconded, the piece-work system not being agreeable to them. This would lead to a supposition that either the people are not really starving, or that they can get more remunerative employment elsewhere. This is, I think, a healthy sign, showing that the work is answering the purpose for which it was undertaken, viz., to afford means of subsistence to the really destitute."

And the Board "concur with the Commissioner that the work now in progress upon the road is answering the purpose for which it was undertaken." Mr. Barlow, however, explains (Appendix) that the earth is at that season terribly hard; that starving people come in from famine localities (Khoorda was not yet very bad), who "simply can't live on what they could make by piece-work; their condition shocks Barton, and there is not one soul among them fit for piece-work;" the "incapables are multiplying," and for them he found it necessary to provide lighter work. The Commissioner agreed that from such people full work could not be expected for a time, and promised that money should not be wanting. Mr. Barton tells us that the average number of persons employed on this road was 763. The great difficulty and hindrance, he says, was want of rice; but the people were scattered in small gangs over a great length of road to enable them to forage for themselves in the villages, and up to a certain point managed to get food, though with great loss of time.

215. On the 30th March Mr. Barlow submits his general report (Appendix); but he does not seem to have considered that the whole state of the district was his subject, and, in fact, confines himself to details of relief works and operations. The Local Famine Fund made a small money allowance to 376 distressed families, but the result of a canvass among the landholders for funds was very discouraging. There was a considerable subscription for building the Naraindra tank. The works on the Government estate of Satparah seem to have afforded very great relief of a purely local character; but the money was fast going in maintaining "an indiscriminate mass of men, women, and little children" doing "a miscellaneous, and pardoned it must be, if often it be, but nominal work." Some of the "*comparatively*" able-bodied were struck off and told to go elsewhere, who again, on coming to the Khoorda road, were those whose condition shocked Mr. Barton, as above-mentioned.

216. As respects the works of the Public Works Department, the employment on the Pooree road was still confined to about 100 persons, and this was then principally attributed to the introduction of task-work. Mr. Crane, who was in charge, however, tells us (examination) that in the emaciated condition of the people, the rates did not suffice to enable them to earn a livelihood. On the Ganjam road things seem to have been at their best in March, when Mr. Barlow reported, and to have employed a considerable number of people. Rice was not so scarce to the north of the Chilka Lake (near the hills and on the Ganjam road) as in other parts of the district, and with much trouble the labourers managed to live. But the cholera, alluded to by Mr. Barlow, frightened the establishments, and unhappily this work suffered a considerable interruption about this time.

217. Mr. Barlow concludes his report as follows:—"To the question asked by the Government order, what more is required, I have already returned an anticipatory answer, to the effect that, as matters stand at present, I do not consider that anything further in the way of assistance is required, and I cannot feel that such an answer as this on my part is likely to be misunderstood, or to be the means of tying my hands hereafter if necessity compels me to come forward with further and new proposals for assistance on the part of Government. By saying that nothing further is now required, I do not mean to say that suffering and distress is completely at an end and the country enjoying even a comparative degree of prosperity; again, neither do I imply that

that if I were to follow up many of the suggestions that have been offered me, I could not recommend various subjects for outlay and expenditure under the general plea that relief would be occasioned to some or other in scattered localities; but this is not the course which, I understand, it behoves me to take under present conditions. Government, in the pursuit of a liberal policy (the wisdom of which and the great advantages obtained to the district thereby are better perceived each day that the condition of affairs become more apparent), having been pleased to entertain many of the propositions which I have ventured to make for the object of affording the needed relief, I feel bound in every manner to exercise the strictest caution, and if I may so explain it, keep myself under the strongest restrictions in the matter of advancing suggestions as to what may be required from time to time, and it is my desire to propose nothing unless I can show at the same time how the measure is required for the support, extension, or substitution of the regular system of operation now in hand. It is in this view, then, and as seeing no particular measure at present called for, that I reply, as I have done, to the query of Government, implying, as it appears to do, a promise of further assistance at such times as it may appear necessary."

It seems to us that at this time Mr. Barlow honestly, accepting the policy and rules of action laid down for him, threw himself heart and soul into the system of works, and sanguinely hoped to mitigate the distress by their means. His ideas were not sufficiently large, and he did not frame his demands on a sufficient scale. They were inadequate to the magnitude of the object in view. But he made the most of all that was then in his power. As Mr. Barton tells us, his head was full of roads.

In truth it may well be doubted whether, without importation of rice, public works could have been extended with any advantage whatever. The difficulty which was barely, to a certain extent, got over in Khoorda and north of the Chilka Lake would have been insuperable in other parts of the district. On the subject of importation of rice, Mr. Barlow is again, we see, silent.

218. In forwarding Mr. Barlow's report, Mr. Ravenshaw says:—"The difficulty in obtaining even a salaried retailer of grain is almost incredible. I had suggested to Mr. Barlow to give a monthly salary to a moodee or grain-dealer to sell at current market rates to coolies, opening a temporary shop near their work, paying the moodee from the subscribed relief fund; but this, it appears, has been found impossible. This disinclination to sell rice is very remarkable, and results, I am inclined to suppose, from fear of a crush of purchasers, and inability to satisfy them, which might lead to loss, and certainly to some confusion and annoyance."

The Board and the Government think Mr. Barlow's report most satisfactory, and entirely approve of the measures adopted by him.

219. From the 30th March, for nearly six weeks, there is a singular blank, in fact, an entire cessation of reports from Pooree; and yet this was the period during which the famine was gradually assuming its largest dimensions, as shown both in the evidence and in the subsequent reports. In the Pooree district it both commenced earlier and progressed more gradually and steadily than elsewhere. The officers became, as it were, more habituated to it, and, as has been already said, the system of money relief did not bring starvation to view so much as did food at Balasore. The policy was considered to be settled. Mr. Ravenshaw went far away to Mohurbhunj. Mr. Barlow was not in personal communication with any of the higher authorities, and till things had reached a very extreme pitch, he kept silence.

220. In April we have in the papers but very small glimpses of the state of things. A note of the 16th of that month, which we found in the magistrate's office (Appendix), seems to suggest large mortality of some kind in Pooree itself. Trenches are being dug to receive the bodies. We have inserted an abstract of reports (up to end of April) of the local police officers, and of notices volunteered by some of the Canoongoes, who had been ordered to report the price of food. These seem sufficiently to show the progress of the distress and the increasing scarcity of rice. On the 30th April, the superintendent of police notes in his departmental police diary, "No steps are being taken that I am aware of by the Government in the matter of the famine in this district. I cannot doubt that scores of men, women, and children have died of absolute want,

want, and many more must die, for matters are proceeding from bad to worse day by day. In the town there are a few hundred beggars of both sexes, who have come here as a last resort. They get supplied with a small pittance now and then by the muth people, and eke out a belly full by snatching at shops and passengers with anything eatable. One, two, and three of these wretched specimens of humanity are now and then picked up dead in the streets, dead of starvation. Can nothing be done? A few ship-loads of rice landed at Pooree would work wonders, and interfere with no one's trading operations, as we have next to none. It would make rice cheap at Pooree, and stop the drain to supply Pooree from the mofussil. When it is said the poor people are fast consuming their seed rice, so as to ensure beggary for another season, dacoity and thefts by large gangs of poor men are increasing, altogether, I think, a very gloomy time is coming." It is remarkable, however, that even he did not then seem to realise the full extent of the calamity present or close at hand, for he concludes, "If there is any failure of crop this year, a dreadful famine will depopulate the district." We may here, indeed, say that although many people anticipated very severe famine, we do not think that any single person anticipated anything like the full degree to which it actually reached before the harvest of 1866.

221. Early in May, an extreme pitch of misery having been reached, Mr. Barlow broke silence, and a series of long letters from him, giving full details, will be found in the Appendix. He first, on the 9th May, addressed the public press, seeking the aid of the charitable public. On the 10th he addressed a full report to the Commissioner; but this time we have no more emergent telegrams or direct appeals to the superior authorities in Calcutta. The report followed Mr. Ravenshaw to the distant wilds of Mohurbhunj, and by that circuitous route did not reach Government till near the end of May. Mr. Chapman having (individually, not as Secretary to the Board) sent some money collected by him, and sought information, another long letter was addressed to him on the 15th May, and was published by Mr. Chapman in the "Englishman." In all these letters Mr. Barlow explains that he may have erred on the side of excessive caution; he had feared to excite public alarm by accounts which might prove exaggerated. He followed "the principle of resisting mere rumour and speculation" till the facts were quite assured by the state of things before his own eyes, so that there could be no danger of his misleading; but while willing to accept the blame of the delay, if blame there was, he asserted his caution to be "only a basis for claiming greater confidence" in his present accounts. He said that not less than half the area of the district had reached that state of exhaustion "wherein death by starvation is of common occurrence," and gave further accounts in detail of the past history and progress of famine in his district, the substance of which we have in great degree anticipated. There can be no doubt that in May the Pooree district reached a state even worse than Mr. Barlow's description. In the other districts, the worst of the famine certainly came later; but with respect to Pooree, there is, it will be seen from the examinations, considerable difference of opinion as to whether May and June were not as bad or worse than July and August. In truth the Pooree district suffered, on the whole, more than any other district, not so much from greater, or even perhaps so great extremity, at any one time, as from the longer continuance of very fatal suffering.

222. As respects remedial measures, Mr. Barlow, after describing the total inadequacy of the local means, "which at the most may have availed to save a few amongst many from destruction," and mentioning his appeal to the public press, says—(on the 10th May, Appendix) "It will take time to ascertain what result can follow this action. Meanwhile, I have to consider what recommendations it becomes my duty to submit for the orders of Government."

"The fullest and most anxious consideration of the subject has failed to help me out of difficulty here, and I must at once own that I am unprepared with any definite and comprehensive proposal. When the labour system, that is as a general medium of relief, is at an end, and the only remedy is to support a starving population by gratuitous charity, I do not know what, in a political economical point of view, are the exact duties and responsibilities of Government. I must, therefore, leave that question to be decided by higher authority; but in a few matters of detail, I venture respectfully to submit suggestions which I trust may be received with favour.

"I see clearly that a most urgent call for aid exists in the direction of Gope. It has been so from the first; but owing to the circumstance that the property in that direction being zemindaree, has not afforded opportunity for such works as have been undertaken in Government estates, nothing has yet been done there."

And after saying that he will push on a road in the Gope division, he adds, "The next thing I have to urge is, that something be done to meet the wants of the homeless poor, who are wandering in a starving condition about the country, and have in numbers found refuge in the town. It is a different question from that of the general system of relief for the whole country, which has been referred to above. When want is brought before the very eyes of Government in the form of starving people, besieging the houses of its officers, such a position is hard to be maintained. The Local Relief Committees, most anxious to afford relief, are helpless, as with 435 families at a monthly outlay of more than 1,000 rupees to support, their funds are already appropriated, and there is no hope of sufficient increase to the fund by subscriptions from local sources. Will Government consent to supplement our efforts by an allowance not exceeding 500 rupees a month, to be expended in the special object of supporting orphan children and such other cases of real and deserving distress as may be ascertained to exist at the head quarters of the district? I ask the favour of an early answer to this question, as the matter is pressing.

"I must not omit to call attention to the difficulties which, in looking forward to the coming prospects of the district, may be foreseen in one respect. It is plain that the setting in of the rains, by putting a stop to the public works operations, that are at present affording some relief to the distress, will, by throwing those employed out of work at once, bring a large addition to the paupers now prevailing; how are these persons to be supported? I can see no alternative, unless they can be supported altogether by charity."

223. Mr. Ravenshaw had already reported to Government in vivid terms the distress in Balasore; but the following passage from his report (of 18th May, Appendix), forwarding that of Mr. Barlow, will here show that he, too, had now recognised the extent of the calamity, and the necessity of Government action.

"What Mr. Barlow describes as to the utter prostration of the people is amply confirmed by my own observations in other parts of the country, and I fully support Mr. Barlow's opinion that the time has now come when it will be necessary for Government to step in to save these helpless objects from a lingering and miserable death.

"Our action hitherto has been confined to affording an adequate wage for labour, and in so doing, I am of opinion, we have adheredto a sound and proper principle; but the state of affairs now is quite exceptional, and the relief works, even in connection with private charity, have been found totally inadequate to avert a famine, or to save a large class of people from actual starvation.

"I can fully corroborate Mr. Barlow's account of the condition of the people in Pooree from my own observations in Cuttack, Balasore, and in the tracts situated in the southern portions of Mohurbhunj and Nilghery tributary estates, where there are swarms of destitute and mendicants, physically incapable of any description of labour, absolutely without the means of subsistence, and whom nothing can save from destruction, but an extended system of gratuitous charity.

"The most miserable objects are the women and children, many of their husbands having succumbed either to famine or cholera, or emigrated in search of employment. They are left totally unprovided for and incapable of providing for themselves.

"Letters daily coming in from Balasore and Cuttack, speak of the uncontrolled crowds of mendicants who swarm in the streets, either begging or stealing, and to many of whom a drink of water in which rice has been boiled, obtained from those who are fortunate enough to have rice, is nearly the whole means of supporting life.

"I am now in camp in Mohurbhunj, and have no reason to suppose the state of distress here is so great as in the regulation districts; having been encamped here in a large mangoe tope for some days, the accumulation of beggars, men, women, and children, in the last stage of hunger, disease, and attenuation, is so great that the very air is polluted. They have no life or energy, and are entirely

tirely subsisting, to the number of upwards of 400, on a small supply of rice I have daily distributed. Even the distinctions and prejudices of caste have given way to the pangs of hunger, and every particle of food from my own table is eagerly devoured."

His ideas, however, of the aid to be expected from public sources are still very limited, for, as respects remedial measures, in addition to 3,000 rupees sanctioned from local funds for the Gope-road, he seems only to have proposed as follows:—

"I appeal to the liberality and sympathy of Government to support these Relief Committees by a monthly grant of 500 rupees to each district of Pooree, Balasore, and Cuttack. Such support would doubtless encourage local subscriptions, and I will personally guarantee that no efforts will be spared by the Local Committees to distribute the funds thus afforded for the support of those only who are legitimate objects of charity.

"In connection with the District Relief Committees, I propose to establish separate orphanages for destitute children, to whom I consider special attention should be directed, and to which a proportion of available funds can be devoted. For these orphanages, the missionaries at Balasore, Cuttack, and Piplee in Pooree, will, I have every reason to expect, give their assistance in organising and superintending."

224. On the 28th May the Government of Bengal (Appendix), acknowledging the reports of Messrs. Barlow and Ravenshaw, say that the Commissioner had been already informed that funds had been placed at the disposal of the Board of Revenue for the relief of the distressed districts, and that a further sum had been placed at the disposal of the Public Works Department. Further mention of these grants will be made; suffice it here to say that no rice was sent by Government to the Pooree district, though a grant of money was made. There had been, it will be seen, no direct application for the importation of rice even at this time, although it was applied for from and sent to other districts.

225. It may be here well to summarise briefly, so far as our materials will permit, the relief afforded in the Pooree district by the different public relief works from January to the end of May. We have generally no exact account of the number of persons employed on the various works, no such returns being made, and we are obliged to make an approximate calculation with reference to the amount of money expended. Of the sum of 69,000 rupees granted in December for special relief works of the Public Works Department, but 25,000 rupees had been expended to the end of May; and it will be seen that the whole amount of employment afforded is (looking to the greatness of the distress among a great population) of a very petty description, the average number of persons employed in both departments being under 2,500.

Special Relief Works, and when commenced.	Average Number of Persons employed daily.	Amount expended.
		Rs.
Pooree road, commenced in January 1866 - - -	382	8,645
Ganjam road, commenced in beginning of February 1866 -	800	16,449
Total Public Works Department - - -	1,182	25,094
Khoordah road, commenced end of January 1866 - -	763	about 12,000
Satpara tanks, &c., commenced December 1865, say - -	500	about 6,000
Total Government Estates - - -	1,263	18,000
Grand Total - - -	2,445	43,094

226. It has been mentioned that both starvation and plunder had appeared in the Balasore district before the middle of February. It had previously been also mentioned that the Relief Committee, when first formed, calculated that they would commence operations in February, and they were right. The first starving people seem to have come into the station in the last days of January, and in February very miserable objects were there in considerable numbers. To them the Relief Committee then began to supply small daily rations of rice. It was at this time said that the majority of the starvelings came from the semi-independent and mismanaged Mohurbhunj estate; three-fourths it was at one time stated. Later in the season, in May, the proportion was reversed, and it was then stated by Mr. Muspratt that nearly one-fourth of those relieved at Balasore came from the neighbouring Hill States. But throughout the famine there is no doubt that there was a very considerable influx into Balasore from thence. Mr. Ravenshaw's accounts prove that Mohurbhunj suffered very severely.

227. The police reports (Appendix) show that the excessive outbreak of the crime of open plunder was made known in February and early in March, and that it was in forcible terms attributed solely and entirely to want. The magistrate and the Commissioner also made reports in the beginning of March.

228. On the 27th of February, the Superintending Engineer (Appendix) writes to Mr. Muspratt, the magistrate and collector,—"I hear there is great distress in the district hereabouts. I see some frightful objects about the station. Should we be doing good by spending more money on works in the neighbourhood?" The correspondence which included this latter proposition will be found in the following series. In writing to Government on the 5th March (Appendix), Mr. Crommelin says—"Great distress and misery is but too apparent everywhere in the neighbourhood of Balasore, and the magistrate and collector is most anxious that work should be freely offered to all, as the means at his disposal are very far from adequate to relieve those even who are actually starving. I beg you will bring the urgency of the case to the notice of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor." A delay occurred in answering this letter, the cause of which is not clear, and further correspondence caused some additional delay. It will suffice to say here that no special relief works were undertaken in the Balasore district, till in the end of May the grant of money brought the emphatic telegram—"Sixty thousand rupees no good, we want rice."

229. On the 28th February Mr. Muspratt applied to the Commissioner for a grant-in-aid from a charitable fund at Cuttack, but it was found that no money could be given.

230. On the 22nd March the Deputy Inspector General of Police, on tour at Balasore, reports, in his diary submitted to the Inspector General (Appendix)—"I don't think we can look for crime diminishing in the least for the next six months. The state the district is in for want of food is beyond conception. Cholera is also doing its work in a terrific way. In going about one cannot help being struck by the half-starved look of the majority of the people." We have not learnt that the Inspector General specially brought this report to the personal notice of the Lieutenant Governor, as he might properly have done. In fact at this time cholera and want were working together at Balasore to a very sad extent. So early as the 4th March the District Superintendent had said—"Cholera is committing great havoc amongst the poor, who have flocked to the town to be recipients of the distribution of food by the Famine Relief Fund. The police have to remove 10 or 12 corpses every morning;" and in his letter of the 27th March he somewhat oddly says:—"Were it not for the frightful havoc made by cholera, the sufferings from starvation would have greatly increased;" which he explains in the next paragraph by saying—"Many have been carried off by disease instead of being left to combat with want and hunger."

231. In the early part of the season the European officers being much out in the district, the Relief Committee was principally composed of native officials and residents of the town of Balasore, with a very old European resident, Captain Bond, Master Attendant, as President, and they seem to have exerted themselves in a very creditable manner. They especially pressed for Government aid in their resolution of the 4th March (Appendix); they resolve as follows, alluding, no doubt, to the principles of action laid down, and pointing to the existence of a large Government estate in the neighbourhood: "It was proposed by Baboo S. N. Kur,

S. N. Kur, and seconded unanimously by the members, that the Collector be again written to, to solicit Government aid to the fund; for, notwithstanding that the Nowanund Khas Mehal revenue is to be spent on the Mehal itself, yet the Committee sanguinely hope that the Government, as zemindars, will not hesitate to extend as usual a liberal and helping hand to their indigent and famine-stricken subjects."

A little later we have simultaneous letters, from both the President and the Secretary to the Collector. The former says—"We have the honour to report that the small amount receivable from the subscribers to the charitable fund for the relief of the poor will not suffice to feed such a number as are now coming in from the mofussil. We therefore hope that Government will come forward in time with a *bonus* (before the ruination of the zemindars) to assist the ryots, till the new suttya paddy is reaped (which will not be for four months), otherwise crime will increase to a fearful extent."

While the Secretary says (Appendix)—

"The fact of the revenue of Nowanund being intended to be applied towards the improvement of the estate itself, is, in the Committee's opinion, no reason for Government to refuse their usual liberal aid for the relief of their distressed subjects.

"The principal trade of the wealthy mahajuns of this district consisted of the export of the rice and Government salt. But now both these sources of gain are stopped, they find it difficult to collect rent and pay revenue. Besides, they have to provide their tenants with paddy seeds, and advance money for the next crop. Under such circumstances they can hardly afford sufficient relief to the hundreds of the famine-stricken poor who throng daily in the town.

"The Committee find that since the last one month and twenty days' relief has been administered to no less than 2,000 persons of every age and sex; and, moreover, the number is increasing daily with the enhancement of the price of rice. Hence the Committee think that no less than 100 rupees will be required for the daily administration of relief, and they regret to find that in spite of their efforts the monthly subscription at present amounts to no more than 1,000 rupees.

"The Committee also beg to remark that the irrigation works not having yet come into here, labour is scarcely available, and consequently the poor are constrained to resort to the Relief Committee for aid.

"Further, the Committee beg to say that the sooner the works of public utility are opened in the district the better."

232. The Collector's answer, No. 157, of the 4th April (Appendix), addressed to the President, seems to have principally reference to what may be called the zemindar's point of view. The merchant members of the Committee had, in fact, considerable landed property. The answer amounts to this, that the zemindars, as a body, have entirely failed in their duty to their ryots, and that therefore they cannot fairly ask for Government aid. With reference to the allusions to the Nowanund estate, it may be here mentioned that there was a proposal for, and a correspondence regarding, a considerable work on that state; but eventually the levels proved unfavourable, and it came to nothing. We only find that, on the 28th April, Government sanctioned the sum of 540 rupees from the Government Estates Fund, to construct one mile of road on Nowanund. With respect to Mr. Muspratt's omission to forward the appeal of the Relief Committee, we would observe that at this time he showed his entire personal earnestness by contributing a large proportion of his own salary to the relief fund, and was throughout exceedingly active and earnest in the matter, doing, in fact, all that local means admitted of his doing. But he also had not much official boldness. He seems to have heard generally that proposals to import made by the Collector of Pooree had been negatived, and says (examination) "my impression was that we were not to look for the importation of grain by Government, and that it was expected that relief for the distress was to be provided from local subscriptions alone." It will be seen that he soon after submitted a full report on the state of the district.

233. On the 16th March, with reference to the early police reports, the Government had desired the Commissioner to call on the magistrate of Balasore for a report on the state of crime in his district. The magistrate asked the Superintendent of Police to make a report. He did so on the 27th March, and the

the magistrate forwarded it to the Commissioner, with a letter from himself on the 2nd April. Nothing can be more uncompromising than the report of the Superintendent of Police (Appendix). He explained the failure of the crop, the exhaustion of the stocks from previous exportation, the want of employment caused by the cessation of the salt manufacture, the great outburst of plunder and its exact character. "The social condition of the current year is unprecedented; the people have been impelled to crime solely through want." He goes on to say that the local relief fund is insufficient to feed the starving poor, and "I can, as I have remarked above, foresee no prospect of amelioration or of abatement in crime until the next crop has been gathered, *i. e.*, November next; and *thus a period of suffering and want for seven months is staring us fixedly in the face.*" He added a recommendation for works to afford labour to the starving population.

234. We are told that Mr. Muspratt was at the time somewhat inclined to think Mr. Shuttleworth's report a little highly coloured; but except procuring the alteration, already alluded to, of the words "utter failure" in the 2nd paragraph (which have been shown to us in the original of the report) into partial failure, he does not seem to have acted on that feeling, and his own report of April 2 shows no traces of it (Appendix). After looking back to the events of the autumn, he says that at that time "the supply of rice was not small," but "the holders of grain, seeing a prospect of famine, there have been frequent panics, during which no paddy or rice could be purchased at any price." Then "the season has passed in which native craft can venture to cross the Bay of Bengal to bring rice from Dacca, Chittagong, or Arracan. Had the irrigation canal been completed, grain might have been imported without risk of loss." So that he explains that native importations are not to be looked for without proposing Government importations.

Mr. Muspratt doubts (paragraph 5) if public works would effect the object, since he says "the influx of money into the hands of the poorer classes would tend rather to raise the price of rice higher than it is now selling." The price was then 7 to 8 seers per rupee. He sees no prospect of improvement while the present scarcity exists, or till after the next crops have been reaped; and his solution is—"it is, I consider, only by emigration that the state of the district can be ameliorated." He seems to have thought that as rice could not be got into the district, the only course was to get the people out of it. In fact, many of the starving people from Balasore did emigrate to Calcutta; but, as will presently be seen, the authorities there took a different view of the matter, and money raised there was expended in sending them back again; a detachment of paupers from Calcutta was landed at Balasore on the 18th September, when the famine there was still at its height. The zemindars, Mr. Muspratt concludes by saying, one and all refused to undertake the improvements suggested by him in order to employ the poorer ryots, unless Government supplied them with the necessary funds.

235. It will be seen from the above that, although the famine began later in the Balasore district, its state was at this time more distinctly and unambiguously reported than was that of the Pooree district at the same time. But there was a very lamentable delay in submitting these reports to Government.

236. From a letter of the Government of Bengal of the 7th April (No. 2367, Appendix), it appears that "later accounts demi-officially received by the Lieutenant Governor show a further increase of crime and an outbreak of cholera in the gaol." We have not been able to discover what these demi-official accounts were, but they do not seem to have made the Government aware of the full extent of the starvation. The Commissioner was, however, desired to proceed to Balasore, and to "submit a special report on the state of the district." He seems to have been already preparing to go there, and arrived at Balasore on the 11th April. In this month the starvation at Balasore had become much aggravated, and on Mr. Ravenshaw's arrival he became himself a witness to very extreme famine scenes described in his subsequent reports. He was himself almost trampled under foot by a starving mob, "the crowd getting so thick, they absolutely lay one on the other in a writhing mass of disease and distress, as painful to witness as it was impossible to relieve."

237. Meantime a disturbance had occurred in the Mohurbhunj country, and on

on the 13th April the Bengal Government telegraphed, "You had better go yourself to Mohurbhunj." The Commissioner, under these instructions, left Balasore on the 20th April without having submitted his official report, and the division remaining for upwards of a month without a local head.

238. The Lieutenant Governor had already left Calcutta for the Hills on the 15th April. Mr. Ravenshaw says that he was not aware of his Honor's intended departure, and it unfortunately happened that the Lieutenant Governor left before the exact state of Balasore had been fully communicated to him. It seems peculiarly unfortunate that, not only no special measures were taken, but no arrangement was made to ensure the immediate transmission of information at this time, although both in the Police and the Public Works Department, and from other sources, much crime, misery, and starvation had been reported. Balasore is much nearer to Calcutta than the other districts of Orissa; the distance is only 141 miles, for more than half of which there is a good metalled road, and there is direct telegraphic communication; yet it would seem that for some weeks the authorities in Calcutta were ignorant of the state of extreme famine so visible at Balasore. At the time of the Lieutenant Governor's departure, no special arrangement was made with the Board. His Honor says (examination), "I had not any information on the subject of famine of a severe character at Balasore before I left Calcutta;" and Mr. Schalch, then alone at the Board, says, in reply to the question put as follows:

"*Q.*—Did the Lieutenant Governor leave behind him any instructions to the Board in any shape?

"*A.*—I had no private or unofficial communication with him on the subject, and I am not aware of any official instructions. If there were, they would be on record."

We find no official instructions on the subject at that time. It is to be observed, too, that it so happened that for some time the reports went to the Government at Darjeerling, and not to the Board at Calcutta. The Balasore report was in the Criminal Department, and the Pooree report, being considered emergent, was (in the absence of any exact rule on the subject) sent to Government. In the Board famine was still not a special subject, and not making special inquiry, the Board received no reports.

239. We think that the state of Mohurbhunj may have fully justified Mr. Ravenshaw's departure on this occasion. At that moment, when the country all around was disorganised by famine and plunder, any outbreak of the aboriginal tribes allied to the Sonthals might have spread and produced the most embarrassing results. Certainly no man would have gone into such a country at such a season, except from a sense of pressing duty. But we must consider that Mr. Ravenshaw was much to blame for not submitting the report on Balasore before his departure. On the 20th April he "hopes to finish it and get it despatched to-day, or at latest to-morrow;" but in fact he takes it to Mohurbhunj; it is dated the 2nd May, and, with the very important reports of the local officers of the 27th March and the 2nd April, does not seem to have come before the Government of Bengal till the 11th May. We think, moreover, that some special arrangements were necessary during the Commissioner's absence, having regard to the state of the Regulation districts.

240. It must, however, be here noticed that Mr. Ravenshaw did, on the 20th April, writing demi-officially to the Lieutenant Governor, communicate much of the state of things at Balasore. He says (Appendix), "Large subscriptions have been raised in Balasore to support the starving. I visited the distribution of food this morning, and never witnessed a more painful sight; and the people are naturally such a clamorous and unruly set, it is almost impossible to distribute even food with any degree of order or regularity; they throng the place of distribution, and so crowd and press on each other that the weak are positively in danger of being crushed. I was myself nearly knocked down by the importunate mob. There is a good working committee here, and food is distributed only on tickets, and to those who can't work. There are many, I fear, who can, but won't exert themselves, and with such one must be hard-hearted. Things will not mend, I fear, until the harvest of next season, and there are some four months coming during which distress will be frightful. Every one is doing his best. With all this it is difficult to get labour unless the labour be brought to their

door; the people won't go a mile to work for food. The Executive Engineer now wants 100 men, and can't get them. I think the only thing Government can do is to provide labour."

The subscriptions raised were certainly not large when compared with the distress; the total raised in the district to the end of May was 3,623 rupees.

241. Several letters of Mr. Ravenshaw, written about this time (Appendix), show that he was now very much alive to the distress; and he, too, evinced his own personal feeling for it by distributing food largely to the starving on his march, and during his stay at Mohurbhunj; but his ideas of the extent to which Government would interfere were, as we have remarked, limited in the extreme. He now tells us that if he had been aware that any fund was available, he would certainly have applied for it.

242. Mr. Ravenshaw's observations regarding the question of labour require some notice. In the first local application for Government aid, the necessity of supplying labour to the poor of Balasore was much insisted on. Mr. Muspratt only doubted, fearing that the supply of rice would in consequence be more run upon; and in his letter of the 2nd April he makes a statement which is worthy of attention. He says,—

"The class of men by whom the dacoities have been chiefly committed are 'Pans' and 'Kandras,' who hold but little, if any, land of their own, and eke out their support by working for the better class of ryots. Owing to the scanty crops, these men obtained but little employment at the last harvest, and consequently did not receive the payment in paddy they have been accustomed to earn. Although these people saw no hope of finding sustenance in their own villages, they will not go elsewhere to seek employment. During my tour in the cold season, I strongly urged them to go to the Irrigation Company or to Calcutta for work, assuring them they would be able to get employment at remunerative wages. The only reply I received was—'Let the irrigation works commence near our villages, and we will readily work in cutting the canals, but we will not leave our homes. Our ancestors never went from their villages to seek work, and we will not.' They consider it a disgrace to work as coolies, and it is a common saying of the women—'Let our sons die rather than become coolies.' They call themselves 'muzoors,' *i. e.*, 'labourers.'"

We think there is much truth in this passage, more so than in some of the more extreme views regarding the unwillingness of the people to work which Mr. Ravenshaw has sometimes expressed.

Again, Mr. Manson, the Assistant Magistrate and Collector, endorses, on another letter, the following observation:—

"I asked many of the zemindars and other landholders at Soroh, especially those to the west of the Juggernath Road (in August), why more coolies did not come and take labour on public works. Their continual answer was, of the men who remain most prefer to die at home, and the few who could be tempted to take unusual employment would run away to Calcutta when they had a few pice. They have not houses near the road, and know it is death to live in the rain."

This last refers to a later period; but with more especial reference to Mr. Ravenshaw's assertion that men were not to be had to do the ordinary road work, we must explain. Although there were no special works for relief, the ordinary work on the road was carried on in the usual manner. That mode is to work by a system of petty contracts, wholly unfitted for relief in times of famine. The contractors make their profit, and under them the work is carried on by gangs, who do hard task-work. Neither under the contractors, nor when working direct under the Government officers, is it possible to measure the work of each individual labourer. He or she must belong to a gang who work in common. Their common work is measured, and the money is divided. Hence an individual wishing to earn a livelihood must first obtain admission to a gang; the gangs will not admit a labourer who from weakness is unable to do a full day's labour, and, above all, they will not or cannot admit more than a certain proportion of women and children, since these ordinarily do not dig, but only carry. Throughout these events by far the greater number of the applicants for relief have been women and children. Many of the able-bodied men went away to seek more profitable labour in less famine-stricken districts, leaving their wives and families behind them. For people so situated the ordinary form of public works

works is of little avail. Mr. Windle, the Executive Engineer of Balasore, distinctly tells us that the ordinary task rates allowed did not suffice to provide a sufficiency of food when rice became very dear and the people emaciated. His work was not in the station, but at a distance, where it is admitted that it was very difficult to procure rice. It is evident that for the relief of famine, works must be very specially arranged. And our opinion is, that obstinate and prejudiced as in some respects the Ooryahs are, those of them who are accustomed to labour have not, as has been sometimes supposed, shown as a rule an extraordinary determination to refuse work when it has been offered to them under favourable conditions, though many have starved without seeking work at a distance, and some unaccustomed to labour may have starved rather than accept labour close at hand. We apprehend that in England the classes unaccustomed to manual labour would suffer much before turning out with their wives and their daughters to carry earth, especially if they must live in gangs on some distant road-side. It was still more so in Orissa. The truth is that Government employment was at this time offered under very unfavourable conditions.

In Mr. Shortt's report of 1st September he says—"Plenty of labour can be had for rice. Reports are sent that labour is not to be had in sufficient quantity; the meaning is simply that those who require the labour have only money to offer in payment, and money is valueless since it is unable to provide the recipients with the necessaries of life."

243. In the *Englishman* of the 24th April appeared a somewhat modest appeal for aid from the Balasore Relief Committee, saying little of the extent of the distress. Mr. Muspratt asked Mr. Chapman, as a private friend, to receive subscriptions, and Mr. Chapman consented, only objecting to the use of his official designation.

244. Mr. Ravenshaw's report of the 2nd May (Appendix) endorses most of the statements of Messrs. Shuttleworth and Muspratt, but repeats his own previous views regarding the presence of grain in the country. He says again that he estimates the crop at half the average. "Supposing that the whole of this finds its way into the market, there is doubtless sufficient grain in the country to support the people; but owing to the extraordinary rise of the price of rice, it is now and has been for some months beyond the means of the poorer classes to procure a sufficiency to support life. They have eked out a miserable existence by digging jungle roots, gathering berries and leaves." After saying that many starve without making the smallest attempt to earn a living he goes on,—"Those who have not taken to dacoity have lapsed into the most abject state of misery and distress, having become too weak, for want of food, either to work or rob. They absolutely swarm in the station and villages, either dying of cholera, dysentery, or hunger, or picking up a bare subsistence by begging on public charity. The Balasore European residents and wealthy natives have done much to provide food for these poor wretches, and daily distribution is made to those not in a condition to work; but the relief is insufficient, and from the nature of the people, and their excessively disorderly and utterly unmanageable conduct, it is nearly impossible to afford anything like systematic relief. Pinched by hunger and disease, as soon as a door for relief is opened, the rush of applicants is so great as to nearly overwhelm the persons appointed to distribute food. I went myself and witnessed such a scene as will never be effaced from my memory."

He describes the occasion, already alluded to, on which he was mobbed and rifled; then continues—

"There is a very general tendency on the part of zemindars and dealers to hoard grain; such a thing as free-trade on competition in the market is unknown. The system appears to be the result partly of avarice and partly of ignorance and timidity. The action has been to withhold grain from the market until the stock in hands of retail dealers was exhausted, and then to sell secretly and by driblets, so as to enhance not only the price but the trouble of procuring rice.

"There is also a vague idea that next year may turn out an insufficient crop, and those who hold more than enough rice for their own use during the current year withhold the balance for next in place of throwing it into the markets.

"I believe every care and precaution have been taken by the district authorities

rities to promote confidence and unrestricted trade, and at the same time to interfere in no way with the prices or rates at which grain is or has been sold.

"No one appears to allow or to wish it known that he possesses rice in any quantity. I was present at a meeting of the chief native landholders and merchants at Balasore, where liberal subscriptions were freely offered to the relief fund. The question then turned on where rice could be procured for the money subscribed. The result was that each individual accused the rest of possessing stores of grain. The imputation being indignantly repudiated, after a long discussion some began to offer to supply a certain quantity, say 100 maunds, if a second person named would supply 200 maunds; the latter retorting that he was willing to give 200 maunds if the first speaker would give 400, an amount he professed himself unable to supply. No rate or price for the rice was attempted to be fixed; it was to be sold to the committee at whatever price the possessor might demand. The meeting broke up, and no definite arrangement for procuring rice for the money subscribed was arrived at. I merely note this as an illustration of my expressed opinion that there is food in the country sufficient for the present, were it only readily procurable for money. For this I can suggest no remedy, though I believe in time such prejudices will be overcome, and that the grain market will assume a more healthy tone. I have myself, in repeated communications with district officers, under instructions from the Board, enjoined entire non-interference with trade, which it would be impolitic and impossible to force. I believe these instructions have been most implicitly adhered to."

It does not appear that any very immediate action was taken by the Government on Mr. Ravenshaw's report. The answer is dated the 23rd May (Appendix). It approves generally of the measures adopted, refers to the grant of money just made, 10,000 rupees from the North West Famine Fund, and promises attention to the Cuttack-road in the Public Works Department. The report seems also to have been sent to the Board by the Government at this time.

245. On the 12th May the Balasore Relief Committee made a more urgent appeal to the public press, representing the largeness of the calls upon them and the exhaustion of their own fund. It was in his letter as secretary and treasurer (Appendix) that Mr. Muspratt made the statement that, in spite of enormous exports of the previous year, "yet the stock of rice in the district, aided by imports from Arracan received and expected shortly, will suffice to feed all the inhabitants. All that our committee needs is the money to purchase the rice from the merchants for distribution to the starving poor." It is to be remembered, however, that this letter (written after the Commissioner's visit) was an appeal to the general public, who could give money and not rice. Allusion is made to expected imports, and Mr. Muspratt now explains that the merchants had promised to import both from Arracan and from the Madras coast, from which last quarter the south wind might have brought seaworthy vessels of small draught. In fact, the merchants then led him to suppose that if he would find the money, they would somehow get the rice. Within a very few days he found that these expectations were wholly fallacious. The merchants then avowed that rice could only come from the east by steamer, and that their expected supplies from the south had failed. Just then came a telegram offering the surplus flour of the Bhootan expedition at cost price; and on this hint Mr. Muspratt at last spoke out, recommending importation of rice. He replied, "Attah is not eaten in Balasore, and no one would buy it. Rice required for free distribution to about 3,000 starving of all ages, might be sent to mouth of Balasore river, and could be unladen by aid of sloops of this port." He followed up the telegram by a letter, sent to Government on the same day (Appendix), in which he explained how sloops might be sent down in tow of a small steamer; and added, "The number of persons relieved daily now exceeds 2,500, and a more pitiable collection of skin and bone it has never been my lot to see. More than one-fourth of the number have come in from the gurjats of Mohurbhunj and Neilgherry. The Commissioner informs me that the distress in Mohurbhunj is most appalling." In fact, about this time we find in the police reports, "Numbers are daily dying of disease and starvation, and the municipal sweepers have plenty to do in removing the corpses;" and, again, it is said that of the recipients of relief "numbers die daily, and have to be removed." In the week ending 25th May the price of rice at Balasore was from five to six Calcutta seers per rupee. With great difficulty

culty and much effort it was procured, and the distribution of food was never interrupted. It was, however, at this time that the Public Works officers reported that money was absolutely useless without rice.

246. In the latter half of May great distress appeared in the Bhudruk subdivision, which had previously appeared to be better off. On the 1st May the Collector, visiting Bhudruk, had not seen special signs of distress; but in the middle of the month Mr. Shortt reported that rice was selling at 3 seers per rupee, and that numbers of people were starving. From that time the distress in this part of the Balasore district became extreme.

247. The only special relief work commenced in this district to the end of May was the one mile of road in the Nowanund estate, for which we have mentioned that the sum of 540 rupees was sanctioned on the 28th April; say 50 to 100 persons may have been thus employed in May. There was, however, a considerable expenditure on the ordinary public works of the Balasore division, principally on the Calcutta and Cuttack Trunk Road. No return of the number of persons employed is made, but 1,13,233 rupees having been sanctioned in the budget for 1865-66, the sum of 1,18,224 rupees was expended; also 11,931 rupees for repairs: total, 1,30,855 rupees. So that, after all, in spite of all the difficulties of the contract system, a good deal of work must have been done by the people of the Balasore district.

248. The Government referred Mr. Muspratt's proposal to import rice to the Board. It was yet a few days before that body consented to import; but at the end of May importations were ordered.

249. As respects the Cuttack district, from February to the end of May, the official correspondence is almost a blank. It has been already explained how it happened that the famine came later in the Cuttack district than in the other districts, and later in Cuttack Proper than in other parts of the district. In March rice is quoted in Cuttack from eight to ten Calcutta seers per rupee. The Irrigation Company were giving rice to their labourers in part payment, and people seem to have contrived to live. In the end of March rice got dearer, and there was a decided change for the worse. Mr. Ravenshaw has put in, as supporting his views as to the existence of stocks of rice, some papers of a sort of joint-stock company, affecting a European model, formed on the 1st April by native officials and other residents of the town. They were to supply rice, not for profit, but for the good of the community, since they said (Appendix), "no measures having been taken for the alleviation of the distress, something should be done to save the lives of the poor." They therefore proceeded to make a kind of rice assessment of the district, and issued a circular, in which they stated that the "scarcity has been caused by combinations of the avaricious merchants, and not by failure of crops, and estimating the quantities supposed to be held by each person (which were very considerable), they call on each zemindar and mahajun to furnish a certain quantity of rice to them at a fair rate, and so to defeat "the wicked grain merchants encouraged by the speech of the Lieutenant Governor." The persons assessed, however, by no means responded to the appeal. A few gave or promised money, none rice, and the Company came to a speedy end.

250. Mr. Ravenshaw himself does not seem to have been seriously alarmed up to the time of his departure for Balasore, and, eventually, Mohurbhunj, on the 9th April. On the 8th, in writing demi-officially to the Lieutenant Governor, he says (Appendix)—

"Famine matters are in 'statu quo;' rice very dear, and a wonderful disposition on the part of dealers to hold back their stores of grain, which they sell by driblets and in quantity insufficient to supply the demand. I hear everywhere that there is a large store still in hand, and it must be forthcoming ere long. There has been a movement among several wealthy men in the town, who have got up a company to buy and sell rice at a reasonable price, say 12 seers per rupee, or even 10 would be a boon; but, like all Native movements, there is division among the members, and one says I will supply 200 maunds if So-and-so will give 400. And So-and-so objects that if he is to supply 400, the first party should give 250. This is one of the peculiar features of the people here. I hope they will come to terms, as such a supply thrown into the market would cause the more legitimate dealers to sell.

"Meanwhile, rice is sold in the shops, and there has been no recurrence of the total closing movement."

251. No doubt if implicit reliance were placed on Mr. Ravenshaw's expressed convictions, the fact of the existence of grain was frequently stated by him. But we cannot think that, under all the circumstances, and in so very grave a matter, it was safe to rely entirely in him alone; the more as his assertions were of a very vague character, were opposed to the symptoms of a market rising steadily all over the country, and were supported by no cited authority whatever.

252. The Superintendent of Police at Cuttack was an officer wholly ignorant of the language, who has, in the famine operations, shown little zeal, and whose great object seems to have been to get away from the district. There has not been much accord between him and the magistrate, and from that source very little information was derived. Mr. Cornell, new to the district, as has been said, and deeming it sufficient to follow the Commissioner's views, made no inquiries. He tells us, in answer to our questions as follows:—

"*Q.*—You had, as you say, heard of the failure of crops in the district; on taking charge of the district as magistrate and Collector, did it occur to you that it was necessary to make particular inquiries from your predecessor as to the state of the district?

"*A.*—I understood that the Lieutenant Governor had lately visited Cuttack; that the whole question had been considered by him and the Board of Revenue; and that the necessary instructions had been issued and arrangements made.

"*Q.*—Did you find any such instructions recorded in your office?

"*A.*—I found a circular of the Board two or three months old, to the effect that no detailed inquiry into the failure of the crops was needed for the purpose of allowing remission of revenue, and that in the scarcity which was anticipated, the chief reliance must be placed on local charity. I found also some letters of the Commissioner regarding local charity and the operations of the Relief Committee. I found also a record of the speech of the Lieutenant Governor, and found no other record of the Lieutenant Governor's instructions, proceedings, or policy. No other communication of the policy of Government was made to me; nor am I yet aware that during his visit the Lieutenant Governor laid down any course to be followed except that he rejected petitions praying that the price of grain be fixed. I only presumed that the Lieutenant Governor had fully considered the subject, and that he had confirmed the policy of the Board's circular to which I have alluded, and which he had formally approved before it was communicated to this district. I was in daily personal communication with the Commissioner, who was then in the station. Under those circumstances, I considered it rather my duty to act in accordance with his instructions than to originate any views of my own. He expressly drew my attention to the arrears of office work, which were considerable. The scarcity and possibility of a famine were not specially pressed upon me by the Commissioner as matters demanding my immediate attention."

In truth Mr. Cornell seems to have been a good and intelligent man in office, but to have devoted himself to that solely.

253. Looking to the evidence of the officers of the Irrigation Company and others, we can have no doubt that in April the Cuttack district began to suffer from actual famine and starvation. The pressure was as yet less so in the town than elsewhere, but prices reached 5½ to 6½ seers, at which rate the people could not long survive, and starving objects began to appear. Several private charities were opened, and there was an old-established public charity, but it was not till the end of April that the Relief Committee commenced regular operations. The distress was aggravated by the failure of the Irrigation Company's rice, which came to an end at this time; their funds, their agent tells us, were at the time scant; they did not import more rice till June; and meantime food becoming scarcer and scarcer, the relief afforded by their works was greatly diminished. It is quite clear that Colonel Rundall and Mr. Boothby entertained strong opinions of the severity of the distress and the scarcity of rice, and it is much to be regretted that the Commissioner and Collector did not more weigh their opinions against those of the townspeople. The agents of the French house too—Messrs. Fressanges and De la Gatinais, persons the best qualified to judge—seem to have been

been very well aware that there was not grain in the country. Mr. De la Gatinais was examined. Mr. Fressanges was absent, but Mr. De la Gatinais and others tell us his views, and the Commissioner quotes him as the only person opposed to his own view. Mr. Geary (examination) was warned by Mr. Fressanges to provide his own stock against a famine so early as the end of 1865. It has been before mentioned that the French merchants did not export after June 1865.

254. The statements made to us show that there was great starvation and suffering, and considerable mortality, in the Cuttack district in May. But still in the town the mortality was not excessive; there were not the famine scenes described at Balasore, and through the greater part of the month, a district officer who did not look abroad or beyond seems not to have been very seriously alarmed. Prices still rising were in the middle of the month about 5½ to 6 Calcutta seers per rupee, but in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Chapman, Mr. Cornell wrote on the 16th May—"If we can get another 1,000 rupees besides the current subscription, I think we shall be able to continue feeding the poor for the next three or four months, but it is very difficult to make calculations; it is so contingent on weather and imports from Sumbulpore, &c. There is sufficient grain concealed or stored for this season, I hope, but if a bad harvest follows, the results will be serious."

255. From Cuttack, however, also the offer of the Bhootan flour drew out a reply that rice would be preferred. But the crisis had now come; from five and six seers prices went in the latter part of the month to four and five seers, about seven times the average price of food. They rose still higher, and did not materially fall during the following three months. From the middle of June to the middle of July the price (when rice could be bought at all in the town) was 3¾ to 4½ Calcutta seers, say eight times the average price, and in most places rice was not to be had at any price. In fact in the end of May the Cuttack district was suddenly discovered to be in a state of a terrible famine. The popular urban confidence in stocks only ended in more sudden and complete exhaustion and ruin, and in respect of price Cuttack suffered more than any other district station. Rice was dearer for a short time at Balasore, but the most extreme pressure of prices lasted for a longer period at Cuttack than at either Balasore or Pooree.

256. On the 27th May Mr. Ravenshaw returning found the troops and Government establishments on the point of starvation, and on the 28th he sent the telegram which led to importations. On the 29th the Relief Committee also telegraphed to Government urgently praying for rice.

257. Up to this time there were no Government relief works in the Cuttack district, but the works of the Irrigation Company afforded employment to vastly greater numbers than did the Government works in Pooree. We cannot speak too highly of the humane endeavours of the officers of this Company to render their works beneficial to the destitute. In January, when rice was procurable, the numbers were at their highest, and from that month till June, employment being freely offered and more and more needed, the decrease in numbers was, we understand, solely due to the scarcity of rice. In the rainy months, from July to August, the work was for the most part stopped by the season. We subjoin an approximate statement of the average number of persons employed in the Cuttack district by the Irrigation Company in each month from January to June 1866 :—

Month.	Average Number Employed Daily.
January	14,666
February	10,763
March	7,808
April	9,146
May	8,120
June	5,238
General Average	9,290

The ordinary public works of this division do not seem to have been largely prosecuted, for we find that of 1,12,483 rupees allotted in the Budget for 1865–66, only 29,982 rupees were spent.

258. The important series of papers regarding Orissa generally (subsequent to the Lieutenant Governor's visit in February) will be found in the Appendix. The correspondence is given, as before explained, in full to the end of May, and thence continued by a selection of the most important papers only.

259. The result of the correspondence regarding additional public works has been already mentioned. The letter (No. 2514 of 31st May), which may be said to close this stage of that question, will be found in the Appendix.

260. It does not appear that Baboo Ramakhoy's appeal from Pooree, published in the *Hindoo Patriot* in the beginning of March, much attracted the public attention. It was not till April, when the pressure of most extreme high prices was felt at Cuttack, and extreme starvation was visible at Balasore, that the attention of the European press and public can be said to have been fully aroused. From the middle of April it may be stated that the subject began to be generally discussed in the public prints. On the 12th of that month the *Friend of India* published a letter from the Rev. J. Phillips, missionary at Jellasore, a place in Balasore, near the border of the Midnapore district, and not one of the earliest reached by extreme famine. The paper also alluded to accounts of famine received from the Collector of Ganjam.

261. And at this time Mr. G. S. Sykes, a young merchant of Calcutta, who had business correspondence with the missionaries in different parts of Orissa, but was not in any way directly prompted by them, conceived the idea of establishing a general subscription for the relief of the sufferers by the famine prevailing in that province. With a boldness which the result amply justified, he advertised an Orissa Famine Fund on the 14th April (Appendix), and immediately putting himself in express correspondence on the subject, with those from whom he could best obtain information, he followed up his first appeal by several letters to the newspapapers, and energetically urged the fund. His own firm assumed the position of secretaries. On the 2nd May, having received more precise information from his missionary correspondents, he circulated extracts in Calcutta (Appendix). It is very remarkable, as showing the greater success of anything in the character of a general fund as distinguished from a local appeal, to observe the success of Mr. Sykes's fund contrasted with the very scant success of the strong appeals for aid for local purposes made by the official committees of Pooree and Balasore. Mr. Sykes and his partner were young and little known ; it seemed unintelligible that if things were so bad, the proposal should come from them, and many people hesitated. Yet they collected upwards of 18,000 rupees, and we are bound to say that they distributed it most impartially. Coming as this aid did in the most timely manner, the first drops of comfort, as it were on the ocean of misery, the fund is everywhere in the course of our inquiry mentioned with a prominence and remembered with a gratitude quite out of proportion to its actual amount. Its originator deserves the very highest testimony to the successful result of his benevolent efforts. And we think that his success shows that notwithstanding the tightness of the money market, a similar appeal, supported by greater authority, would have been still more successful.

262. On the 28th April, Mr. Chapman, who is personally a man of well-known active benevolence, in writing to the *Englishman* newspaper in support of the official prices current which had been impugned in that paper, said: "There can be no doubt that the suffering both in Orissa and in some other parts is very great. Indeed for some months past the aged and the feeble have been dropping off* for want of proper food. It is time, I think, that measures were taken to collect a general fund for the relief of this general distress."

And on this hint a good deal of money was sent to Mr. Chapman also. It is explained, however, that the latter part of his letter which we have quoted was written solely in his individual capacity and not in that of secretary to the Board, which, as already mentioned, at this time took no official action in connection

* This expression seems to be taken from a communication of the Collector of Midnapore, dated April 25th.

connection with the famine in Orissa, and was little informed of the state of things.

263. A short correspondence between the inspector of gaols and the master attendant (Appendix) is printed, as showing the first attempt to send rice to Orissa on public account (for the gaol at Cuttack). The Bengal Marine has been reduced to a very low point, and no Government vessel was available. It was proposed to send the rice by the private coasting steamer, and it was on this occasion that the Steam Company refused to touch at False Point with less than 3,000 bags (Captain Howe's examination). The quantity authorised was only 1,200 maunds, and the rice did not go.

264. In May, the first communication is from the Madras Government, which, having apparently heard from the Ganjam local officers of the distress in Orissa, telegraphed to the Government of Bengal (Appendix)—"Please mention whether any and what measures have been adopted by your Government for relief of distress in Cuttack and neighbouring country." In reply, copies of the previous correspondence were sent, and it was stated that money was being raised in Calcutta by private charity in aid of the sufferers.

265. On the 5th May, the Lieutenant Governor called on the Commissioner of Orissa for "a general report on the state of the whole of your division, the scarcity of food, and increase of crime." On the 19th of that month, the Commissioner, still detained at Mohurbhunj, referred the Government to his separate reports on Balasore and Poorce, which we have already noticed.

266. The public prints were now very full of letters and notices on the famine; but we have only reprinted two letters to the *Englishman*,—one (Appendix) published on the 2nd May, on the occasion of an inquiry from the Government of India, and another (Appendix) dated 30th April, but published a few days later,—as very directly bearing on the important question, and very well worthy of attention. With reference to the first-mentioned letter, the Government of India, on the 10th May, directed their secretary "to invite the attention of the Lieutenant Governor to the letter in the *Englishman* of the 2nd instant, headed, 'The starving poor of Orissa,' and to inquire whether the distress in that province is as severe as represented therein, and if so, what steps his Honor has taken or would suggest for its relief."

267. On the 12th May, Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff, of the firm of Messrs. Gisborne & Co., which had first proposed importation in November (and who has been individually most active in the whole matter), wrote (Appendix) to the private secretary of the Lieutenant Governor at Darjeeling, suggesting the application of the balance of the North Western Famine Fund, and strongly urging importation of rice into Orissa from Arracan. He also informed his Excellency the Viceroy at Simla of his proposal.

268. On the 14th May, Colonel Macpherson, Commissary General, made the offer of the surplus flour of the Bhootan campaign, which the Government accepted, and which has already been mentioned as having elicited from the local officers an expression of their wish that rice should be imported.

269. On the 16th May, the Government of India not having received information, telegraphed:—

"The Governor General is anxious about the famine at Orissa, and wants to know what is being done. He will be ready to give, if needed, any portion of the North Western Famine Fund that may be still in hand. Is the distress in Nuddea also as great as is represented?"

And the Lieutenant Governor telegraphed in reply the same day:—

"District Relief Committees have been formed, and subscriptions raised for the relief of the distressed poor in all the districts of the Cuttack division, in Midnapore, and in Nuddea. We are spending as much money as we can on roads in the Cuttack division and in Midnapore, and the Irrigation Company's works afford employment to great numbers. I think the balance of the Famine Fund might well be employed in relieving the distress in Orissa and Midnapore, through the agency of the District Relief Committees, and I beg that his Excellency will place it at my disposal for the purpose. The distress in Nuddea is partial. The Commissioner has asked for an additional allotment of 50,000 rupees

to be expended on roads there. I have authorised the Board, if on inquiry they think it likely to answer, to arrange for the shipment of a cargo of rice from Akyab to Orissa."

The sum of two lakhs (20,000*l.*) was thereupon placed at the disposal of the Government of Bengal from the surplus of the North West Famine Fund. From this sum, the Lieutenant Governor assigned 10,000 rupees to each of the three districts of Orissa, and 5,000 rupees to each of the districts of Midnapore, Bancoorah, and Nuddea.

270. At this time the Lieutenant Governor had written demi-officially to the Board, forwarding Mr. Moncrieff's communications, and suggesting importation (*see* his letters of 16th and 17th May, Appendix); and on the 21st May, his Honor sent a telegram, placing 45,000 rupees at the disposal of the Board for the purpose ("if the Board see fit"), which probably reached Calcutta about the same time as the letters.

271. The Board upon this considered the matter. On the 22nd May, they wrote declining to import for the present (No. A, Appendix), pending further inquiries, which they promised immediately to make.

They say: "His Honor is aware that the Board have, on general grounds, a very strong objection either to interfere with the course of trade or to take any steps that may appear to pledge the Government to the impossible task of supporting the whole population of the distressed districts, and so dry up the springs of private charity and paralyze the exertions of the people themselves.

"The Board are very clearly of opinion that the importation of rice into Orissa on Government account would be justifiable only in the extreme case of its being ascertained definitely that the stock of food in the province was insufficient to feed the people, and that food was not likely to be imported through the usual channels.

"The information at present at their command does not by any means lead them to suppose that this is the case. Mr. Muspratt, Collector of Balasore, and the Commissioner, Mr. Ravenshaw, have both reported specifically that there is food enough in the country, and so has Mr. Cornell, Collector of Cuttack, in a private letter to my* address that is published in the *Englishman* this morning.

"The reported detail prices point, the Board think, to the same conclusion. In the interior of the district of Pooree rice is even now selling at 9 seers 13½ chittacks the rupee, and it is at Pooree itself only that there is extreme pressure. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether rice imported from Akyab in the manner proposed would not, in fact, be found more costly than what could be bought on the spot, except at the point of landing. The Board are decidedly averse to putting any pressure upon the local dealers by underselling them, or in any other way. Their local experience and means of local information is a far better guide to what is a proper price, under all circumstances, than any facts at the command of the public generally, or even of Government officers. No doubt the present high prices are partly due to the possibility of a renewed failure of the crops this year—a legitimate cause that may rightly and safely be left to produce its own effect.

"The Board will, however, immediately inquire at each place whether there is reason to suppose that relief will be more effectually and wisely given by importing grain into the province, than by furnishing to the distressed population the means of purchasing that which finds its way there naturally. Until they receive a reply to this inquiry, they will abstain from taking any measures to carry out Mr. Moncrieff's suggestion."

272. The statement that rice was selling in the interior of the Pooree district at nearly 10 seers per rupee was a mistake, the prices having been long quite nominal; and, in fact, on referring to the returns we find that no such prices had been returned for several weeks from any part of the Pooree district, except in the small outlying portion, north of the Chilka Lake, on the Ganjam Road, where small supplies from Gopalpore may possibiy have been received. No returns were made from other places in the interior, probably because there was

* The Secretary's.

was no rice for sale. The statement, therefore, that "it is at Pooree itself, only that there is extreme pressure," seems to us to have been unsupported by sufficient facts, and directly opposed to Mr. Barlow's published letters. In fact, as we now see that the local officers had explained to the Commissioner, it was at Pooree that the least pressure was felt, there being money there to buy up whatever small supplies were anywhere to be had, and something being obtained at a high price from Gopalpore.

273. We have before (paragraphs 192, 245, 254) noticed the circumstances under which the letters of Messrs. Muspratt and Cornell, referred to by the Board, were written, and the former is hardly correctly quoted, since Mr. Muspratt did not say that there was food enough in the country, but that the stock of rice, *aided by imports from Arracan*, would suffice if money was forthcoming.

And in truth five days before the date of the Board's letter, abandoning his expectation of private imports, he had both telegraphed and written to Government in strong terms to ask for the importation of rice for the starving. The telegram, at least, seems to have been at the time in the Government Secretariat Office at Calcutta, and the day after the Board's letter was written, the Government telegraphed from Darjeeling—

"Magistrate of Balasore writes:—Rice required for free distribution to about 3,000 starving of all ages. Might be sent to mouth of Balasore river, and could be unladen by aid of sloops of this port."

But the determination of the Board was not then altered.

274. There is no doubt that this determination caused a most unfortunate delay of a week in respect of importation at a time when minutes were precious, and when days made an enormous difference in the result: for the burst of the monsoon was rapidly approaching. We think that the determination was dictated by a too long and rigid adherence to a principle good in itself, but very injurious when local circumstances are disregarded; the more so if in zeal for the principle, the facts are viewed with some bias. It is, however, fair to repeat that the Board do not seem to have been at this time so well informed as the Government, of the details of the distress in Balasore, the reports having been made by the local officers direct to Government. They had not the official report of the 10th May regarding Pooree, but Mr. Barlow's letters of 9th and 15th May had been published in the newspapers. That they had as yet failed to understand the nearness of a great crisis is, we think, apparent, since the junior member, who alone, in the Board's establishment, had the knowledge of Orissa so necessary, when importations were commenced, left for Darjeeling immediately after the dispatch of the letter of the 22nd May.

275. Although the Board had not officially made inquiries during the period which we have been reviewing, Mr. Chapman, as an individual, seems in May, to have sought information from the Collectors with a view to ascertain the necessity for a general subscription, and he received in reply the letters from Mr. Barlow and Mr. Cornell, of 15th and 16th May, to which reference has already been made.

On the 18th May, Mr. Chapman, referring to the second appeal of the Balasore committee, had written to the *Englishman*, disclaiming any public character when he consented to receive subscriptions on their account, saying that "pressing as is the need at Balasore, it is more pressing at Cuttack, and still more pressing at Pooree," and more decidedly urging a general famine relief fund. Meanwhile he expressed his readiness to receive subscriptions. On the 21st May, Mr. Chapman sends to the same paper for publication the letters which he had received from Messrs. Barlow and Cornell.

276. A day or two later, Mr. Chapman again writes to the *Englishman*—

"Will you let the public know that the Government has assigned 10,000 rupees to each of the Collectors of Pooree, Cuttack, and Balasore, to meet the immediate distress. This will make contributions from the public for the present unnecessary. I am not sure whether the money is from the unexpended balance of the North West Province Famine Relief Fund, 'or from Government Funds.' The money is to be spent under the orders of the Board of Revenue, who have further authority to import rice, but I do not think that they incline to do so.

Rice is now selling in the interior of Pooree at nearly 10 seers the rupee; it is at Pooree itself that there is the chief pressure. Ten thousand rupees will help on each district well for some time to come." It also appears that Mr. Chapman, for some time, returned all subscriptions sent to him in consequence of his previous suggestions. He has explained that his action was solely as an individual, and that he was actuated by the consideration that having, since his previous letters, discovered the existence of a large balance of the North West Famine Fund, he thought that people would not have subscribed if they had been aware of this fact, so long as the former fund remained unexhausted, and therefore did not think it fair to take their money. We have no doubt that Mr. Chapman was actuated by the best motives, but in his communications his public character (or at least information derived from official sources) is so much mixed up with his individual character, that the letter certainly had at the time much of the effect of an official declaration that subscriptions were not required; and indeed, as both the Board and the Government of Bengal soon after that time determined not to appeal to the public, the conclusion was practically not far wrong. The letter, however, bore so much the appearance of a want of appreciation of the whole severity of the crisis as to call forth loud reclamations from the local committees in Orissa.

277. With reference to the expression regarding the Pooree district, "it is at Pooree itself only that there is extreme pressure," contained in the Board's letter of 22nd May, we may remark that it may be doubted whether Mr. Barlow's extreme caution secured for him that amount of confidence, when he did speak out, which he expected. It would rather seem that his previous reticence caused his letters to be received with some distrust. That his letters of this period, as well as those of Mr. Ravenshaw, were regarded with some degree of doubt, is further to be gathered from Mr. Grote's letter to Mr. Ravenshaw of the 29th May (Appendix), and the Lieutenant Governor's to Mr. Chapman of the 11th June (Appendix). The diffuseness of some of Mr. Barlow's letters may explain one expression used by his Honor, but the allusion to "random statements" seems to imply some doubt of the facts. We must presume that the head of the Government had taken a more sanguine view than the local officers, and that the Board of Revenue were with difficulty induced to believe that their previously announced opinions were mistaken.

278. The Lieutenant Governor's instructions for the disposal of the sums allotted out of the two lakhs of the former famine fund are dated 21st May (Appendix). The full amount of the balance of the North Western Fund does not seem to have been yet known, and the Lieutenant Governor reserved one lakh of the two lakhs received, for public works; but this order was afterwards cancelled by direction of the Government of India, the whole of the fund being devoted to purely charitable relief, and the cost of public works being defrayed by Government.

279. On the 22nd May, the Board had also (on telegraphic intimation of the grants made to the districts) issued instructions (Appendix), and at the same time they desired the Commissioner to consult the Collectors, and after due inquiry to report, as soon as possible, on the question whether it would be really advantageous to import rice.

280. On the 23rd May the Government of India, referring to a communication from the Chamber of Commerce, request "that the Lieutenant Governor will furnish the Government of India with some authentic information as to the actual condition of the people in the districts of Orissa and Midnapore, the only information at present possessed by the Governor General being derived from the public prints, and some indirect communications from private persons."

We have not traced any immediate answer to this letter; but on the 10th June the Government of Bengal sent to the Government of India the first of a series of narratives regarding the famine, which were from that time continued.

281. On the 26th May, in reply to various grants at this time made for public works, came the telegram from the superintending engineer, Cuttack, already alluded to:—"60,000 rupees no good as far as Balasore is concerned; we want rice. Workmen all leaving the works in Balasore division, because rice is not obtainable for their money. Something should be done immediately. Things

are

are as bad at Cuttack and Poree." And on the 28th the Lieutenant Governor sends a letter with this telegram to the Board (Appendix), requesting them to "give their renewed and immediate attention to the question of importing rice into the distressed districts, and to add that the Lieutenant Governor is not at all satisfied that the information in the Board's possession is such as to support their confident opinion that such importation is unnecessary."

282. On the 27th May the Commissioner reports fully to the Board, and on the following day to Government also. He sends a number of enclosures, making fully manifest the state of things; the whole will be found in the Appendix. Mr. Ravenshaw still thinks that the rice is in the country, but as people do not understand free trade they will not sell it; the laws of supply and demand do not avail, and as the troops and public establishments must live, he recommends importation for their use.

On the 28th he telegraphs to Government as follows:—

"Rice with utmost difficulty procurable in insufficient quantity at 4½ Cuttack seers per rupee. Bazaars again partially closed. Only one day's rations in store for troops, who are reported discontented. Commissariat have refused assistance; crime increasing daily. Public works and relief works stopped for want of food. I recommend immediate importation of rice for use of troops, for gaols, and to feed labourers on relief works, and supply food to starving through relief committees.

"Rice can be landed at Balasore River, False Point, or mouth of Dhamrah River, for Cuttack. I will arrange to do so.

"Mahajuns would supply on their own account if Government give a tug steamer to tow ships down the coast; no rain, and the early sown rice drop in danger.

"Send copy of this to Board. Full particulars by dâk."

This is followed by the Cuttack local committee's telegraph to Government on the 29th:—

"The committee, observing that the market price of the very coarsest rice is 3½ Cuttack seers per rupee, and supplies to any amount even at that high price are not procurable, resolved that an urgent application be made to the Government of Bengal for importation of one lakh rupees' worth of rice direct from Calcutta to False Point by steamer."

283. On this day, the 29th May, the Lieutenant Governor telegraphs to his Secretary in Calcutta:—"Request the Board to send rice down immediately to False Point and Balasore. Send the *Arracan* or any other available steamer; let no time be lost;" also, "tell the Board that, if necessary, they can indent on a second lakh for the purchase of rice;" and to the Board, "I have received alarming accounts from Ravenshaw of the state of things in Cuttack. Ascertain particulars from Geoghegan. The Board should at once arrange for sending rice from Calcutta to Balasore, Dhamrah, and False Point, as proposed by Ravenshaw." Importations were then immediately commenced.

284. From this time it may said that, for a few days, the famine was, if it may be so expressed, half realised. Letters to which we have already alluded seem to evince this feeling, and the officers who were in the hills did not immediately return; but the Lieutenant Governor's note to Mr. Chapman of the 31st May (Appendix) shows a strong conviction on his Honor's part of the necessity of importation, and great exertions were made by the Board, through their energetic secretary, to get rice off from Calcutta to False Point and Balasore. None was sent immediately to Poree, nor to the Dhamrah, but a cargo was ordered from Burmah, to be disposed of when it arrived as circumstances might require, and eventually, a month later, it went to Poree.

285. On the 2nd June Mr. Ravenshaw (Appendix) repeats his belief in the existence of stocks, though they cannot be made available. On the 4th of that month, having gone to Poree, he there recommends (Appendix) to Mr. Barlow to be cautious not to open too many centres of relief, and to the Board not to import to Poree for the present. Mr. Barlow, however, succeeded in getting a small supply of sea-borne rice from Gopalpore, with the famine money first allotted for relief, and the distribution of food on a small scale was commenced. In his letter of June 2nd (Appendix), after alluding to a demi-official letter to Mr.

Chapman to a contrary effect, which has not been found, Mr. Barlow admits that so considerable a trade with Gopalpore had at this time sprung up that for the present it may not be desirable to import for sale to the public. But describing the pitiable state of the "masses of crippled and starved persons staggering to get relief," he pleads hard for importation of grain to feed them, since, he says, the rice not being intended for sale, the measure can interfere with no laws of political economy. Even as respects the private trade, Mr. Barlow's view proved far too favourable. The Gopalpore supply was soon very much reduced, and his hope that it would be maintained until, with the fall of rain, grain from the Mahanuddee districts should relieve the market, proved wholly fallacious. The Mahanuddee supplies, when they came, afforded but a very little relief to the immediate neighbourhood of Cuttack; there was not a grain to spare for Poree. In fact, it soon became apparent that importation by sea to Poree was indispensably necessary.

286. On the 9th June, the Lieutenant Governor, having asked the Government of India for the balance of the North-west Famine Fund, authorised the Board to arrange for the importation of another two lakhs' worth of rice into Orissa; but the Board replied,—"Your telegram received. The Board do not think it necessary to order more rice from Rangoon at present. They will wait to see the effect of what has been done already and of the rains which may be expected daily. Another cargo of 20,000 maunds destined for Bourbon has been offered to them upon a guarantee, and they will accept it if prices do not fall at once. It is anxiety on account of the rains holding off that is keeping up prices, which are still reported five Bengal seers the rupee." On the same day, 9th June, the Government of India telegraphed to the Lieutenant Governor,—"The Chamber of Commerce has sent the following message: 'Accounts of famine in Orissa most appalling. Chamber entreat that the balance of famine fund may be immediately given for purchase of rice.' The Governor General begs for an immediate communication from you on this subject. Your latest advices have not led him to suppose matters at all so bad as the Chamber represents. His Excellency is ready to grant the fullest aid that the local government reports to be required." And the Lieutenant Governor, in reply, quotes the Board's telegram just mentioned, and adds, "the accounts which I have received do not support the statements of the Chamber, but it will satisfy the public to know that the whole of the Famine Relief Fund is available, and will be expended as required in relieving existing distress."

On the 10th June his Honor directed the Board to accept the additional cargo offered.

On the 11th the Board were authorised to expend the whole balance of the North Western Fund on importations of rice.

287. On the 16th June the Lieutenant Governor returned to Calcutta. Mr. Schalch immediately followed him. On the 19th a consultation took place between his Honor, the members of the Board, and two leading members of the European and native community; and from that time it may be said that, if the whole severity of the famine was not completely known, at any rate it was recognised to be of a degree sufficient to require all efforts, and all that was done that could be done by any ordinary means. A Government steamer was telegraphed to bring a cargo of rice from the Madras coast to Pooree, and arrived before the end of the month. Arrangements were shortly afterwards made to send rice to the Dhamrah, which, after a good deal of delay in preparing a Government vessel otherwise employed, and for other causes, were carried out in the latter part of the following month. From this time, then, till the occurrence of a certain break late in the season (which will be afterwards noticed), it may be said that rice was never wanting at False Point or Pooree. An advance of 20 lakhs, for importation, was sanctioned by the Government of India. The supply was only, unhappily, delayed and limited by the extreme difficulty of landing it and conveying it into the interior at that season of the year, no appliances having been prepared beforehand. More rice was procurable in Calcutta and elsewhere than was required, several cargoes having been offered and declined; some of these were cargoes shipped for, and eventually taken to, foreign ports.

288. The details of the relief operations will be shown in the district narratives; but as, owing to the peculiar features of this famine, everything else is wholly

wholly subordinate to the supply of rice by sea, which formed the exact limit of the relief afforded, we may here briefly summarise what was done. It may almost be said that every maund of rice landed from June to October saved a life, whether it was sold, given away, or stolen.

289. We have said that everything depended on importation by sea. In fact, the rains and hill torrents rendered the route by land beyond Midnapore wholly impracticable; and whatever was to be had from Sumbulpore came down the Mahanuddee in the rainy season by private boats, without Government interference, this trade affording but a small pittance of relief to Cuttack Proper.

290. On all the coast of Orissa, False Point excepted, vessels of the ordinary class could only lie outside, exposed to the full force of the sea, and unload, very slowly and with extreme difficulty, during breaks in the boisterous monsoon weather. Rice was sent into the Balasore river early in June, by a Government steamer of very light draught (the *Nemesis*) towing a small sloop; but the quantity thus conveyed during the early months of importation was but small, about 8,000 maunds up to the last days of July.

291. The difficulty of landing and conveying the rice from the False Point anchorage has been before noticed (paragraphs 32 and 207). Nothing can be better protected than is this anchorage during the south-west monsoon. Large steamers lie in complete protection, covered by a sandy island. But there intervene between the anchorage and the shore of the mainland several miles of shallow water; the ill-found country boats often struggled for several days against wind and current before making the landing place, and not unfrequently went to the bottom. The first supply of rice, in a tug steamer towing a ship, reached the False Point anchorage as early as the 4th June, and partly by water, partly by land, in carts, a very small quantity began to arrive at Cuttack about the 20th June. But then there was some delay, the main cargo having been sent on a price guaranteed at False Point, where there was no one, at the moment, to buy it; and the freshes coming down, interrupted the land transport, and delayed the boats so much that they were sometimes five or six weeks in reaching Cuttack. Although several vessels arrived in succession, we find it stated that it was not till the beginning of August that a good and continuous supply began to reach Cuttack.

At Pooree the landing was so difficult that after a comparatively small supply had been obtained from the *Arracan*, it took seven weeks (from 9th July to 30th August) to unload one steamer, the *T. A. Gibb*.

292. In the latter part of July a large cargo, sent from the Madras coast, in the Government vessel, *Tubal Cain*, was anchored outside the Balasore river, and it was hoped to unload her, with the aid of the *Nemesis* and sloops. But the *Guide* was about the same time dispatched from Calcutta to the Dhamrah. She waited some days at Hidgellee for a steamer to tow her. Eventually the *Nemesis* was taken for the purpose, and was delayed by the *Guide* getting aground for some days in the little-known channel of the Dhamrah. When the *Nemesis* was again available, the *Tubal Cain* had been obliged to leave by stress of weather. She eventually suffered so much in a gale that, after throwing over part of her cargo, she was obliged to make for the rice port of Akyab, on the opposite coast. Thus disappointed of a supply, Balasore suffered terrible extremities in August, and rice was there sold at less than three seers per rupee. In that month, too, the distribution of rice into the interior of the Cuttack and Pooree districts was much interrupted by floods of unusual magnitude. It was not till September that the relief operations attained anything like efficient proportions, and to some extent reached the mass of the people.

293. We consider it to be established that if, throwing aside all commercial and pecuniary considerations, and looking only to the extreme character of the emergency, some of the steam tugs available in Calcutta had been taken up to tow the best of the sloops to be found in the Hooghly and Balasore river, more rice might probably, at much expense and risk, have been thrown into Balasore. As one of the witnesses says, if one steamer could do so much, three steamers might not improbably have done three times as much. It is clear that tug steamers of the Hooghly, of a larger class, and capable of carrying a very considerable cargo (though drawing a good deal less than the *Guide*), might have been taken up, and sent to the Dhamrah, the country about which suffered perhaps more terribly than any other part of Orissa, and which to the last was never

liberally supplied. But at first there was no one acquainted with that river; and the master attendant tells us that his orders were limited to the use of Government vessels. We have not clearly ascertained why no attempt was made to employ the small private steamers which might have been hired in the Hooghly, in June and July. We cannot but think that there was some lingering fear of unremunerative expense, and perhaps still some want of knowledge of the extent of the distress.

294. It is on the evidence extremely doubtful whether, at this season, it would have been in any way possible to get a steamer and cargo boats to False Point, and efficient boats to some of the other ports. If, with great difficulty and risk, it were in any way possible to have sent them at the end of May and beginning of June (which we are far from asserting to be the case), this last possibility seems to have passed away during the period which we have described as that in which the famine was half realised. From the middle of June the monsoon was in full force.

295. With respect to the landing arrangements generally, it is to be observed that they were wholly and entirely made over to the Commissioner and local civil officers. Now False Point is practically very much nearer to Calcutta by sea than to Cuttack by land. It may be said to be within 30 hours' run of the former place, while the communications between False Point and Cuttack take several days, no proper postal arrangement having been established throughout the operations; during the rainy season, important letters sometimes took an incredibly long time. All the early letters regarding landing arrangements show that Mr. Ravenshaw's knowledge of the matter was then extremely small, and that False Point in particular was, at Cuttack, almost an unknown land, separated from the civilised country by watery wastes resembling the Soonderbuns. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose it to be the easily used port of Cuttack, because it was in that jurisdiction. And we cannot but think that if a military campaign had been in question, some attempt would have been made to send professional and other persons who might at least have tried to improve the landing arrangements, and assist generally at False Point and Pooree, as did, in the Dhamrah, Mr. H. A. Harris, who went to buoy that river, and who seems to have volunteered most admirable general assistance. We can only find mention of one person described as a "gunner" sent to False Point to assist in landing operations at the lighthouse. "Three officers of the Public Works Department" have been described as sent to Orissa for another purpose, but the evidence (*see* examinations of Messrs. McNeile and Muspratt) describes the three persons who arrived at Balasore, in no very useful light.

296. In the Civil Department an officer of high character (Mr. McNeile) was sent to Orissa, but he seems rather to have been employed as an assistant to the Commissioner than to relieve the executive officers, and the latter were not sufficiently reinforced. A covenanted assistant was sent to each district, to assist in relief operations, but these were all extremely junior officers, and quite new to Orissa. There was a want of experienced assistance to them agistrate and Collector in the great district of Cuttack, and in Pooree a large proportion of the civil staff was constantly employed in the mere landing of the rice, to the exclusion of everything else. Mr. Ravenshaw remained at Pooree for a considerable time in June. We could have wished that he had, under the emergent circumstances, more identified himself with the executive of the Cuttack district, the magistrate and collector of which, Mr. Cornell had already shown that action was not his strongest point, and in which some dissatisfaction with the early landing and transport arrangements was expressed, and some difference of opinion arose between the Commissioner and the relief committee. But after a supply of rice imported by the Irrigation Company for their own people had been sent forward, a staff of their officers was placed at the disposal of the civil authorities for landing operations at False Point, and eventually the whole of the landing and transport service became much more effective.

297. Money was given and discretion allowed to the local civil officers, and eventually, the first difficulties surmounted, they did, as a rule, throughout Orissa all that men could do. Mr. Ravenshaw is universally described to have been indefatigable, and the civil officers, as a body, exerted themselves with all

that

that energy and devotion which the appalling scenes round them demanded. They were generally well aided by the officers of police.

298. In the Public Works Department, from the end of May and beginning of June, there was no stint of money, and most liberal rates and rules, such as the relief of famine demands, were freely accorded; but in truth the time had passed for effective action in that department, and works of every kind were, in the following months, little more than a kind of check on, and test of, the comparatively able-bodied applicants for food, and used as a means of discipline and occupation.

299. In June all Orissa was plunged in one universal famine of extreme severity. Although there never were such crowds of starving people and such mortality in the town of Cuttack as in Balasore and Bhudruk, the state of that district, in which famine had been so recently discovered, was already as bad as possible. Mr. Kirkwood says that in June, at Taldunda, the distress could not be exaggerated; it was impossible to keep any sort of order among the famishing crowd, and "for miles round you heard their yell for food." The relief afforded by importation was as yet extremely small, in fact, except in the town of Balasore, hardly appreciable. In Balasore several thousand persons were fed throughout the months, but at Bhudruk and in the interior of the district the unrelieved distress was very great. In Pooree, there having been no importation by sea, the relief afforded was very small. There was not, at this time, the same visible rush of starving masses as in the other districts—a fact due, no doubt, in part to the inability of the collector to offer food, and in part attributed by Mr. Barlow to the greater exhaustion of the people and the greater mortality which had already occurred.

300. The only redeeming circumstance was that the rains had commenced very favourably, the agricultural classes (who set apart the seed-grain as something sacred, and keep it in a different shape from that intended for food) had still seed to sow most of their fields, and, for those who could hope to live till harvest, there was a prospect of relief in the distant future. Perhaps, on the whole, among all but the better classes of ryots, there was as much quiet suffering in June as in any month of the year. But in the Cuttack and Balasore districts the mortality was certainly not so great as in July, when the suffering had lasted longer.

301. In July some centres for the distribution of cooked food had been established in the interior of the districts, more were established in August, and in September nearly the full number of feeding places were in operation. The following were the numbers of these centres eventually established in each district:—

Cuttack	43
Balasore	22
Pooree	23

The most frightful suffering visible at a European station was at Balasore, where great masses of people congregated in a most wretched condition. The numbers at Bhudruk were also enormous.

The mortality may be said to have reached its culminating point at the beginning of the second week of August, during the heavy rain and storms which preceded and caused the floods. The people were then in the lowest stage of exhaustion; the emaciated crowds collected at the feeding stations had no sufficient shelter, and the cold and wet seems to have killed them in fearful numbers. The defect of shelter was then remedied, but the people throughout evinced great dislike to occupy the sheds erected for them. The floods which followed these rains were unusually high, and though considerably less so than those of 1855, they were more frequently renewed; the lands were laid longer under water, and the damage to the tracts lying near the rivers in the central portions of Orissa appears to have been excessive. In those parts the difficulties and isolation caused by the floods were such that, as we have before said, the rate of mortality was probably there greater during their continuance than at any other time.

302. In September there was some relief, not only by the greater extension and better supply of the feeding centres and sales, but also in most parts of the

country from the ripening of the small early crop of rice; for there being comparatively little land suited to it in Orissa, and a portion of that having suffered by flood, it was but small, and little was brought to market. At best the distress was still but a degree less than before, rice still sold at five and six seers per rupee; and it may be doubted whether the results of previous suffering, joined to its present continuance, and the effect of food on those who were much reduced, did not cause the mortality to be almost as great as ever. Many who had lived so long died when they received the meals to which they had long been strangers.

303. In the flooded parts the loss of the expected crop not only added to the present but terribly increased the prospective sufferings of the people. Looking to their means of landing, transport, and distribution, the local civil officers had previously indented for, in round numbers, about 250,000 maunds of rice; and the Board of Revenue, prudently leaving a margin for contingencies and losses (which in the sudden, unprepared, and disorganised state of things were necessarily large, both by accident and theft), had ordered 300,000 maunds. The local officers had originally calculated on a great abatement of their requirements from the end of September; but when they saw the effect of the floods, they raised their estimate by 100,000 maunds. The Board then (in September) ordered a further supply, and it was principally in the supply of this additional quantity that the unfortunate break to which we have alluded occurred. The additional quantity did not, in fact, arrive on the coast till November (much of it not till very late in November), when it was of little use, and consequently the supply of rice to the people was much curtailed in October, while it was still greatly wanted. The feeding centres were largely supplied, but sales were in very many places almost stopped at a time when the press of purchasers was immense.

304. The deficiency in October has not been sufficiently explained. There seems to have been a want of sufficient understanding between the local officers and the Board. The improved arrangements in September caused a larger expenditure in that month than the Board expected, and the losses proved to be greater than had been known. The Board do not seem to have supposed that the rice would be required so soon as the local officers found to be the case, and the local officers imagined that vessels announced to them were at hand, when, in fact, they were a long way off. Mr. Chapman, who had at first very efficiently managed these matters, was absent on leave; and Mr. Schalch, after ordering the additional quantity through Messrs. Gisborne and Co., returned to Darjeeling to rejoin the Lieutenant Governor there. Messrs. Gisborne proceeded to obtain the supply from Burmah in mercantile manner. But there was just then an extraordinary demand for cotton in China, and most of the ocean steamers of the port were taken up to go to China. One very large steamer, the *Asia*, was engaged, after she had started for China, to bring rice on her return, when she could not possibly be back till the very end of October, and, in fact, did not arrive in Burmah to take in rice till November; and other delays occurred.

305. Meantime, it seems to us that there can be no doubt that, by incurring extraordinary expense for tug steamers, rice might have been sent from Calcutta, or even obtained from Burmah (*see* Captain Howe's examination); and just when the difficulty was at its greatest, a cargo shipped by the French merchants for Bourbon in the *Charles Maureau* was taken to False Point and offered for sale. The Board, apparently expecting Messrs. Gisborne and Co.'s supply, authorised the Collector to take only a daily quantity. The communications from and to False Point occupied an excessive time, the letters directing the purchase miscarried, and after waiting 20 days, and writing some strong letters on the subject, the French captain set sail for Bourbon, an event justly described by the local officers as one of the most unfortunate of the whole famine. When, later in October, another French vessel, the *Pie IX.*, discharged at False Point a smaller portion of cargo which the Board had bought, and the remainder was offered for sale, the time was again spent in communications; and when the order of the Commissioner to buy arrived, the vessel was gone.

Meantime the feeding centres close at hand in the tracts which had suffered from the floods were almost denuded of supplies, and no rice could be sold.

The

The Board must have been under great misapprehension as to the probable date of arrival of the *Asia* and other vessels. In their report to Government of October 18th they speak of the *Asia* as "under despatch with 28,000 maunds to False Point," when in fact she was in China; and so late as the 3rd December, in a summary of famine operations, they speak of the *Asia* and *Dundas Castle* as having been calculated to reach their destination about the 10th October. The *Asia* was about that date due at Hong Kong on her voyage thither, as might have been learned from Messrs. Gisborne & Co., and, in fact, she arrived at False Point on the 27th November. It is very much to be regretted that such an unfortunate break in the supply should have occurred so late in the season. Both the Cuttack and the Pooree districts suffered, and for the former was diverted the *Coringa*, which was under orders for the Dhamrah, where there was still extreme distress and great want of rice.

306. The effect of the October shortness of rice in the Cuttack district is thus described by the relief officer, Mr. Kirkwood:—"In the month of October, I believe we could have sold 10 and 20 times as much, with immense good. People used to flock in in crowds, especially at Taldunda, and we had no rice to give them. There was no bazaar at Taldunda, and rice, as far as I know, was not procurable about there. I have never seen such scenes as I saw in Taldunda in October. When it became known that it was the last day of the sales, the rush and the struggle to buy were fearful. In October we were perfectly destitute of rice for sale. At the end of September we heard supplies were not coming; and I issued an order, with the approbation of the Relief Committee, that no sales should be made, unless there was a reserve of 200 bags at least at any centre. Up to the present time we have never, since the check at the end of September, obtained regular supplies for sales; but gratuitous relief has never been checked. The present amelioration in the condition of the people is owing chiefly to the coming in of the crops, which has made rice so cheap, that we could not have sold at our rates for the last month."

The stocks in hand happily sufficed to maintain, with great difficulty, the feeding centres; and though in some parts of the country the stoppage of sales was very much felt, in others the market was somewhat eased in the course of October: some new grain became available, and the crop on the ground was no doubt somewhat discounted, the small remaining stores being brought out.

307. In November the new crop began to come into the market in considerable quantity, and then the general famine may be said to have come to an end. The people returned to their avocations, leaving only the very emaciated, the orphans, and the widows. There still continued to be more general distress in the unfortunate tracts which had suffered a second calamity by the floods.

308. Throughout all the operations of the whole famine season, the distribution of food to the starving of the relief centres was, with little exception, never interrupted. During by far the greater part of the season these centres were not numerous enough; but it was a proper prudence not to establish more than could be maintained with safety, for if, after crowds of famishing creatures had been assembled, the supply had failed, the consequences would have been painful beyond measure.

309. Wherever rice could be spared from the charitable distributions of food, it was sold; and the difficulties and disadvantages of the gratuitous distributions were so great, the famine was so much more one of food than of money, that it may be almost said that the rice sold did more real good than that distributed. The system was to sell at two rates, one at or near market rates, so far as there were market rates, and the other cheaper; the former sales being conducted by Government officers, the latter limited to selected persons intermediate between the very poor and those better off, to whom tickets were to be given by the members of the relief committees. This last system, however, though it sounds well in theory, seems practically to have everywhere for the most part failed. The committees were very unwilling to exercise an invidious discrimination, the privilege was sometimes given to classes (old women, boys, &c.), which led to imposition, and altogether there was much confusion and abuse, and sometimes terrible crowding

and struggling. There seems to have been almost no limit to the quantity of rice which might have been sold at very high prices, if it had been available.

310. With respect to the whole system of distribution, the difficulties of obtaining trustworthy superintendence are said to have been extreme. Possibly they were somewhat exaggerated in consequence of the very unfavourable opinions of the Ooryahs which have been entertained, and if there had been more rice, perhaps it would have been better to have trusted the people more and submitted to the necessary abuses. But this question, as well as all those connected with the possibility of establishing more centres and more extended relief, are, as we have said, rendered of little avail as subordinate altogether to the supply of rice, on which everything depended, and which being limited, more gratuitous centres would but have involved smaller sales.

311. In the management of the feeding centres it may be said that there were three main difficulties:—First, the test of admission. So sudden were the arrangements, so overwhelming the crisis, and so small the official staff, that it is to be feared that, with a consideration for sex and age, the only general test applied was that of extreme emaciation; and of those sufficiently emaciated to obtain admittance, too many never recovered. For those not so bad, the attempt was generally made to provide some kind of labour, real or nominal, and food was given in return for labour. But when rice was short at the more distant centres, those who seemed tolerably able-bodied were turned out of these gangs and told to go elsewhere. The works of the Irrigation Company were nearly stopped during the rains, and the returns of expenditure show that the numbers employed by the Public Works Department at that season were small. It was almost impossible to carry on works then. Second, it was seldom possible to establish the centres within such a moderate distance of one another, that the recipients of food could come daily for it from their houses, the more so as it was the season of the rains. The centres became, therefore, the temporary homes of crowds of houseless mendicants, and the recipients of relief lived in a manner which must have been demoralising and debasing in the extreme. Third, there was much caste prejudice, and many were deterred by that most insuperable of native feelings from seeking food till it was too late; some died without seeking it at all.

312. There can be no doubt that all these causes exercised a very deterrent effect, and that of those who eventually sought and obtained relief, a very large proportion unhappily died. Every sort of bowel complaint carried off great numbers. Dr. Jackson, who was at the time civil surgeon of Balasore, and who honourably distinguished himself by his humane exertions, describes, in his examination, the effect of extreme emaciation, even where food is obtained before death actually results from direct starvation. We are told on all hands of many who, ravenous with hunger, ate food uncooked and very rapidly succumbed. Of those who survived for a time, the intestines of very many have been found to swarm with parasitical creatures to a degree which prevented their recovery —no doubt a result of unwholesome food.

313. It seems to us that a too complete prominence is given to the third of the causes which we have mentioned as deterring people from coming for food, *viz.*, caste prejudice to the exclusion of the other two, and still more to the exclusion of the fact that the relief came too late. To say nothing of that which our former observations will have shown, that if much larger numbers had come to the centres, either they could not have been fed at all or could only have been fed by stopping the sales and starving the better classes, it is abundantly clear that the harm had, for the most part, been done before feeding places were within reach of the mass of the population. And that, in truth, it was not caste or prejudice that was the main cause of mortality, is, we think, very evident from the fact that it is stated on all hands that by far the greatest loss of life has fallen on those lower castes who had least caste prejudice, whose manner of life least unfitted them to avail themselves of public relief, and who were most accustomed to labour.

314. The system followed at almost all the centres was that of giving food ready-cooked to the crowds assembled at meal time. The quantities allowed were various, as were the details of the diet. Every effort was made to introduce

duce good and uniform system, but the exigencies were such that it was impossible in practice to do so completely. There was, therefore, no doubt some variety. The scarcity of rice was so great, the demand so enormous, and the fear of abuse so constant, that the general tendency necessarily was to make the allowance somewhat scant, but on the whole great good was done by much praiseworthy exertion.

315. The members of the relief committees at all the stations deserve the greatest credit for their exertions. It was in every way the wisest and best policy to enlist in this great service of humanity all the best of those who were willing to aid, European and Native. Much was thus done which an official agency alone could not have achieved, and the public confidence and concord thus secured were of the greatest possible advantage.

316. It is very difficult to trace exactly how much food from time to time reached the mouths of the people. The supply was always so uncertain, the transport so intermittent, and the necessities so undefined, that at every depôt there was a constant fear of running short, so that not only is the quantity of rice which had arrived on the coast at any particular time far in excess of the quantity landed, the quantity landed in excess of the quantity transported to the chief depôts, that quantity again in excess of the quantity made over for actual relief operations, but again this latter quantity is in excess of that actually brought to use. At every centre it was found necessary to keep up a reserve stock. All these deductions being made, it will be found that the relief afforded throughout the greater part of the famine was painfully small in proportion to the population. By far the largest quantity of rice was distributed at the greatest number of places in the Cuttack district. In Pooree the relief was positively later, and, relatively to the commencement of the distress, very much later than in other districts, and the whole quantity distributed was smaller. In Balasore, owing to the failure of supply in August, most of the centres in the interior were established comparatively late. The Bhudruk sub-division, supplied from the Dhamrah, being distant from both Balasore and Cuttack, may be considered as for famine purposes almost a separate district; the Dhamrah supply came, as we have seen, very late, and it was never sufficient to admit of sales to the public, being barely enough to supply the great feeding centres where the numbers were enormous. It was in this part of the country at Damnugger, that the highest quoted prices are mentioned (one seer per rupee), and notwithstanding the admirable energy and management of Mr. Shortt, the suffering was very great.

317. The following extract from Mr. Kirkwood's evidence shows the general result of the relief operations in the Cuttack district, the one, as we have said, most abundantly supplied :—

"When I arrived there were only four centres — Cuttack, Jagpore, Kendraparah, and Taldunda. I myself opened the other centres subsequently. By the end of July there were 23 centres open in the district. These centres were only just opened by the end of July, and were not abundantly supplied. Until then relief was not upon a large scale. In August, things got worse, owing to the floods, which prevented the boats coming up, and we had'nt enough rice, scarcely enough for Cuttack. More centres (*i. e.*, new ones) were opened during August, and at the end of August I think they were comparatively efficiently supplied. In August operations were, on some occasions, it is understood, almost entirely suspended at several centres, owing to want of rice. For the first three weeks in September the centres were well supplied. About the 20th, sales had to be checked, as above-mentioned, by me. The result is that there was a tolerably sufficient supply of rice at relief centres through the district only for about three weeks in the whole season, viz., from about the end of August to the third week in September. I attribute the deficiencies of relief in July principally to want of supplies, and it may be partly to want of agency, which was only then being constructed. In August I attribute the deficiency to the floods which impeded the boats, and in October and November to deficiency of supply."

In truth, as Mr. McNeile tells us, even including the better general supply in September and the greater feeding operations of all the latter part of the season, the

the rice imported was scarcely enough to feed a twentieth part of the population, on full rations, for six months. If, by supplying a certain quantity to a larger number and supplementing their means, one-tenth of the population was saved (being about, as we said before, a life for every maund imported), a great work was done; though, unhappily, the number saved would be still much smaller than that of those who died.

318. The whole quantity of rice which had reached the coast up to the 31st October was about 138,000 bags, which are reckoned as 276,000* maunds or about 10,000 tons. It may be roughly said that the quantity which arrived after that time was not brought into use for the actual famine.

The total quantity of imported rice returned as issued from the Government depôts (that is, either made over for sale or entrusted to the Relief Committees) is thus given in maunds at different dates:—

Up to	District.			Total.
	Pooree.	Cuttack.	Balasore.	
June 30th - - - - -	- -	3,532	2,376	4,908
July 28th - - - - -	7,130	16,804	8,512	33,500
September 1st - - - - -	16,000	44,000	21,000	81,000
November 17th - - - -	47,300	1,48,700	74,000	2,70,000

But it should be explained that owing to hurried and loose packing, leakage, and pilfering in the repeated transfers, and other causes, the bags seldom, on an average, yielded two maunds; and an allowance of at least one-eighth must be made for short weight. Making this deduction, and also deducting the quantities in store in the shops and minor depôts (of which we have no exact account), we may state the quantities actually brought into consumption at the different dates to have been in maunds, roughly, about as follows:—

Up to	District.			Total.
	Pooree.	Cuttack.	Balasore.	
June 30th - - - - - -	- -	1,000	2,000	3,000
July 28th - - - - - -	5,500	13,000	7,500	26,000
September 1st - - - - -	12,500	34,500	17,000	64,000
November 17th - - - - -	40,000	1,22,000	63,000	2,25,000

or say up to 30th June, about - - - - - -	108 tons.
28th July, about - - - - -	930 ,,
1st September, about - - - - -	2,300 ,,
and total to 17th November, about - - - - -	8,000 ,,

319. The

* Mr. Ravenshaw's report of the 1st November gives the total quantity thrown into the country as maunds 2,57,000. But perhaps he had not heard of the arrival of the latest ships, or excluded some rice not landed. The cargoes of the ships now returned as having arrived up to the 31st October amount to about the quantity which we have stated. Deducting losses, &c., it may be generally said that up to that time there was supplied about the quantity indented for by the local officers before the floods. The full 3,00,000 maunds ordered by the Board on that indent had not arrived on the coast till the early part of November, and the further supplies ordered after the floods arrived in the latter part of November and in December. The total supply was eventually made up 3,98,147 maunds, but a large portion of the latter supply was not then consumed.

319. The actual relief accounts do not exactly tally with those of the importation, because some small quantities were obtained from local sources. But the following tables give, as nearly as possible, the quantities issued for relief stated in the nominal quantities at two maunds per bag, but subject to the deduction for short weight already noticed. The issues for sale can only be given to the point when the rice was made over to those in charge of the shops, &c., but the figures of rice distributed for relief are derived from the account of the bags actually expended in feeding the people. The numbers relieved are also given, but with respect to the entry for June, it must be observed, that of the daily average of 12,773 persons relieved, no less than 11,472 are taken from the Balasore return, while the quantity of rice issued for relief in that district was only 1,852 maunds, not enough to feed so many. Some rice previously obtained from local sources was in hand, and was used in the early part of the month.

STATEMENT showing the Extent of Relief Operations in the Province of Orissa in each Month from June to November 1866.

[The Quantities are shown in Maunds, assuming each Bag to be Two Maunds.]

In the Month ending	Quantity of Rice received in Local Stores and by Relief Committees.	Quantities Issued for Consumption.					Daily Average of Persons Relieved.		
		For Government Sales.		By Relief Committees.		Total consumed or passed out for Consumption.	Without Labour.	In Return for Light Labour.	TOTAL.
		To Government Departments.	To Public.	For Sale at Cheap Rates.	To be given to the Starving.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
June 30th - - - -	4,908	384	1,636	316	1,976	4,312	9,378	3,395	12,773
July 28th - - - -	28,540	2,796	8,439	7,331	4,700	23,269	25,293	6,321	31,614
August 25th - - -	45,757	1,249	19,623	8,405	11,033	40,311	29,634	11,651	41,285
September 29th - - -	96,153	2,538	30,841	17,336	30,708	81,423	52,741	19,391	72,132
October 27th - - -	62,346	1,786	15,259	13,087	38,268	68,401	59,725	25,416	85,141
November 17th - - -	33,872	30	3,454	2,626	29,321	35,431	48,414	24,762	73,176
							Daily Average from June to November.		
TOTAL - - -	2,71,577	8,783	79,253	49,103	1,16,007	2,53,146	37,531	15,155	52,686

STATEMENT showing the Extent of Relief Operations in each of the Districts of Orissa from June to November 1866.

DISTRICT.	Quantity of Rice received in Local Stores and by Relief Committees.	Quantities Issued for Consumption.					Daily Average of Persons Relieved.		
		For Government Sales.		For Relief Committees.		Total Consumed or passed out for Consumption.	Without Labour.	In return for Light Labour.	TOTAL.
		To Government Departments.	To Public.	For Sale at Cheap Rates.	To be given to the Starving.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Cuttack - - - -	1,48,767	3,282	49,754	31,520	52,565	1,37,121	12,381	7,177	19,558
Balasore - - - -	75,427	4,473	10,526	11,643	46,816	73,458	21,945	4,552	26,497
Pooree - - - -	47,383	1,028	18,973	5,940	16,626	42,567	3,205*	3,426*	6,631*
TOTAL - - -	2,71,577	8,783	79,253	49,103	1,16,007	2,53,146	37,531	15,155	52,686

* For uniformity with the rest of the statement, these figures give the daily average of Pooree operations calculated over the six months from June to November; but, in, fact operations did not commence in Pooree till July. The averages calculated on the five months only from July to November give—

Daily Average of Persons Relieved in Pooree.

Without Labour.	In return for Light Labour.	TOTAL of Columns 1 and 2.
1.	2.	3.
3,846	4,111	7,957

320. Regarding the effect of the famine in the Tributary Mehals of Orissa, we can give no details. No relief measures were there undertaken by the Government, and we have very little information regarding those tracts, beyond that which we have already given, viz., that the more hilly parts to the west suffered less than the low country of Orissa, but that the suffering in the undulating laterite tracts to the east, the Nilghery and Mohurbhunj Mehals, was very great indeed. Mohurbhunj is a very large territory, covering an area of upwards of 4,000 square miles, and the greater part of this tract must be included in the area of most severe suffering; but we cannot give even the roughest approximate estimate of the mortality; the population is thin, but in so large a territory the loss of life must have been in all considerable. In the smaller western mehals some of the rajahs behaved well, particularly the Rajah of Dekkanal. In the east they did not, and in the parts lying north of Balasore, the only relief seems to have been a resort to the Balasore feeding places.

321. Due north of Mohurbhunj is the British territory in which, next to Orissa, the suffering was the greatest, the adjoining portion of the Chota Nagpore division, that is to say, great part of the district of Maunbhoom or Purulia, and a part of that of Singbhoom called Dulbhoom. Commencing then with these districts, we shall briefly review the history of the famine in the affected districts, other than Orissa, to which our inquiry extends. A more full account (from the beginning) will be given in the separate narratives of these districts, and the general circumstances under which the famine commenced

menced, as well as the general principles laid down for relief, have been so fully discussed in connection with the events in Orissa, that we need not recur to them. We shall therefore be concise.

322. Maunbhoom and the adjacent part of Singbhoom similarly affected are, like Mohurbhunj, part of the laterite country which we have described as the famine tract of the second degree, forming with Mohurbhunj the western and largest portion of that tract.

323. Maunbhoom is, in fact, a very large district, and though remote, backward, and rude, the survey officers have estimated the population at so much as 700,000.

The parts most affected by the famine were to the south-east of the district, but it is stated that the greater part of the area, and a population of upwards of 500,000, suffered very severely.

324. The failure of the crops in these parts in 1865 seems to have been very great, but it does not appear that any special reports on that subject were called for, or made.

Prices do not seem to have risen to the most extreme dearness in the bazars of Maunbhoom so early as in Orissa. In March 1866 rice was quoted at 14, and in April at 13 seers per rupee. But plunder early appeared. It seems that the people of Maunbhoom and Singbhoom are very poor, and had suffered from short crops in the previous year. They are partly Bengalees and partly aboriginal Sonthals and Coles. Here, too, there is not the energetic trading class of Hindustan, and in those parts of Maunbhoom which produced any considerable crop, dealers from other districts carried off the produce.

325. Maunbhoom has the benefit of the permanent settlement of Bengal, and the assessment is light in an extreme degree; but the zemindars are described as generally bad of their class. They have not profited by good years, and little assistance was to be expected from most of them in a bad year.

326. Lieutenant Money, Deputy Commissioner in charge of the district, soon took the alarm, and in the early part of the season he represented his apprehensions of famine to the Commissioner. It was during his temporary absence on leave that the Superintendent of Police reported his serious apprehension, and recommended the expenditure of money on works to help those who otherwise must live by robbery. The answer of the Acting Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Westland, dated 19th March, is very singular; he declines to recommend measures of relief, not because they are not wanted, but because he thinks that no measures can be taken large enough to meet "such an universal famine as the present." His letter must be quoted—

"I have also observed with regret the increase of crime in the district, and cannot help tracing it to the same cause as that to which you refer it. The greater proportion of crime, at present, consists in theft of paddy and of rice, and a large number of the defendants, when charged, tell me frankly that they were reduced to such straits as to be obliged to steal the means of subsistence.

* * * * *

"I am sorry that I cannot recommend the adoption of your proposal to relieve the wants of the population by the prosecution of public works beyond the extent to which they are being executed at present. The 'few thousands' mentioned in your letter are being expended in the construction and maintenance of roads at present, and, besides this, works are being carried on within the district at Burakur Bridge, and on the Luckeeserai Line, and on the Grand Trunk Road.

"But the distress is so widely spread that all this hardly produces any effect, and to effect the relief of the people would require an enormous outlay of money. There has been a loss, a deficiency, of at least a rupee upon each beegah of land under cultivation, and a little calculation will show how enormous this is. Public works can relieve only a very small section of the population.

"Besides this, it is to be remembered that it is the want of food rather than that of money that is felt. Ryots, and others who have been accustomed to draw their means of sustenance direct from the soil, cannot be much relieved by having a few pice thrust into their hands. The most practicable means of

relief would be importation and, if necessary, distribution of food, which might be joined with carrying on of public works. But a step such as this is both extremely difficult at present (for the distress is common to this district, with all the rest for a very large circuit of country), and also it is one that can be adopted only at the last extremity of famine. * *

"On the whole, I think that for the present the people must be left to fight with the calamity that has fallen upon them, and that Government assistance, however advisable in the case of local distress, is impracticable in such an universal famine as the present.

"A copy of your letter under reply, and of this letter, will be forwarded to the Commissioner, that he may be informed of the present state and prospect of the district."

It will thus be observed that a copy of the correspondence was sent to the Commissioner of the division, Colonel Dalton, but he does not seem to have taken any action upon it.

327. Subsequently, Mr. Money, having returned, on the 10th May pressed on the Commissioner the alarming state of the district, forwarding another letter from the Superintendent of Police, and earnestly asked for Government aid. The Commissioner, however, seems still to have been strongly imbued with the principles originally laid down by the Board of Revenue. He did not consider that there was any extreme case to lay before Government. He relied exceedingly on the official price lists. For the class who could not buy, he approved of local subscriptions, recommended that the attention of the zemindars should be specially invited to the matter, and suggested that emigration should be encouraged. He also now desired the Deputy Commissioner to bring to notice any public works that could be undertaken in the most distressed part of the country. He forwarded the whole correspondence for the information of the Board of Revenue. In reply to a reference from Government, regarding the prevalence of robberies in the Midnapore border, he reported that he did not consider the general pressure to be extreme, and thought that the people were bearing up well against their difficulties.

328. In reply to the Commissioner, Mr. Money then wrote, demi-officially, the letter regarding the fallaciousness of price lists as a test of famine, which we have quoted in our 125th paragraph; urged the existence of famine; and again sought Government aid. In fact the price lists now supported the Deputy Commissioner. We find coarse rice quoted at 9½ seers in the end of May, 8 seers in June, 6 seers in July, and 4 and 5 seers in August.

329. The Deputy Commissioner continued to press the matter, and when it was known that money had been assigned for relief from the balance of the North-West Fund, the Commissioner applied for 4,000 rupees for Maunbhoom and Singbhoom, 3,000 rupees being for Maunbhoom. On the 28th May the Board of Revenue sent 2,000 rupees to Maunbhoom. Some local subscriptions had been raised, and the money devoted to works for the employment of the poor, and on receipt of the Government grant measures were taken to open feeding depôts.

330. Early in June the state of things was found to be getting very much worse, and the distress to be vastly beyond the means at the disposal of the Local Committee. The lower classes were dying of starvation, and the country was becoming disorganised. The Deputy Commissioner, who had before been in favour of importation of rice, now very strongly urged the necessity of that measure, since rice was not to be had at many places in the district. On the 14th June the Commissioner wrote to the Board supporting this view. The Government of Bengal also recommended the application to the serious consideration of the Board, and the Board promised to send from Calcutta 5,000 maunds of rice and dall. But in truth things turned out very much as they did in Orissa. Maunbhoom is separated from the railway by several rivers most impracticable during the rain floods, and when importation was commenced it was most tedious and difficult. The first instalment of rice did not reach Purulia till the 17th July; in that month the floods were unusually heavy in all that part of the country, and the communications were interrupted to an unusual degree. The price of rice in August sufficiently shows the intensity of the famine; under these circumstances, and when it is mentioned

that

that the local rate in August 1863 (a very plentiful year) was 43 seers per rupee, in August 1864, 32 seers, and in August 1865, 19 seers, the sufferings of the people may be imagined. In fact, it may unhappily be said that the history of the famine in Orissa is here repeated on a smaller scale and in a somewhat less intense degree.

331. The state of disorganization from crime seems to have been greater in this part of the country than in any other. In the three months from April to June, not less than 360 gang robberies for the plunder of grain were committed in the Maunbhoom district, and the poverty of the district and short crop of the previous year seem to have caused greater agricultural failure than in other districts. A very large proportion of the land lay unsown for want of seed in 1866.

332. In June a special grant of money was made for the employment of the poor, and although there was a good deal of the same difficulty as in Orissa, the labourers being unable to obtain rice, they were paid in food as soon as arrangements could be made, and the labour was employed on a system more calculated to give relief than to yield a good return of work. Thus during the following months much money was spent and much relief afforded in this way. Feeding centres were established in many places (the number at one time reached as high as 32), and considerable grants were from time to time made. The relief, however, came too late to prevent terrible distress and mortality. In July and August the suffering was very great. The want of rice was very much felt; it was not procurable at all in most places, and where it was, the prices rose to $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee. The quantities with difficulty imported from Calcutta were very small compared with the necessities of so large a district.

333. Caste seems not to have been the only feeling which has deterred people from seeking relief, for we are told that in this district the casteless Sonthals would not come to the feeding places. They "looked on begging and receiving alms as more disgraceful than man-stealing," and especially objected to be in any way associated with Hindoos.

334. In the course of September, a little new rice began to come into the market, and it was as the season advanced that the relief measures received their full extension, the largest grants of money being then made. The daily average numbers of persons gratuitously relieved at the feeding depôts were:—

In June	322
July	1,303
August	2,924
September	5,824
October	9,950

but this is exclusive of a large number employed in labour who were treated with much consideration by the Deputy Commissioner.

335. The total quantity of grain imported by Government was 6,000 maunds, and the public money assigned was—

In June	5,000 rupees,
July	3,000 „
August and September	5,000 „
October and November	28,000 „

of which last sum 23,000 rupees was given by the Calcutta Relief Committee.

336. The course of affairs in the affected part of Singbhoom was very similar to that in Maunbhoom, and we need not here give the particulars, which will be found in the separate narrative.

337. The mortality from starvation in this part of the country was certainly very great. The number of deaths, from that cause, reported in Maunbhoom, was about 33,000, which would not give a very large percentage compared to Orissa; but minute local inquiry in small sample tracts in the part of the district which most suffered, makes it clear that the actual mortality was there very much greater, being upwards of 18 per cent. In Singbhoom the Deputy Commissioner estimates the total mortality over the whole district at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or one-eighth, which he calls double the ordinary rate; but this latter statement can hardly be correct, and the former is no doubt a very loose estimate.

On the whole, we fear that in the worst parts of Maunbhoom and Singbhoom, mortality

mortality has occurred at a rate which may bear some comparison with that which took place in Orissa.

338. Next in point of intensity of suffering, as well as next in geographical position, taking the country from west to east, comes the district of Midnapore, the western part of which, it will be seen from the map, to some degree protrudes between the Orissa and Chota Nagpore territories. Midnapore is one of the largest and most important districts of Bengal, and by its position may be called metropolitan. The town is 69 miles from Calcutta by a good road. The population of the district is estimated at 1,200,000. But severe famine was chiefly confined to about half the area, and most of that was the jungly and least populated part, west of the town of Midnapore, and known as the Jungle Mehals.

339. In the lower country there was very great suffering about Dantoon, the corner of the district next to that of Balasore, and somewhat similarly affected. though rather later in the season. As long as the road was open, Dantoon was within reach of Midnapore and followed the fortunes of that district; but after the commencement of the rains, the road (which is not metalled much beyond Midnapore) became impracticable, and Dantoon, to a great degree cut off and isolated, in some sense shared the fate of Orissa. It is, however, principally as respects the Jungle Mehal country that the Midnapore district requires more special notice.

340. There was a good deal of panic and alarm in this district in the autumn, and prices then for a short time rose to high famine rates. Mr. Herschel, the Magistrate and Collector, took the alarm, raised subscriptions for relief, and contemplated opening feeding centres; but his attention was chiefly directed to the lower country, which had suffered terribly from the cyclone of 1864, and had then been the scene of relief measures. The popular feeling there had also risen strong against the attempt to export grain. It often happens that, with deficient information, there are great alarms which are not realized and little alarm where great suffering afterwards occurs. In Midnapore the crops of the low lands turned out much better than was expected, and (Dantoon excepted) there was, as we have said, no general famine there. Prices too were everywhere eased in the harvest season.

341. But in truth the failure of crops in the Jungle Mehals was very great. The Collector estimates the main rice crop to have there been about one-third of a full crop, and adds that the usual cold weather crops completely failed; but it does not appear that there were at the time any special local inquiries or reports on the subject. Crime made its appearance in that country very early indeed; in fact in January, earlier than in any other district; and its character was from the first apparent, being as usual directed to the plunder of grain. This country always is somewhat lawless, but the robberies soon became so general as necessarily to attract attention. The Commissioner of the Burdwan division, to which the district belongs, was ordered by Government to report on the matter. He accordingly visited the district in April, and was quite satisfied that the crime was entirely caused by want.

342. On the 15th April Mr. Montresor reported very fully on the subject. He said that at harvest time "there was a general rumour, if not a prospect, of impending famine," and that to this cause alone he unhesitatingly attributed the crime, the character of which as directed to the plunder of grain he described. He explained that it was in the Jungle Mehal country that this want and the crime caused by want existed, and showed that in that poor country the pressure of prices was more severe than elsewhere, having already reached the rate of 10 seers per rupee. He hoped, however, that the rate of 8 seers would not be reached, and was informed by Mr. Terry, the Agent of Messrs. Watson & Co.'s extensive property, that he did not apprehend famine, and that as soon as rain fell, prices would immediately go down and employment in cultivation would put a stop to further plunder. The late Judge, he said, seemed to have been under the impression that there was no such severe distress as to palliate the crime, and inflicted severe sentences, but, said Mr. Montresor, "if his opinion be such as I have stated, I must differ with him altogether, and there is not a single person with whom I have conversed on the subject during my stay at Midnapore, that does not agree with me, that there is ample evidence to prove that

that hunger is the origin and cause of the augmentation of crime." Mr. Montresor does not, however, seem to have proposed any special remedy except that, with reference to the apprehended spread of dangerous tendencies among the wild jungly tribes who were "easily led to believe that plunder is the surest corrective to want and hunger," he strongly recommended that the police should be strengthened; and since he thought that, to the wild people whom he had mentioned, the gaols were not disagreeable, but on the contrary were with "the food and shelter that is provided rather agreeable and genial," he recommended the introduction of the Whipping Act.

343. On the 27th April Mr. Montresor submitted to Government a further report of the Magistrate of Midnapore, of the 25th idem, in which Mr. Herschel stated that the price lists showed a continued enhancement. At Dantoon bad rice was nine seers per rupee, and stories were afloat of the lower castes taking to raw cow's flesh and human corpses, the latter tale originating in the act of a madman. Mr. Herschel also stated that there was great alarm in the minds of the people, and that the old and infirm were beginning to die from insufficient food. He now explains that he used this expression in a very general manner, as indicating an increase of general mortality rather than direct and visible starvation.

344. He said, in the concluding paragraph of his report of 25th April, "I have still hope that the rain may bring forward cultivation, and that the granaries will then open more freely." The effect of the previous happy issue of the alarm on the other side of the district was to cause delay and hesitation, and Mr. Herschel tells us that he had resolved not to attempt relief till the rate got as low as eight seers per rupee, because rates had fallen to that point in the autumn without causing mortality. In fact the pressure of prices had been on the previous occasion very brief during a short panic, and a similar price, when some months must pass without relief, is a very different thing.

345. Rice was still not so dear as in Orissa in any part of the district, and never was so dear as in both Orissa and Maunbhoom. The following shows the Midnapore prices:—

Months.		Seers per Rupee.	Months.		Seers per Rupee.
January	1866	12¼	July	1866	7 6/10
February	„	11	August	„	6¼
March	„	10⅗	September	„	7¼
April	„	10⅜	October	„	9
May	„	9 3/16	November	„	17¾
June	„	8 1/10	December	„	24

346. On receipt of the reports of the Commissioner, the Government of Bengal, on the 28th April, directed that the repair of the roads in the district should be pushed on, in order to give employment to the distressed population. This does not seem to have led to any very special arrangements of a relief character on those roads, but on the 30th April the Government sent a telegraphic order to commence work on a great tank which had been designed for the gaol, and on the 17th May the work was commenced as a special relief work. Liberal rates for daily labour were then given, and about 500 people were beneficially employed. But here, too, the result not being commensurate to the expense, task work was subsequently introduced. And although in the subsequent months more money was sanctioned and many works commenced, the result was small, the number employed on relief works in the district by the Public Works Department averaging but about 484 persons daily.

Later in the season some part of the money sanctioned was usefully diverted to enable the collector to make district roads; but in Midnapore, too, it must be said that relief works came too late, and coming late were not till still later put upon a footing sufficiently adapted to the then reduced state of the people.

347. On the 12th May the Government of Bengal sent to the Government of India copy of the Commissioner's report on Midnapore, and reported the increased police force which had been sanctioned; also that the Whipping Act had been extended to the Jungle Mehals; and mentioned that reports had been called for from other divisions.

348. In May Mr. Herschel went to meet the Commissioner of Orissa at Mohurbhunj

Mohurbhunj on business not relating to the famine. In passing through his own district, his attention was not attracted by excessive distress, but in Mohurbhunj he was a witness to acute famine, heard what had come to pass in Orissa, and saw Mr. Ravenshaw feeding the starving. This excited his apprehensions as to the eventual result in his own district, and on his return he stopped at a place in the Jungle Mehals, and offered food to the starving. The result was to bring the famine-stricken and emaciated in numbers from their hiding places, and Mr. Herschel at once became aware of a state of things which he had not known before, and ascertained that there was already mortality directly resulting from starvation. On his return from Midnapore he immediately organized relief operations under a local committee.

349. On the 19th May he noted on his weekly price current that deaths from starvation were occurring, and on the 26th he made a full report. Meantime, on receipt of the two lakhs of the North West Fund, the Lieutenant Governor had, on the 21st May, made one of the first assignments to Midnapore, 5,000 rupees, and apparently before receipt of the letter (upon the telegraphic assignment of funds) the junior member of the Board had, on the 23rd May, sent the same sum. The distribution of food was then commenced, and gradually a number of feeding centres were opened in the interior of the district. Eventually they were 23 in all, and a large number of persons were relieved. The average daily numbers were as follows :—

June - - - - - - - -	5,155
July - - - - - - - -	7,442
August - - - - - - - -	9,606
September - - - - - - - -	8,752
October - - - - - - - -	6,476
November - - - - - - - -	4,274

But the scale of rations allowed in this district was very small; at first very much too small.

350. In the end of June, a European assistant (Mr. Man) was sent out to report, and described a state of things much worse than had been before understood. Up to this time the collector's estimate of the aid required had been very moderate, but on Mr. Man's return, he became much more seriously alarmed, and he sought and obtained larger funds for more extensive relief than had been at first attempted. The Board declined to import rice, the road to Calcutta being open, but even at such a place as Midnapore and with such a demand, the Bengalee traders were not equal to the task, and the committee imported rice from Calcutta on their own account for relief operations, and sent it forward on bullocks to the feeding centres, the officers of police managing the transport operations. There were no sales to the public in this district, and an attempt late in the season to make charitable sales at low rates, was not successful and was not long carried on. The relief operations were, therefore, almost entirely in the shape of supplying small rations gratuitously to those actually starving. During the greater part of the season the rice was given raw.

351. It is now clear that the nature and degree of the distress was not known, and operations were not commenced sufficiently early. Comparatively large as was the relief at last afforded, Mr. Herschel does not think that, at the best, it reached half the starving population, and there was unhappily a large mortality which he estimates at about 50,000; say one-tenth of the whole population seriously affected. But in some of the more remote parts the mortality was, it is to be feared, larger. Mr. Terry's statement seems to show that in some parts the labouring population died in larger proportion, and it is said that in one jungly tract the population of stone-masons and iron-smelters has almost disappeared.

352. Late in the season rice was imported by the Board of Revenue, but it was too late; it then proved that the collector's latter estimates of the amount of relief required exceeded the eventual necessity. The new crop was excellent; from October the famine very rapidly abated, and when the crop came in, there was cheapness and plenty. The only complaint since made has been of exportation.

353. Although

353. Although there were exceptions, the collector tells us that, notwithstanding the wealth and resources of the district, the natives, as a body, did not assist till pressed to do so. The zemindars, who did much, were the exception. The superior classes of ryots seem to have suffered very little, but grave doubt has been thrown on the voluntary character of some subscriptions for the sufferers realized from them. Part of the district is permanently settled, and part, owing to liability to floods, is held under temporary settlement. The permanently settled part suffered most in the famine, and the same was the case in Orissa; but this is attributable in Midnapore altogether, in Orissa chiefly, to natural causes only.

354. We may here briefly dispose of Beerbhoom, the most northern district of the Burdwan division. Distress did not appear till late. The work on the railway running through the district afforded ample employment to the poor, and the floods, which in July were very heavy in that part of the country and caused great injury to many, benefited others, for the railway embankments being broken through, and the urgency to repair them being great, very liberal employment was given to many thousand women and children (especially those of the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal classes) in carrying earth, the species of labour of all others most suited to them. The President saw them at that time working like ants in immense numbers, apparently very happy and in excellent condition. In August, however, it seems that some distress appeared at Sooree, the head quarters of the district, and on the 18th of that month the collector reported the formation of a committee and the raising a fund of 1,648 rupees in donations, and 283 rupees monthly subscription, and that 200 or 300 persons were being relieved daily. There was also distress in the most remote part of the district away from the railway, and a second centre of distribution was opened at Tateeparah, and a road undertaken from Chanderpoor to Buckessur, to supply work.

355. On the 18th September, Mr. Collector T. Grant reports on his inspection of the distressed parts of the district:—

"The distress was severe at Nuggur, on the borders of Sonthalia, and is increased by the influx of Sonthals; it is severe all along the Sonthal frontier. Full half of the distressed people on the Beerbhoom side of the frontier are Sonthals.

"Sooree is also a centre of distress; there is distribution of food with careful exclusion of those who can work; nevertheless, numbers have increased to 546. One-half are Sonthals. Eighteen people died of ascertained starvation in August; distress attacked only the labouring classes.

"Crops promise well; much land cultivated which before lay waste; very little Aoos in the district; good crop of Jonera or Indian corn.

"Sheds for housing homeless erected by committee at Sooree; cooked food distributed; rice, curry, vegetables, &c. Two roads set in hand, but not one pauper works on them; only 40 work at all. Magistrate will not abandon the labour test.

"Committee have 2,900 rupees to spend; expect 2,000 rupees more; propose to establish a depôt at Nuggur, under assistant magistrate to be deputed there."

No Government aid was given here, and no further reports had been made to the Commissioner up to November, when Mr. Dampier visited Burdwan. The local means seem to have well sufficed to meet the partial distress.

356. Next we take the district of Bancoorah, also in the Burdwan division. It lies between Midnapore, Maunbhoom, and Beerbhoom. The town of Bancoorah is, as the crow flies, somewhat more distant from Calcutta than Midnapore, but it is within 30 miles of the railway, from which, however, some hill streams, very difficult to pass in the rains, separate it. Bishenpore, the place which most suffered, is about 70 miles from Calcutta.

357. Much of the district is a dry laterite soil, and the crops suffered very much.

On the 28th February the magistrate, Mr. Wells, reported to the Commissioner and to the Government direct—"The inhabitants of Bishenpore and of the district generally are suffering from the greatest destitution. The scarcity

of labour and dearness of provisions is such that many are dying from starvation, and others eat such rotten and bad stuff (for the food can hardly be termed provisions) that numbers are daily dying from cholera, and the bodies lie on the roads unburied."

He then proceeded to Bishenpore, and on the 3rd March reported that his previous statement was a mistake; that the native doctor had got frightened, and falsely reported the deaths to be due to starvation, when in fact cholera was the cause.

He added, however, "there can be no doubt that the cholera is aided by, if not consequent on, the extreme scarcity of food, and as the assistance required must be immediate to be effectual, the judge and I have subscribed a sum which will be sufficient to alleviate in some measure the distress till the meeting which I have called assembles."

358. Mr. Wells begged that the railway works on the new chord line in the neighbourhood of his district might he pushed on in order to give employment, and a copy of his letter was sent to the agent of the railway. The Commissioner was also called upon to report the cause of scarcity.

359. In reply, on the 26th March, the Commissioner sent another letter from the magistrate, stating that scarcity was in great degree caused by exportation to Midnapore and Cuttack, where the pressure of prices was still greater. The unburied bodies were the result of a panic regarding cholera, but it was abating. The sufferers were the poor and middle classes. Among these the weavers were in great distress. "Thread is dear and the demand slight; these men are thus robbed of their employment, and cannot compete in coolie labour with ordinary coolies, who also are dying for want of earnings, and, consequently, of food." Six hundred persons, he said, were employed by the Local Relief Fund, and by a liberal native who was digging a tank. There the correspondence seems to have ceased for some two months, and the distress was dealt with by local means only. Mr. Wells was soon after transferred to another district. Local relief was, however, pushed on.

360. The price of rice became very high, and, the dealers failing to import, the local committee imported from Calcutta, and supplied the labourers employed by them with rice at cost price or 10 seers per rupee. The local means, however, became very insufficient, and great difficulty was experienced.

361. The distress was general throughout great part of the district, but beyond some very small works which some zemindars were induced to undertake, it was not possible to afford any general relief. In and about the town of Bishenpore the distress was of a peculiar character, that place being the head quarters of the weavers alluded to by Mr. Wells. In fact, the weavers generally in all that part of the country, including those in the Hooghly district, and in parts of Midnapore, are known as "the Bishenpore weavers." The whole class suffered very severely. In April, a small subscription was made on the spot for the employment of the Bishenpore people, and part of the money was actually collected, but from some neglect of the local officers, it was not used during several months in which the distress was greatly increasing.

362. In May the judge of Bancoorah, Mr. W. T. Tucker, who has throughout been most unwearied and most liberal in the cause of the famine-stricken, and who, after Mr. Wells' departure, seems to have taken the lead in all that was done, addressed the Government, representing the necessity of assistance, and the local committee (of which he was president), hearing of the grant of the North West Famine Fund, made application for 10,000 rupees for relief. It appears that 5,000 rupees had been already granted among the first assignments, of which the committee were not aware. No more was received at that time. The local committee devoted the money to the importation of rice, and throughout the season they carried on an active and successful importation from Calcutta, by which they were enabled to sell to needy persons and others, at rates much more favourable than those at which rice was, with much difficulty and very irregularly, to be obtained from the local dealers. No doubt much good was done, and the success of the measure is alone proof that the dealers

dealers had failed to do what they might have been expected to do on any ordinary trade principles. Whatever difference of opinion there might be as to the propriety of the course adopted, as respects sale to the public, there can be no doubt that the committee of this district deserve very great credit for that in which they stand alone, viz., their having early in the season, and from their own funds, rendered their relief works really effectual, so far as they went, by procuring the means of paying the labourers in the wages most acceptable to them, that is, in food.

363. In July the Committee applied for an additional grant of 10,000 rupees for direct relief, and for another 10,000 rupees for works. They received 5,000 rupees. The means available had still not admitted of general relief in the interior of the district, and the Committee directed their attention too exclusively to the local distress before their eyes.

364. In August the Board of Revenue called on the Committee to take steps to prevent the Bishenpore weavers from flocking into Calcutta. An additional grant was given for this purpose, and relief operations were set on foot at Bishenpore.

Considerable grants were made to this district later in the season, but the distress seems to have been mitigated by the early crops of new rice sooner than in most other parts of the country with which we have had to deal. There is much high land suited for early rice, and it seems that in the end of August there was a sensible amelioration, which was continued in September. The new crop then on the ground is described as having been magnificent.

365. There was much distress in the Raneegunge sub-division, into which many people flocked from the west. Of the relief operations there mention will be found in the district Narrative.

366. There can be no doubt that up to August sufficient funds were not supplied to the Bancoorah district for relief purposes, and that the measures of the Local Committee were cramped and limited in consequence. The weavers, unlike their brethren in Hooghly, seem to have gladly accepted labour, and it is the more to be greatly regretted that extensive employment was not offered to them early in the season.

367. There seems to be still considerable difference of opinion as to the character and extent of the mortality in Bishenpore and its neighbourhood, and the local officers are inclined to think that in the district generally the mortality from direct starvation was not great. No doubt there were greater facilities for emigration than in most of the severely distressed districts, and the earlier cessation of the most extreme pressure must have saved many. But the scarcity was so great for several months that very many must have suffered. We cannot form any estimate of the mortality.

368. The district of Burdwan is rich, and the failure of the crops was not sufficient to cause very severe distress among the agricultural population, except in some limited tracts which suffered from flood in 1866. But high prices, of course, caused distress among the non-agriculturists, and there was a great influx of poor people from the western districts into the town of Burdwan, especially when measures were taken to prevent their resort to Calcutta. They were, to some extent, relieved by local charity, and in July a regular Relief Committee was formed. In August the Board of Revenue granted money, but in the beginning of September the Maharajah of Burdwan, who is superior landlord of almost the whole district, very munificently undertook to feed the whole of the poor in the town, and from that time he did so, the proceedings of the Committee being then limited to hospital accommodation and other subsidiary matters. Relief was also, somewhat late in the season, given at a few out-stations.

369. The Hooghly district does not seem to have generally suffered from the drought to a very excessive degree, but so much of the soil is devoted to the fruits and more valuable products (sugar-cane, jute, potatoes, plaintains and fine rice), that coarse rice is always imported from other districts, and those supplies having been curtailed by the failure in the adjoining districts, the price of the food of the people was very greatly enhanced. The greatest consequent suffering was in the west of the district adjoining Midnapore, where both the

effect of the failure of crops was greatest, and a large population of the weaver class, already alluded to, struggled with difficulty against adverse circumstances. This distressed portion of the district forms the subdivision of Jehanabad, and comprises the police divisions of Chunderkonah and Ghattal, in which there was the greatest suffering. The falling off in the business of the weavers, joined to the very high prices, must have caused a very heavy pressure on that class from an early period of the year, but it does not seem to have attracted attention at the head quarters of the district, for although, on the 24th May, a meeting was held in aid of the sufferers at Balasore, the subscriptions promised were not collected in consequence of Mr. Chapman's letter before alluded to, and local relief was not attempted.

370. In the middle of June, however, the deputy magistrate of Jehanabad reported the existence of severe distress in the western part of his sub-division, and in the beginning of July, he followed up his report by a figured statement, showing 2,235 men and women destitute and unable to work, and 3,750 able to work, but destitute for want of employment. A flood had increased the local distress, and destitute persons were flocking in from the districts on the west, and passing on to Calcutta. The magistrate and collector directed the deputy magistrate to raise local subscriptions for the relief of the destitute, and to push on work on certain roads for which funds were already available from ordinary sources. Late in July, the collector asked for a Government grant, but up to that time the Commissioner thought the local means sufficient. Meantime, local relief committees had been formed in the distressed tracts, and some considerable sums collected.

371. On the 14th July, Mr. Turnbull, manager at Ghattal for Messrs. Watson and Co. (already mentioned as large landholders in Midnapore), reported that since May poor people had been flocking into that place, that the native merchants and others had been feeding them, but that the numbers exceeded the local means. It being understood that ample food was provided for starving people in Calcutta by the rich natives there, and being known that many were proceeding in that direction, Mr. Turnbull and the Local Committee dispatched 235 women and 149 children to Calcutta by boat, paying their boat-hire, and providing them with food for the road.

The collector, on this, pointed out that it was undesirable to do anything which should tend to collect paupers in Calcutta; and, in fact, the immigrants from this part of the country had already attracted attention there. The Commissioner of Burdwan was soon after summoned to a meeting, which will be again noticed when we come to the Calcutta relief operations, and on his return he issued a circular (9th August) strongly urging the magistrates of his division, by every means in their power, to dissuade the poverty-stricken from going to Calcutta. It may be broadly stated that no public relief measures (other than those of a character purely local to the distressed parts of the district) were taken till the matter was brought to notice by the influx of starving and emaciated people into Calcutta.

372. On the 8th August a grant of 5,000 rupees was made by the Board of Revenue for the purpose of affording local relief to the helpless, and at the same time a special allotment of 6,000 rupees was made in order to employ the able-bodied. On the 13th August the deputy magistrate of Jehanabad was relieved of all other duties, and exclusively employed on relief operations. Cooked food was distributed and employment offered. The towns in which the weavers were numerous were the chief centres of the distress. The ryots did not seek relief. On the 21st August the Board of Revenue recorded their opinion that the relief measures taken had been insufficient, and that if the necessity had been sooner reported, they might have been taken on a more extended scale. It was then arranged between the Calcutta authorities and the Board, that the paupers in Calcutta should be, as far as possible, induced to return to their own part of the country. Local arrangements were made for their reception, and large numbers were dispatched for Ghattal and other places. They were at first very unwilling to leave Calcutta, but being supplied with sustenance for the journey and with money and brass vessels, they were induced to go. Many, however, disappeared on the journey, and many subsequently returned to Calcutta. The weavers who remained in their own localities refused to attempt ordinary manual labour on the roads, and insisted on

going to Calcutta. Eventually an attempt was made to supply weaving work to these people, but it was not very successful, and the Board disapproved of any measure which might seem to prop up a decaying trade.

Further sums of money were granted for relief, and the number of persons fed in the Jehanabad sub-division at one time reached nearly 6,000. But still very few were induced to work on the roads. The thriving agriculture of the season no doubt absorbed the ordinary labour, and the weavers never consented to change their habits, relief in Calcutta or on the spot being in fact available to them at the last extremity.

373. In Hooghly relief was given too late, but late in the season it was no doubt liberally given, and was probably somewhat abused, since it was impossible to be too strict consistently with the object of keeping the people from Calcutta. The amount of relief given by private persons at the principal towns in this district may be stated to have been large; it was, in fact, on a smaller scale of the same liberal character as that which we shall soon notice in Calcutta, of which these towns are now, in some sense, suburbs, since the railway communication is so easy. But the distressed tract was that most remote from the larger and richer towns.

374. Howrah, immediately opposite Calcutta, on the other side of the Hooghly, is the head quarters of a separate magistracy. For purposes of revenue and civil justice it is part of the Hooghly district, and its famine history followed somewhat the same course, except that the paupers were almost exclusively immigrants from Hooghly and other districts. There also the only assistance given was from local sources (except at Oolaberreah, to be shortly noticed), till the 8th August, when the magistrate attended the same meeting to which the Commissioner of Burdwan was summoned for the purpose of stopping the influx of paupers into Calcutta, and then some public relief was given.

Oolaberreah, in this district, is on the high road from Midnapore and Balasore, and the poor struggling creatures trying to get to Calcutta reached the place in large numbers. Many could go no further, and the scenes of misery were very painful. In July, Mr. Sykes, before so honourably mentioned, organised a special fund for Oolaberreah, and going there himself with the Reverend Mr. Payne (already notable for his exertions after the cyclone), established a feeding place in charge of Mr. Scott, of the Irrigation Company, who exerted himself most creditably, Later in the season the Government adopted and took over this charge.

The number of persons who died by the road side cannot be given, but 1,235 deaths are reported as having occurred at the feeding centres of this district, chiefly, as most frequently happens, among those who were admitted in an extreme stage of exhaustion, and who died within the first week. Further particulars will be found in the district Narrative.

375. Allusions have already been made to the resort of the starving people of the western districts to Calcutta. Early in the year a marked increase in the numbers brought to the pauper hospital was observed, and the medical department having called the attention of the Government to the increasing destitution, the chairman of the justices was asked to report on the subject by a letter of the Bengal Government, dated 20th of February 1866. This letter was not answered till the 11th of June. A sub-committee of justices had reported that destitution did not exist to the extent supposed by the medical officers, but on this report being brought before a meeting of the justices on the 11th of June, they resolved that, "though at the date of its being written the report was correct, a vast number of destitute sick persons have, within the last few days, arrived in Calcutta from the famine-stricken districts; the justices, therefore, desire to bring to the notice of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor the strong objections which exist, on sanitary grounds, to allowing this influx of persons to continue unchecked, and they would therefore respectfully suggest the expediency of extraordinary measures being adopted for preventing persons afflicted with contagious disease from proceeding to Calcutta." The Lieutenant Governor replied on the 29th June that there was nothing whatever in the state of the country which would warrant him in interfering with the free communication of the inhabitants of the surrounding

districts with the metropolis. Additional hospital arrangements were promised. In the end of May and June the influx had become very large. The paupers in Calcutta soon reached a number which is estimated at from 15,000 to 18,000. Nothing could exceed the munificence of the rich native gentlemen of the town in feeding these poor people, and the food given was in quality and quantity all that could possibly be desired. It may truly be said that throughout the famine, of all the poor people who came to Calcutta none have remained without ample food, except those poor creatures who arrived too weak to crawl to the places of distribution (*see* Mr. Davis's evidence), and were picked up by the police dead or dying. That the great majority of those who sought this charity were those who had suffered the last extremities of starvation before obtaining it, is sufficiently proved by the miserable and emaciated condition in which almost all arrived, and by the great mortality which occurred among them. The mortality was due partly to the results of past starvation, partly to the effect of abundant food on these enfeebled frames, and partly to the want of sufficient shelter; for, in the first instance, little shelter was provided, and the people so liberally fed at many places lay about the town in a wretched and mendicant condition. They were chiefly stricken by bowel diseases, cholera and dysentery, although throughout the rainy season there was comparatively little cholera among the resident population of Calcutta, and the general health remained good. A large proportion of the paupers taken to the hospitals died shortly after admission.

376. On the 19th June, Dr. Francis, Principal of the Medical College Hospital, had drawn special attention to the great number of moribund cases brought in, rendering it quite impossible to make provision for them in the ordinary hospitals. The floors, he said, were "crowded with poor creatures, who, stricken down by want, have fallen victims to disease." The Government, in consequence, called for a report, and on the 25th June the health officer, Dr. Tonnerre, reported. He said that nearly 12,000 persons were daily fed in the most liberal and unostentatious manner by the charitable natives; that their charity was in respect of food amply sufficient to meet the wants of all the destitute, but that shelter, clothing, and proper medical attendance were required. The only fault found in regard to the feeling of the poor was, and has been throughout, a want of sufficient discrimination between the really destitute immigrants and the ordinary vagrant beggars of the town and neighbourhood. Everywhere the liberal natives have evinced an extreme repugnance to apply very strict tests, both in their private charities and as members of relief committees. Their view seems to be that it is a good work to feed the poor of all sorts, and that in time of famine a distinction cannot be made between the poor and the poorest.

377. The Health Officer recommended that sheds should be erected on the vacant ground on the banks of the Hooghly, and that the immigrants should be collected in depôts, as near as possible to the places where they were fed; that they should be examined, and the really destitute provided with tickets; that clothing and medical attendance should be supplied, and that conservancy arrangements should be made.

378. In July the Justices voted 8,000 rupees to erect sheds in the town, and conservancy and hospital arrangements were to some extent made. Some clothing was also at this time supplied to the Health Officer by some liberal merchants, and a large number of commissariat blankets were, at his request, given by the Government of India.

379. On the 8th of August occurred the meeting between the Commissioner of Police, the Board of Revenue, the Commissioner of the Burdwan division, and the Magistrate of Howrah, with a view to prevent the influx of paupers into Calcutta, to which allusion has already been made. The circular issued by the Commissioner of Burdwan on his return was as follows:

CIRCULAR, No. 25.

From *C. F. Montresor*, Esq., Commissioner of Burdwan, to all Magistrates; dated Burdwan, 9 August 1866.

Sir,

OWING to rumours having been spread abroad in the mofussil that food and clothing to any extent may be procured in Calcutta by merely asking for it, large numbers of people, more

more or less affected by the present high prices of food, have been induced to proceed to the metropolis, and there congregated with a view to remaining there till more favourable times show themselves in the interior of the country.

I should be obliged by your endeavouring, by every means in your power, to prevent such wholly unfounded reports gaining ground, and by your dissuading, as far as possible, those who may be poverty-stricken from going to Calcutta, where they will be certain to be disappointed.

380. About the same time Mr. S. Hogg, Chairman of the Justices and Commissioner of Police, commenced the organization of a Relief Committee. A movement was also made to call a public meeting, and in the Committee which was nominated by the meeting, Mr. Hogg's Committee was merged. The meeting was held on the 13th August. For reasons to be noticed in another place, the measures of relief were for the time confined to Calcutta and its neighbourhood, but a discretionary power of extension was reserved, and appeal was made to the general public throughout India in terms which no doubt brought in much money for the relief of the general famine. At the meeting it was stated by the Commissioner of Police, who represented the Government on the occasion, that "it is not intended to interfere in the slightest degree with those native gentlemen who have so nobly taken the lead in supplying food to the starving multitude."

A large General Committee was nominated, but it is stated that, on the first occasion of their being called together, owing to a delay of the post office in the delivery of the notice, the attendance was small. On that occasion an Executive Committee was nominated. The occasional meetings of the General Committee appear to have been throughout but thinly attended, and in fact the whole duty devolved on the Executive Committee, of which the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police were the working executive members, and Mr. H. W. I. Wood, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, charged himself with the financial business. The Executive Committee met once a fortnight, and the members are stated to have been very attentive.

381. The provision of shelter and hospital accommodation was now rapidly pushed on, and the most liberal arrangements of every kind were made. At Mr. Hogg's suggestion the native distributors of charity agreed to confine their distributions to fit persons, to whom they were to give tickets, and who would be accommodated in the sheds provided for them in the town. In addition a pauper camp was formed in the outskirts, to which it was desired to draw as many as possible, and where, in addition to food, shelter, and care, distributions of clothes were made as an additional attraction. The same feeling, however, which has been observed elsewhere, against using the places of shelter provided by the officers of Government was apparent in Calcutta, and the great majority of the paupers seem to have preferred the native charity available in the town. There can be no doubt that the presence of large bodies of poor people affected the cleanliness of the town, and the river bank in the neighbourhood of the pauper sheds became very offensive. On the 30th August the Executive Relief Committee resolved, that "the time has arrived when all desultory relief afforded by individual benevolence should cease, and that a strong recommendation be sent to the proprietors of the various temporary private charities within the town either to cease the distribution of food, or else to remove their private charities to Chitpore, where they would be worked in communication with the Committee." Further, "that subsidiary to the plan of operations which is being prosecuted by the Committee, the Commissioner of Police be requested to put in force, with judicious rigour, the vagrant law within the town."

382. The policy of as much as possible inducing the poor people to return to their own neighbourhoods had already been adopted, and it was stated that the first detachments were to leave the next day, under arrangements concerted with the Board of Revenue.

383. There seems to be no doubt that, immediately subsequent to these resolutions, the town was cleared of the poor immigrants by the police, and they were conducted to the Chitpore camp. Mr. Hogg, however, states that this regime lasted for three days only, and that they were not afterwards actually prevented from returning. In fact, however, most of the native charities in the

town were then closed, and, excepting a pecuniary donation from one liberal gentleman, they were not transferred to Chitpore.

Baboo Rajendro Mullick, Hadjee Zekariah, and many others, were very remarkable for their liberality during the period in which reliance was placed on private charity.

384. We believe that nothing could have been better than the management of the Chitpore camp under the indefatigable superintendence of Mr Davis, the Deputy Commissioner of Police. The utmost credit is due to that gentleman, as well as to Mr. S. Hogg, for the efficiency of the arrangements there made.

The people entertained in the camp were, without doubt, in reality better off than they could have been in the town, and though their previous sufferings, and perhaps the change of climate, caused a large mortality, those who had not passed the fatal point were brought into excellent condition. But it is certain that the result of the policy adopted was much to diminish the whole number of poor people fed in Calcutta. The number at the camp never exceeded 5,000, and, during the three months of its existence, the average number was 3,593 persons.

385. It does not seem possible to give an exact statement of the mortality among the famine population, as they were not distinguished from the ordinary paupers in the earlier months.

From August onwards the number sent to the famine hospitals was 10,769, of whom, up to 9th November, 3,761 had been cured, and 4,276 had died. But this last figure does not include some additional numbers who died in the pauper camp or in the streets without going to hospital.

The total number dispatched to their homes by the Committee was 11,515. But the fact seems to be that, of those belonging to not very distant districts, many returned and may have been reckoned twice.

386. No direct relief operations were undertaken by the Calcutta Committee in the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, but grants of money were made in aid of the local committees. On the 21st September, at the request of the Lieutenant Governor, it was resolved to extend these grants to all districts where they might be required, and a fresh appeal was then made to the public.

387. On the 22nd November the operations in Calcutta ceased, and there remained only the destitute orphans collected in an asylum, where they were excellently cared for under the superintendence of the health officer and tended with unremitting diligence by some devoted nuns. Eventually the sum of 1,00,000 rupees was set aside for the permanent support of the orphans.

388. The financial result of the operations of the Calcutta Committee is as follows:—

	Rs.
Total amount received - - - - - - - - -	6,01,861
Spent in Calcutta - - - - - - - - - -	1,65,768
Placed with Mr. Hogg to meet sundry expenses - - - -	50,000
Assigned for the foundlings - - - - - - - -	1,00,000
Sent to other districts and paid over to the Board of Revenue - -	2,80,550

389. We next proceed to notice the districts east of the Hooghly and the Baghiruttee, affected by famine.

We have said that the principal of these was Nuddea. This is a large and important district near Calcutta. It is intersected by navigable rivers, and has been for some years traversed by a railway bringing it into very intimate communication with Calcutta on the one hand and with Eastern Bengal on the other. It is, in every sense, one of the most metropolitan districts and one of the most advanced. It has a college and large means of education, very large numbers of professional men are thence supplied to Calcutta and to other districts, and much of the land is owned by men successful in all departments of life. It is also a great field of European enterprise, and produces some of the finest indigo in the world. The district has always received much attention from the Local Government, and a very large share of the local funds, which the Lieutenant Governor annually distributes at his discretion. The railway

railway is supplemented by feeder roads completed or in course of construction, and a good deal of the five lakhs granted for famine works and devoted to these feeders was spent in the district and the neighbourhood, though it has been explained that, the former expenditure being only continued in the ordinary manner, these roads were not recognized as relief works. On inquiry by the Commissioner in the beginning of July it appeared that about 660 persons were employed on these works in the most distressed parts of Nuddea.

The official staff is also unusually large, the system of sub-divisions being carried farther than in other parts of the country. Nuddea has five sub-divisions, besides the head quarter division, in each of which an assistant to the magistrate resides.

390. The tenures of the immediate holders of the soil are, however, not of so good and valuable a character as is often the case in Jessore and some other neighbouring districts, and Nuddea has been the scene of much unhappy litigation between the superior and inferior holders of land. Hence it would appear that the valuable sugar-date cultivation and some other crops which require time and capital have not been so much extended as in the neighbouring country, and that the mass of the agricultural population are still poor and little advanced. The cyclone of 1864 did great damage to the district, sweeping completely across it. In the autumn of 1865 a large portion of the district suffered extremely from the effects of the drought, and the yield of rice was diminished by a large proportion. At that time the Collector reported "very serious scarcity and something of a famine already." But things got better, for the time, when the crop was reaped. The most acute suffering eventually occurred in the two sub-divisions of Chooadangah and Kishnagur, but the Collector does not think that this was due to a very much greater failure of the crops (as compared with some other parts of the district) so much as to the poorer condition of the people, who had especially suffered both from the cyclone and from litigation. In the course of 1866 the distress in a portion of this tract was also aggravated by flood.

391. Lord Ulick Browne, the Magistrate and Collector, tells us that he first observed some signs of distress in February 1866 ; and in March a missionary, resident in the district, addressed the Lieutenant Governor on the subject, upon which a report was called for. The Collector then made full inquiry, and on the 30th April he reported the probability of extreme distress.

Lord Ulick Browne has not that want of official courage which we have attributed to the Collectors in Orissa ; in fact, he possesses that quality in an eminent degree, and although the necessities of his district were much less than in the worst of those previously noticed, he has throughout framed his demands on a much larger scale, and has succeeded in getting more money than other Collectors, and enough for his purposes. In his first report he estimated the sum which would be required of Government at a lakh of rupees. The Commissioner of the division at once authorised him to spend 20,000 rupees from an available local fund, in order to find immediate employment for the poor. His instructions were, that work should be provided "for all who desire it without obliging them to go to any great distance from their homes." He would apply to have the money replaced, but if not, although the ordinary works of the year must suffer, "the circumstances justify some sacrifice in this respect, in order to alleviate the immediate suffering of the people." The Government eventually replaced the sum thus spent. Relief Committees were also then formed both at the head quarters station, Kishnagur, and at other places in the district, and local subscriptions were commenced.

At the end of May 5,000 rupees was assigned to the district by Government from the North West Famine Fund.

392. In June the distress became very severe, and the money was rapidly expended both in giving employment to those who could work and feeding those who could not. On the 18th June the Commissioner roughly calculated that about 2,500 persons were employed on the special relief works, and that on public works of all kinds nearly 4,000 persons were employed in the district. The people eagerly sought employment, the deterrent circumstances described as existing in Orrissa not here interfering with the supply of labour, and above all rice being more easily procurable for money or provided by local arrange-

ment. More money was applied for, and the Collector again pressed that a lakh of rupees should be assigned by Government for relief works, to be drawn upon as required. On the 20th June he received another 5,000 rupees, and further sums from time to time, to assist in the relief of the starving. In the beginning of August another 30,000 rupees was, at the request of the Commissioner, granted for works under the magistrate's superintendence, of which 20,000 rupees was spent, and 10,000 rupees eventually remained a surplus. In the same month work was undertaken by the Public Works Department on the Moorshedabad road, for the relief of the people in a tract which had suffered from flood on the western side of the district, and 23,000 rupees seem to have been usefully and efficiently expended on that work. Feeding centres were established at different points, and in some few instances allowances were made to a limited number of people at their own homes. Weaving work was also given to the weavers of Kishnaghur. And this measure is stated to have been even financially successful, no loss being incurred. At the worst time the number of people fed amounted up to above 10,000, and the quantity of food allowed seems to have been sufficient. The result of the various measures adopted was that (as we have before said) all mortality beyond that which is inseparable from a period of unusual scarcity was in this tract happily avoided, and a good crop following, the condition of the people was soon restored to its former condition.

393. Throughout the operations in the Nuddea District, the greatest assistance in the administration of relief has been derived from the educated and intelligent native gentlemen there to be found in every part, and who have taken a prominent part in the local Relief Committees. At almost every local centre were to be found one or more retired lawyers, or schoolmasters, or doctors, or other educated men of superior classes; and their action was excellent.

394. But as respects pecuniary means, the result of the subscriptions obtained in such a district, to relieve distress of considerable magnitude, was wholly insufficient for the purpose. Out of the total sum devoted to direct charitable relief (works apart, and they were paid for from public sources exclusively) less than one-third was obtained by local subscriptions, or not quite 11,000 rupees in all (Lord Ulick Browne's examination, page cci, answer 50). A large proportion of the superior landholders, both native and European, are non-resident, and no doubt gave their charities rather in the places of their residence than in those where their estates are situated. As respects the distribution of food after the native method, we are told that considerable relief of this kind was given at only one place, Ranaghat; other relief of the kind at some other places was small and exceptional. The zemindars did not, as a body, recognise any obligation to support the poor of their estates. It is evident that, without external aid, there must have been much severe suffering and mortality.

395. Even in this district the want of any enterprising trading class is so great that there were the most abnormal and extreme differences in the price of rice at places but a few miles apart, and with a railway and rivers carrying through the district the produce of Eastern Bengal, the local markets could not, without excessive derangement, supply the rice required; and the Relief Committee found it profitable to import rice from Calcutta and other places.

396. In the district of the 24 Pergunnahs, also in the Nuddea or Presidency division (and in which Calcutta is situated), severe distress appeared, somewhat late in the season, in considerable tracts, principally those in which damage had been done by the cyclone of 1864. But this distress was efficiently met by a large expenditure of public money, amounting to 50,000 rupees (of which 35,000 rupees was given by the Calcutta Committee), and we refer to the district narrative for details.

397. The district of Moorshedabad is in the Rajshahye division, but adjoins Nuddea on the north. The pressure of high prices was much felt in this district, rice selling at from seven to nine seers per rupee, in part of June, July, and part of August.

But very great relief was afforded by native liberality. The rich Hindustanee

tanee merchants settled in the neighbourhood of Moorshedabad (Rai Dhanpat Sing and others), and several of the wealthier residents of that city and of the sister town of Berhampore, distributed food largely to the poor, and a rich and benevolent widow proprietress, the Ranee Surnamoye, distinguished herself by great liberality at several different places. Up to a certain point it was hoped that there would be no actual famine, but in the course of July it was found that much local distress was beginning to appear in the south-eastern corner of the district adjacent to Nuddea. The Local Committee, presided over by the Commissioner, immediately sent out food, and an active native officer was specially deputed to ascertain the facts and superintend the operations. The distress was for a short time very considerable, but it was relieved by an ample distribution of food. Eight feeding centres were established, and at one of these the number receiving rations was at one time as high as 1,800 persons, mostly women and children. The plan was adopted of giving to each three days' uncooked rations at a time, and thus much of the inconvenience of the feeding centres was avoided. But, of course, this required fuller supplies and better superintendence than was available in the districts where the famine was most severe. The indulgence does not seem to have been abused, for as soon as the early rice crop was cut, the distress ceased, and the relief operations were discontinued. The relief in this district was entirely supplied from private funds, without any aid from the North-west Fund, the Government, or any other external source.

398. The Government of India has alluded to the uncertainty in the public mind regarding the facts of the famine; and the Secretary of State, to the omission to form a general Public Committee and invite the aid of the general public. These two subjects are in truth very intimately connected, and we shall notice them together.

399. We have already said that till a very late period of the famine, in fact we may say till it was nearly over, there had seemed to be a considerable divergence of opinion regarding the facts. Private statements had appeared, representing the suffering and mortality to be of the most extreme description, but it was supposed that the official opinions did not to the full support that view. The great mass of the public remained without a clear and decided impression on the subject. In fact it may be broadly said that, till a late period, the general public in Calcutta and elsewhere in India never did realise the full extent of the calamity.

400. That the Government of Bengal took a too sanguine view is evident from the reports made. We have mentioned that on the 10th June the Lieutenant Governor informed the Government of India that his accounts did not support the statements of the Chamber of Commerce regarding the appalling character of the famine. That opinion was again recited in the narrative of the 20th June, and in that narrative it is stated that "the general state of the districts suffering from the high price of grain is improving."

The narrative of the 10th July commences by reciting this statement, and adds, "His Honor is now glad to observe that this improvement continues."

The narrative of the 18th July commences as follows:—"Since the date of the last narrative the accounts from the mofussil, though showing that great distress still exists in Orissa, and in parts of Midnapore, Maunbhoom, Chumparun, and Tirhoot, are full of promise as to the future. Prices are already falling even in Orissa;" and after explaining the good prospects of the agricultural season, then commencing, and dwelling especially on the prospects of the early rice crop, it is added, "fortunately in Balasore this is the chief harvest of rice, though in other districts it is only a subsidiary crop." This last statement is an entire and singular mistake.

The narrative of the 24th July commences:—"During this week, the accounts received from the distressed districts continue to be favourable."

On the 8th August the accounts are stated to be "very cheering."

The narratives of 8th and 20th August are principally occupied with details, but in the latter it is mentioned that "from Balasore the accounts were less favourable."

On the 27th August it is briefly mentioned that "great distress had been caused by the inundations, which had swept away whole villages. Food had

been sent out in boats." This last and the subsequent narratives do not give much detail, except in contradiction of certain charges in the public prints.

On the 6th September the Lieutenant Governor, calling for a report on the mortality in Orissa, inquires " of what disease the generality of the poor people are at present dying, whether from cholera or from the direct effect of want of food?"

It is not till the 25th September that the great damage from flood, and consequent necessity for extended operations, is explained in the narrative forwarded to the Government of India.

Comparing the accounts submitted to the Government of India in June, July, and August, with the facts now ascertained by us, we cannot doubt that the view taken by the Local Government was too favourable.

401. It appears that early in June the Government and the Board determined that it was inexpedient to publish in full all the accounts received; that it was better to publish only a concise narrative of ascertained facts. Mr. Chapman explains this matter. (*See* his Examination.)

There can be no doubt that as respects the mortality and all facts relating to the progress of famine in the interior of the districts, the ascertained facts were very different from the actual facts, for the simple reason that, as we have shown, there was no machinery to ascertain the whole, and for one death and one case of distress ascertained, there were probably 10 or 20 unascertained. At Cuttack the fullest degree of misery was perhaps not visible at the station. At Balasore and Pooree none of the local officers could or did fail to be most fully sensible of the hideousness of the suffering by which they were surrounded, but they had more than sufficient employment for all their energies in most praiseworthy and energetic endeavours to relieve that suffering, and had little occasion to paint all its details in writing. The tone of some of the letters (especially that of the Lieutenant Governor of the 11th June) and Government narratives which we have noticed would not induce us to suppose that they had been much encouraged to write general descriptions as distinguished from ascertained facts. On the 10th June the Commissioner was desired to telegraph daily " the state of things in the three districts," and told to mention " price of grain, state of the weather, prospects of harvest, effect of recent measures of relief, and any other particulars of interest." But his telegrams seem to have generally been of a very meagre character, and to have been largely occupied by the state of the weather, price of grain, date of arrival of supplies, &c.

402. The Board of Revenue did, however, submit to Government and publish in the newspapers weekly narratives in which the ascertained facts are fairly stated. We think that from an early period after the commencement of the relief operations, the tone of these narratives of the Board is much less sanguine than those of the Government.

In regard to the probable expenditure of money, in particular, the Board seem very early to have warned the Government of the probability that the funds in hand would soon be expended, and that more would be required.

403. This then brings us to the question of appealing to the general public for aid.

Mention has already been made of the first attempts of the kind made or suggested by individuals and local committees in the early months of the famine. The discovery and appropriation of the surplus North-West Famine Fund brought all these to an end, except Mr. Sykes' Fund.

On the 30th May, the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta proposed the appointment of a Central Relief Committee for the management of the North-West Fund, but they did not then propose a fresh subscription (Appendix).

On the 6th June the Lieutenant Governor declined the proposal, saying " that the funds were in course of distribution by the Board of Revenue to the local relief committees; that great hopes were entertained that it would not be necessary to make any further appeal to public charity; that if this should be necessary, his Honor would gladly avail himself of a Special Committee" (Appendix).

On the 8th June the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce urged by telegraph that the whole of the North-West Famine Fund should be granted, and added, " no appeal to public likely to succeed at present, or while Government

ment holds any balance of the Famine Fund." The whole balance of the North-West Fund was at that time made available for relief.

On the 14th June the Chamber of Commerce again, in reply to the letter of the 6th, urge, "But as the character and extent of the distress which it is the duty and anxious desire of all to mitigate to the utmost, do not appear to be sufficiently defined to enable the Chamber of Commerce to arrive at the conclusion that further assistance will not be needed, and as official reports and private advices vary materially as to the intensity of distress and its probable continuance, the Committee are of opinion that it is extremely desirable to appoint a Special Committee in Calcutta without delay."

On the 20th June the Government of India expressed the following opinion in a resolution forwarded to the Government of Bengal (Appendix):—"His Excellency in Council earnestly trusts that the Lieutenant Governor will urge the local officers to continue to do all in their power to mitigate the great distress which prevails in a portion of his Honor's jurisdiction, and to enlist the aid of private charity in the promotion of this object. While the Government give the means of relief by actively prosecuting public works on which those who are willing and able to work can readily obtain employment, private benevolence must be looked to to supply means for helping those who cannot work. The six lakhs of the North-West Famine Fund which have been placed at his Honor's disposal for purely charitable purposes, will soon be exhausted, when private subscriptions must prove of great value. His Excellency in Council feels assured that the Lieutenant Governor will do all in his power to induce the public to come forward and give their aid, which, the Government of India has not any doubt, will be liberally afforded by all classes, native and European, who have the means to do so; and his Excellency in Council would suggest whether this object may not be promoted by means of the mixed committees which have been appointed by his Honor, of the official and non-official classes, English and native, presided over by the Commissioner of the division and the magistrate of the district. By these committees the local knowledge and public spirit of private individuals may be utilized and made available for the general purposes of relief to the suffering population." No mention is made in this resolution of a General Committee.

On the 21st June the Board report as follows (Appendix)—"As already reported, the actual sum available as balances of former Relief Funds in Calcutta is 6,06,000 rupees. There may be a little more up-country, but not much. Appended is a memorandum of the sums actually expended by the Board to date, and of the amounts for which the Board has entered into engagements. The Board cannot at present venture to estimate the amount that will be needed for purely charitable distribution. They fear that may prove to be much above 2½ lakhs of rupees. It will be long before anything like an exact account of this matter can be given." And a little further on, as respects the more general import operations, they say—"The Board desire to warn the Government against expecting that anything like all the expenditure incurred in importing rice will be recovered. Larger quantities will have to be placed at the disposal of the relief committees, and the Board dared not themselves estimate the net recoveries at more than *half* the outlay, though it is impossible at present to make anything like an accurate conjecture upon the subject." In further letters, at several subsequent times, the Board submitted statements of estimated expenditure, all showing that large sums would be required, and that as the famine advanced, the wants were found to be larger and larger.

On the 9th July, in reply to the letter addressed to Government on the 14th June by the Chamber of Commerce, the Secretary Bengal Government says—"The Lieutenant Governor does not see what grounds the Chamber of Commerce have for supposing that a central relief committee, appointed by Government, would have any better means of information regarding the character and extent of the distress which at present exist in Orissa and other districts in the lower provinces than Government now has at its disposal." His Honor, therefore, adhered to his former opinion. As he had before said, if it should be necessary to raise fresh funds, he would avail himself of the services of a central committee. "At present the expenditure is being carried on by means of advances from the general revenues of the country, for the proper administration of which the Government is and must be responsible." Throughout June and July, then, the Lieutenant Governor did not think proper to avail himself of the

suggestion for a central relief committee, nor to appeal to the public for aid, but two gentlemen were invited to assist the Board of Revenue, and no doubt gave valuable counsel.

404. When the distress visible in Calcutta having very greatly increased a public meeting was to be there held, the Lieutenant Governor (on the 9th August by his letter, No. 1398 T.) desired the Board of Revenue to give every encouragement to the objects of the meeting. His Honor recited the reasons why he had not hitherto consented to a central committee, nor appealed to the general public, and then goes on—"If, however, it should appear to the meeting, upon any information that may be brought before it, that the balance of the famine fund will not be sufficient to supply rice to the poor of the rural districts gratuitously or at a cheap rate, during the probable continuance of the scarcity, and if a strong feeling should be expressed in favour of raising additional funds, the Lieutenant Governor would gladly take advantage of such a desire, and welcome the appointment of a mixed committee, who would undertake the collection of general subscriptions and the administration of the united funds." A copy of this letter was sent to the local Commissioner of Police, and at the meeting the Government was represented by him. The members of the Board of Revenue did not take part in the proceedings.

The appeal made by the Commissioner of Police had reference to his local charge, and, although the subject was discussed, the question of undertaking the general relief of the country was placed in such a form that eventually the meeting decided to confine their efforts for the present to "the poor that have for the last few months been flocking into Calcutta from all parts of Lower Bengal, and also for assisting the suburbs and the towns and villages in the vicinity of Calcutta." But it was further resolved to appeal to the public in all parts of India "to send their contributions to the committee, to be disbursed at their discretion."

An appeal was made accordingly, and was supported by most of the local administrations in different parts of India.

It was not till late in September, when most of the expenditure had already been incurred, that the Government of Bengal appealed to the public. On the 19th September the Lieutenant Governor asked the assistance of the Calcutta committee, and on the 24th September he addressed all the administrations in India. An official appeal for general assistance was then everywhere made. By that time, however, there was a considerable feeling on the part of many of the public that the appeal was made too late for practical benefit. The amount of the subscriptions was no doubt in some degree limited by this feeling.

405. We are decidedly of opinion that a central relief committee might properly and with advantage have been formed when first suggested by the Chamber of Commerce. The nature of the fund which was first used for relief, derived as it was from public sources on another occasion and for another part of the country, seems to us to have been a reason for preferring that it should be administered by a public body rather than by the Government alone, and we think that such a body might have done good and would not have been practically disadvantageous. We do not suppose that the funds would have been more efficiently administered than the Board of Revenue administered them. In India, practical men have their own business to do, and can seldom devote much time to public matters. A public committee would probably have delegated their executive functions to a sub-committee constituted very much as was the Board of Revenue when Mr. Moncrieff and Baboo Digumber Mitter assisted it. But the mode of arriving at such an executive body would have secured the confidence and concord of the public, and might not improbably have attracted information and suggestions not volunteered to a proper official body. We think that a public committee would, under such circumstances, have become better acquainted with the severity of the famine than was actually the case when the public were not represented in the matter; that such a body would have been better qualified to judge of the public feeling and the monetary state of the country; and that an earlier appeal would probably have been made for general public aid. We think that, notwithstanding the considerable commercial pressure (which, however, never caused any such ruin and panic in Calcutta as in Bombay; and, in fact, was never of the most severe character any where in India except in the Bombay Presidency), such an appeal

to

to the general public ought to have been made at an earlier period, before the Government was so far committed to expenditure, and the famine had so much passed its climax that the public felt, to some extent, that subscriptions might rather go to reimburse the Government for expenditure already incurred, than to extend the relief afforded to the poor.

406. We may here properly review the effect of the measures for the relief of the famine which the Government did adopt.

I. *The publication of Prices Current.*—This subject has been already sufficiently discussed.

II. *Local Charity by the Agency of Local Relief Committees.*—Experience has very amply proved that, although this may suffice to meet small, or even, in some cases, considerable local distress, it is a resource wholly inadequate to meet anything approaching to severe or general famine. Where the circumstances are favourable, and rich and liberal residents are to be found within the district, as at Moorshedabad, local distress of a somewhat severe character may be met, as it was met in that district. But the examples of Nuddea and Midnapore conclusively show that, in the best ordinary districts, the efficient relief of famine or of very general distress affecting considerable portions of such districts, cannot be approached by the means to be obtained from this source. Where general and excessive distress spreads over such districts, the resources of local charity are completely overtaxed and paralysed.

III. *Liberality in Government Estates.*—It is evident that this must be but an extremely local and limited relief when great tracts of country are subject to distress.

IV. *Reliance on the Landholders to fulfil the Obligation resting upon them to assist the People of their Estates.*—It appears as if much of the policy of the Government of Bengal and of the Board of Revenue was dictated rather by the theory than by the practice of the zemindaree system. The theory is that, in return for the benefits conferred on them by Government, the zemindars are to be, in patriarchal fashion, the fathers of their people. The practice of nearly 80 years has shown the contrary. The zemindars also do not perform the functions of European landholders, and they are certainly not better than any men might be expected to be under the circumstances. No obligations enforced by legal process compel them to support the poor of their estates in time of famine, and they do not recognise any sufficient moral obligation to do so. Putting aside for the present various practical difficulties in the way of general improvement, it will be seen that in Bengal and Orissa they are generally divided into old resident proprietors comparatively poor, and rich proprietors frequently non-resident. In most parts of the world the pretensions of the old lords of the soil are generally greater than their income and their prudence. And, suffering themselves in many ways from the effects of a year of agricultural failure, they are not likely on such occasions to be in a position easily to do much to help others, if no obligation compels them. The rich absentee proprietors, again, regard charity as rather a personal obligation of morals and religion, and a thing tending to their reputation than a duty especially appertaining to the character of landholders, which they have generally assumed as a mere investment of money. And liberal relief in native fashion is given by such men rather in the great cities where they reside than in the districts where they have made such investments. The rulers of petty native states are not unfrequently quite conscious of their duty, as rulers, to assist their people in times of distress; but the same obligation does not attach in the native mind to rights of property. In practice the reliance on the landholders, as a body, proves to be a wholly fallacious resource in times of great distress and famine, although there are in most districts some meritorious exceptions. It is much to be regretted that the feeling that the landholders ought to support the poor has in any degree deterred the Government from giving that liberal aid which they have always given on occasions of great calamity in other parts of India, for the result is that the poor have starved. It is of all things desirable to press to the utmost the wholesale rule that the people must do their best to help themselves, and not learn to rely too much on the Government; and it is well that all that is possible should be done to elicit the charity of the native rich towards their poorer neighbours. But such maxims may be, and in practice and

on this occasion have been, pressed too far, since the object for which they were intended has not been attained, and meantime the aid of Government and of the general public has been intercepted. We cannot suppose that the higher officers of Government were ignorant that, on all occasions of severe famine in India, the British Government has, in fact, invariably come forward and spent in various shapes very large sums for the relief of the people, and farther, that the efforts of Government have been largely supplemented by the liberality of the general public both throughout India and in England. Colonel Baird Smith mentions the aid given by Government, in early days, in the shape of bounties on importations and such like. In both the famines in the North Western Provinces, in 1837-38 and 1861, the Government spent very large sums, and the public very largely contributed. Sir A. Cotton mentions the large sums expended on similar occasions in the Madras Presidency. Yet, on the present occasion it would appear that the result of the general action and utterances of the Local Government and the Board was not only to incite the people to help themselves, but to persuade most of the local officers of Government that, in fact, no one else would directly help them, till at least the very last extremity. We have seen the earnestness of Mr. Barlow's early appeals, the reticence of his later reports, and the extreme scantiness of the aid which he ventured to ask when he reported the people in his charge to have reached the last stage of exhaustion. Still more remarkable is this feeling in Mr. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, who, after a most harrowing description of frightful famine, limits his request for aid to a contribution of 500 rupees per month to each district. He had evidently not the least idea of obtaining such aid as Government and the public have rendered on other occasions.

V. *Public Works.*—Very great reliance was placed on this means of relief, but our remarks have already shown that in the districts west of Calcutta they were wholly ineffectual to prevent extreme famine. It was before the districts had lapsed into extreme and general famine that such works might have been carried on in a way at once useful to the State and beneficial to the people. In all those districts it may be said that both the state of the people and the nature of the seasons required that anything effectual that was to be done in that way should be done before the 1st June. We must pronounce that up to that time nothing effectual had been done. Works were not attempted on a sufficiently large scale; those that were attempted were not conducted on a footing calculated to relieve the famine-stricken; and above all, food was not supplied.

407. We may summarise the total number of persons actually employed by the Public Works Department on works specially undertaken for relief before the 1st June, thus—

Orissa—Average daily number, from January and February to end of May	1,182
Midnapore, from 17th May	500
TOTAL	1,682 persons.

The numbers employed in Orissa from funds specially granted in other departments from December to end of May, we may take to be on an average daily—

Pooree	1,263
Cuttack	0
Balasore in May	say 100
TOTAL	1,363 persons.

If to these we add, say 1,000 persons employed in Nuddea during part of May, we have a grand total of about 4,000 persons employed on special relief works.

When these numbers are compared with those employed at the same season in the North-West Provinces during the two famines there; with the 80,000 maintained by public labour at the single station of Agra in 1838; with the 143,500 persons employed daily on special relief works in the North-West Provinces in 1861 at a total cost of 25 lakhs of rupees; and with the 700,000 similarly employed in Ireland at the end of February 1847; it is evident that in practice

practice the means taken, in the shape of public works, to anticipate and obviate famine in Bengal and Orissa were truly insignificant.

We have omitted mention here of the five lakhs granted for railway feeder roads, because, as we have explained, the money was spent in continuing previous expenditure in the ordinary manner in various districts, and it is impossible to specify any number of persons as specially employed for the purpose of relief on those works.

From 1st June to 31st October, the expenditure on special relief works carried on by the Public Works Department was, so far as we can obtain an account from that department, as follows:

	Rs.
Pooree	45,535
Cuttack	3,604
Balasore	4,567
Midnapore	10,561
Burdwan	2,743
Nuddea	9,435
TOTAL *Rs.*	76,445

and we may take the average number of persons employed to have been about 3,500. It will be seen that most of this expenditure was in Pooree, where the direct gratuitous relief was comparatively small. But Mr. Barlow, by establishing grain depôts on the roads, rendered the works practicable.

The works undertaken by the local officers at this later period were, for the most part, as we have said respecting those in several districts, mere tests of the reality of the necessity of relief, or designed to keep the relieved paupers occupied. The result was usually very inadequate to the expenditure. The people fed in return for such work are sufficiently shown in the relief statements, and the money expended, in the statements of expenditure. We have no more accurate returns, nor do they seem to be readily available.

408. On a review of the whole subject, we are of opinion that the delays and deficiencies which have occurred in regard to the adoption of effectual measures to meet the great calamity which has afflicted the country must be assigned in part to each of the following causes:

I. Inevitable circumstances.

II. Peculiarities of the system of administration in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

III. Certain errors and shortcomings on the part of different individual officers, none of which were alone sufficient to cause the greatest degree of evil, but which, coming together in an unfortunate combination, did greatly retard measures of relief.

409. Looking to the greatness and extent of the natural calamity; to the peculiar isolation of Orissa and some other portions of the afflicted country, and to the difficulties of communication; to the want of any recent experience of great famines on the part both of the people and of the officers of Government; to the impossibility of obtaining any accurate knowledge of the quantity of stocks held in reserve at any particular time; and, if we cannot say to the suddenness of the famine, at least to the rapidity of its extension in the month of May, and the suddenness of the extreme collapse in regard to the food supply which occurred at the end of that month;—looking to all these things, we think that under no system of administration could the effects of this great natural dispensation have been met by complete measures of relief. We do not think it probable that the most watchful administration would have thrown into Orissa, in the early months of the year 1866, a quantity of grain sufficient to meet the whole wants of the inhabitants during the following months, or that food and employment could in any way have been provided sufficient to reach the whole mass of the people. Much suffering and mortality must, we believe, under any circumstances have occurred. With respect to the importation of grain into Orissa, it should, however, be understood that the omission to import in the early months of the year had unfortunately a double effect. If moderate quantities had been then imported, the machinery for landing and distributing which

must have been prepared, and the knowledge of these operations which would have been obtained, would have rendered it possible to throw vastly larger quantities of rice into the province in June, July, and August, than was the case when importations were suddenly commenced in June without preparation of any kind, and just at the season when it had become nearly impossible to send boats and light river steamers from Calcutta. We have before said that if these had been at False Point, almost any quantity of rice might have been landed and sent into the interior in the season of the rains.

410. With respect to the system of administration, we have already indicated some of the peculiarities which stood in the way of early and effective intelligence. In truth we may say that, in practice, no two systems of administration could be more different than that followed in Bengal, and that which, in general terms, may be said to prevail throughout the rest of India. In all other provinces the country is actively governed, with a strong hand, but, it may be said, in direct communication with the people, somewhat after the fashion of most of the Governments of Europe. The Government makes itself felt everywhere, and undertakes corresponding responsibilities. It is represented in every quarter by a large establishment of executive functionaries. It will not be unfavourably representing the Bengal system to say that it is based rather on an English than on a European model. It may be said that the country is administered judicially, and not by the executive power. The executive reigns but does not govern. It has little executive machinery, and it may be said that it, on principle, avoids interference with the affairs of the mass of the people. The settlement of the revenue with the zemindars has been supposed (as we have before said) to have transferred a large portion of the responsibilities of an Oriental Government to that body; and any executive interference with their ryots, or executive attempt to ascertain rights, or even facts, has been regarded as an infringement of the principles of the settlement. The officers of Government are subject, like every one else, to fixed laws and the action of the courts; and in Bengal the personal responsibility thus thrown on them, not being counteracted by great administrative power and influence, has become, in a rich and litigious country, a heavy burden. They are constantly subject to prosecution for every act, and the knowledge of their legal rights possessed by the people, and their readiness to resort to the courts, renders executive officers little disposed to acts, the legality of which may admit of question. As respects the duties of Government, in districts where Government does not enjoy that full share of the revenue which it obtains elsewhere, where, under a low permanent settlement of the last century, rights have been delegated to others in the expectation that they would undertake the correlative duties, there is a not unnatural unwillingness to undertake the whole of the functions which devolve on Government in other parts of India.

411. A weak, or at any rate abstinent, executive may involve little injury, and imply great advantages in a country where the indigenous institutions supply the means of local self-government; but these again are more wanting in Bengal than in any other part of India, and the zemindars failing to do that which the Government has ceased to do, the country is in fact governed, for the most part, only by the action of the courts of justice, to which the people resort in a degree not known in most countries.

412. The Bengalees are a peculiar people; the system which we have described has long taken root among them; it would at any rate be very difficult to change it; and there is this to be said, that if they have not yet learned much self-government, they have at least learned to make their wants known to the Government. Education has progressed very greatly among them; a large proportion of them are extremely acute and intelligent; they have a large and very free use of the press; and they have among them several influential associations. It is not probable that any great calamity could come upon the people of the civilized portions of Bengal without being in some shape forced on the attention of the Government. But, however, the present system may or may not be well suited to civilized Bengal, it is, we think, in many respects unsuited to remote, inaccessible, and uneducated districts, such as those in which the famine of the past year has been chiefly fatal; the more so where, as in Orissa, the

the tenure of the land and whole history of the country are totally different from those of Bengal.

413. Probably due to the feeling that the Executive Officers are less directly responsible for the management of the people, is the circumstance that in Bengal the superior officers of Government seem to feel less bound to make personal enquiries and inspections than is the case in other parts of India. We think that in most other Administrations, on the first occurrence of the earliest fears of any such wide-spread calamity as that which has happened, superior officers would have made personal enquiry in the various districts most threatened. This was not done in the past year, in most instances.

414. As respects the head of the Government of Bengal, it is also to be observed that while he is assisted by no Council and by no such staff of superior secretaries, as are the smaller Administrations of Madras and Bombay,* he has in Calcutta to deal with a great European community, and with many difficult and embarrassing subjects and many conflicting interests which are hardly known to the other provinces administered by Lieutenant Governors. Consequently, it is not possible that he should look so minutely into the local affairs of the districts under his charge, as do some of the heads of Administrations otherwise situated.

415. We think that the system of administration caused a defect of information and an unwillingness to take direct action on the part of Government, which materially retarded measures of relief, and which could not have occurred in any other part of India.

416. Finally, with respect to individual conduct, our opinion is as follows:—We think that the local officers of districts generally did their duty quite as well as could be expected under the circumstances—most of them with a personal devotion beyond all praise. But it unfortunately happened that neither of the officers in charge of the two districts in which severe famine first appeared, though most praiseworthy in all other respects, had that exceptional official persistence which might have surmounted the difficulties which stood in their way. Those officers who pressed their case with sufficient boldness obtained the relief which they sought; those who asked little, or asked it modestly, got little till the famine had reached a great extremity.

417. The Commissioners of divisions seem to have been, in most instances more impressed with the necessity of resisting a too great disposition to rely on Government aid, than ready very freely to encourage applications for aid.

The action of the Commissioner of Orissa has been sufficiently described. We must think that that action was generally (up to a certain point) unfortunate, and that in particular Mr. Ravenshaw yielded injudiciously to a mere popular cry regarding the existence of stocks kept back by wicked grain-dealers. Looking to the recentness of Mr. Ravenshaw's appointment, and to his want of knowledge of the people and want of experience of the duties thrown on him; looking also to the very decided negatives which he received when he did on certain occasions direct enquiry into the loss of crops and urge the necessity of importing grain; we think that the greatest possible allowances are to be made for him personally. But nevertheless, in our opinion, the fact remains that his want of local knowledge, his mistake regarding the stocks of grain, and some errors and omissions on his part, produced a bad effect. We would especially instance his failure to take any farther steps to make known the evils resulting from the want of rice, subsequent to the receipt of the telegram mentioned in our 154th paragraph. We cannot believe that if the case had been fully explained to the higher authorities, they would have resisted the evident necessity of providing food for the labourers—a duty which the Government in the Public Works Department had distinctly thrown on the civil authorities.

We

	Rs.
* The Lieutenant Governor has 1 Secretary, salary	36,000
The Government of Madras has in the purely Civil Department—	
1 Chief Secretary, salary	50,000
1 Revenue Secretary, salary	40,000
The Government of Bombay has 1 Chief Secretary, salary	40,000
1 Secretary, salary	35,000

We gladly acknowledge Mr. Ravenshaw's unwearied exertions from the time when the crisis was recognised and large relief measures commenced. In these he was also efficiently aided by Mr. McNeile.

The Commissioner of Chota Nagpore seems to have too much distrusted the representations of the Deputy Commissioner of Maunbhoom without himself sufficiently ascertaining the real state of the country. As we have said, he was too much imbued in May with the principles laid down in November.

The Commissioner of Burdwan seems to have very fairly, we might even say emphatically, represented the facts, so far as he could ascertain them, in the early part of the season. But he cannot be said to have continued to watch and enquire so carefully as his reports of the state of the country would have led us to expect.

As respects the Commissioner of Nuddea, it seems to the President and Colonel Morton that the practical issue of his administration of that division sufficiently shows that he did all that was proper to be done. For obvious reasons they refrain from saying more in this place.

418. We cannot distinctly throw on the Board of Revenue the duty of ascertaining the state of the country and the blame of having failed to discover it, because it is not made out that either by their constitution and the general rules for their guidance, or by express orders, was this duty clearly and distinctly delegated to them. But we think that, having made a report upon very imperfect information, they adhered too tenaciously to the opinions which they had expressed, when circumstances brought to their knowledge might well have caused doubt and suggested further enquiry; and that they too long maintained general principles laid down by them, when they might have known that the circumstances were very exceptional. We also think that they wrongly applied to Orissa principles of administration which were at any rate applicable only to the permanently settled districts of Bengal. Adhering too much to their own views, they too readily seized upon every thing which tended in that direction and too much overlooked circumstances tending the other way. They sometimes incautiously reported to the Government circumstances of the former character without sufficient enquiry. We would particularly mention the letter of the 24th January, regarding the price of grain in Pooree. And they omitted to report or draw attention to other circumstances. We would cite particularly Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January as to the stoppage of public works in Pooree for want of rice, and the rapid rise in the price of grain both about that time and in April. They resisted, we think, too long the evidences of the necessity of importing grain into Orissa. Care, thoughtfulness, and humanity are generally apparent in their proceedings; but nevertheless their too fixed adherence to their opinions when combined with want of boldness on the part of the local officers in pressing views opposed to those of their superiors, tended much, we fear, to an unfortunate result.

Although it does not appear that it is in Bengal (as in the North Western Provinces) an ordinary duty of the members of the Board to visit the districts of the interior, we think that if it was possible to depute a member of that body to Darjeeling in May and again in September, it would have been equally possible and more desirable to depute one to Orissa.

419. One large force is at the disposal of the Executive Government of Bengal, the organised constabulary partaking in some respects (like the Irish police) of a semi-military character, but performing throughout the country the duties of a civil police. It has been said that in respect of its discipline and personnel, this force is independent of the local magistrates, and it has, in fact, a superior staff of its own, the chief of whom is the Inspector General, a highly salaried officer, immediately subordinate to, and in constant communication with, the head of the Government of Bengal. While we should, of all things, deprecate any attempt to govern the country through such a force, and think that it is in every way the wisest policy to restrict that force to its proper function of dealing with crime, it has been evident in our narration that the police, scattered about each district, had far the best opportunity of being early acquainted with the state of the people, and that by several district superintendents their position was in this respect well utilised. The outburst of crime of a special character, as among the very earliest symptoms of the famine, also rendered the police officers peculiarly alive to the existing want of food; while the constables, men receiving a small fixed monthly

monthly pay, and themselves suffering, lost no opportunity of making representations on the subject. The superintendents of police, for the most part, properly communicated what they knew to the magistrates, but we have seen how, through various channels, the information was much delayed, diluted, or lost, before it reached the Government. It would, we think, in other countries have been expected that the head of the police force, having the means of collecting and concentrating the information possessed by so many local police officers, would have been in the position most likely to enable him to inform the Government of the wide-spreading want and increasing starvation. We cannot find that the Inspector General, Colonel Pughe, made any such use of his position. We would call attention to his own description of his functions when examined by us. He seems to consider that he is chiefly the head of a mere office of distribution and account, rather than expected to deal with crime, and that he is rather to advise the Government on police questions coming before it, than to inform it of what is going on in the country. We will only say that this view is entirely different from that entertained in some other provinces of India. On the present occasion the Inspector General did not visit any of the districts disorganised by crime, and we have not been able to ascertain that any Inspector General ever did visit Orissa, or even the great district of Midnapore, within a few hours of Calcutta, and one of the districts in which crime is at all times most heavy. In May the Inspector General retired to Darjeeling to be near the Lieutenant Governor, but we cannot find that he gave much warning or information to his Honor. We observe, however, that the Lieutenant Governor seems to concur generally in the view of his position and duties taken by the Inspector General, and in fact it seems to have been the instruction in Bengal, that the commissioners of divisions should remain principally responsible for the criminal administration.

420. The administration of the Department of Public Works is somewhat peculiar. The chief engineer was, under the Government, the departmental head, in each administration. But he is now also the secretary to the local Government in the Public Works Department, and thus has a sort of double character. This was the arrangement in Bengal. It brings the head of the Government personally into intimate relations with the department, since the same man who takes his orders as secretary has, as chief engineer, full information regarding details, and seems to act for the most part as secretary, the former powers of the chief engineer having been of late in great measure delegated to superintending engineers. We have seen that Mr. Crommelin, the superintending engineer in whose circle the Orissa districts lie, was, in the early part of the operations, evidently concerned about the sufferings of the people, and anxious that his department should do all that was possible to relieve them. When after several references it had been finally decided that the department should have no concern with the provision of food, and that this should lie entirely with "the civil authorities," he seems to have submitted to that departmental and professional disposal of the question, and not to have pressed on Government the fact that the works were rendered to a very great degree ineffectual. We think that, under the peculiar circumstances, instead of simply obeying the orders received, he might have more urgently represented the facts of the case to the Government. We also think that the Secretary, Public Works Department, might have informed himself of the state of things more exactly, when he visited Orissa, and subsequently might have earlier discovered and brought to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor the failure of the works to give large employment to the poor.

421. Such then being the deficiencies of the information furnished by various departments, and such the shortcomings which caused the misunderstandings and practical failures mentioned in our report, which on some occasions caused the Commissioner and the Board of Revenue to misunderstand one another, the local officers to misunderstand the intentions of the Government, and the Government in the Civil Department to misunderstand the Government in the Public Works Department, we must consider it very unfortunate that the head of the Government should not have been able to give that personal attention to the subject which might have remedied these misunderstandings and brought these miscomprehensions to light; and that, perhaps taking a too sanguine view, his Honor was not induced by the information which did reach him to seek more urgently for that which did not reach him. Especially we think it unfortunate that the opinions held by some of the local officers regarding the extreme defi-

ciency of food, and the facts known to them as to the effect of that want on the system of works designed for relief, were not elicited during the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Orissa; that on the occasion of the reference by the Government of India in March (on Sir A. Cotton's letter), and again on the occurrence of a great rise of prices in the beginning of April, and with reference to the great outbreak of crime known to be caused by want, more urgent and direct inquiry was not made; and that before his Honor's departure from Calcutta and the Commissioner of Orissa's nearly simultaneous departure from Balasore under the instructions of the Government, there was no more special arrangement for the early communication of intelligence of the daily progress of events. We think that, on the vital question of the existence of sufficient stocks of grain, his Honor placed a reliance on the reports and opinions of Mr. Ravenshaw, Officiating Commissioner of Orissa, greater than was warranted by that officer's general experience and knowledge, and too easily accepted assertions opposed to all the ordinary laws of trade and political economy, and to all the general indications from which an opinion can best be formed. On the other hand, we think it unfortunate that Mr. Ravenshaw's demi-official letter of April 20th, announcing extreme starvation at Balasore, did not lead to urgent inquiry, and that his official letter of May 2nd did not cause the most immediate action. The same remarks may, in some degree, be made regarding the communications of the Commissioner of Burdwan and the magistrates of Bancoorah and Midnapore in the months of March and April. We feel sure that if the facts had been brought with sufficient fulness to his Honor's knowledge, neither any fear of responsibility nor any too rigid regard for general principles would have prevented the Government of Bengal from taking the largest and most timely measures for the relief of the sufferers. We think that rice would in that case have been imported into Orissa early in the season, to render effective great works for the relief of the poor, and that for the general population also food would have been provided as soon as the deficiency was ascertained. In fact it will have been observed that his Honor pressed the expediency of importation on the Board of Revenue before that body could accede to the propriety of the measure. But on that account we must the more think that the circumstances which caused the defect of knowledge acted very prejudicially in retarding measures of relief.

422. We would guard ourselves against the supposition that in passing an opinion on many points in the course of our report, we at all think that it was reasonable to have been expected that all should have been done which our inquiry now shows to have been possible and desirable. We are well aware that in no great events is it found that everything has been done which might have been done. We have thought it our duty to point out every deficiency which our present information has brought to light. But the difficulties which surround men placed in new and exceptional circumstances, and the imperfection of all machinery, must be well remembered. The warning notices which preceded the famine, although they now look very striking when placed in array by us, were in fact scattered over an immense mass of reports and papers on very many other subjects in several departments, and did not carry the same significance to men unacquainted with famine. Our inquiry has been of a character under which few undertakings of any administration could pass without the discovery of many defects. We have omitted nothing which could tend to show the facts, and in doing so we have made public much that was never meant for publicity. We have passed nothing which has seemed to us defective. But we are sure that every man will be judged by his conduct as a whole, and not merely by certain deficiencies or errors. While many have much occasion to look back with very great satisfaction on the result of their meritorious exertions to save life on this terrible occasion, we are sure that all whose errors of judgment have in any way rendered their labours less efficacious than they might have been, must regret that detraction from their success in such a cause with feelings more acute than can be those of any who were not actors in these events.

423. With reference to the wish expressed by the Secretary of State, and communicated to us by the letter of the Government, of India, No. 1393, of 11th February, that all those individuals who distinguished themselves by their liberality and activity in the relief of the suffering people should be mentioned when our report is forwarded to the Government in England, we have already stated

stated that our investigation was more directed to the conduct of classes than of individuals. Under all the circumstances, we think that, without special inquiry directed to the point, it would be invidious for us to particularise the individuals among the community who have most distinguished themselves by their exertions, farther than by referring to the mention made in the course of our report, and in the district narratives, of Mr. Sykes, Mr. Moncrieff, the officers of the East India Irrigation Company, and other European gentlemen, and of many liberal and benevolent natives, among whom, on reviewing our report, we think that the rajah of Parricood in Pooree should have been more prominently noticed. As respects only the officers of Government to whose conduct our inquiry has been more directed, we cannot conclude this part of our report without here particularising the following gentlemen as those whose exertions have more especially come to our notice as most conspicuous among many deserving of much praise :—

Mr. Barlow, magistrate and collector of Pooree.
Mr. Muspratt, magistrate and collector of Balasore.
Mr. Shortt, assistant magistrate and collector, in charge of the sub-division of Bhudruk in the Balasore district.
Dr. Jackson, civil surgeon, Balasore.
Mr. Harris, assistant surveyor, employed on the Dhamrah.
Mr. Barton, assistant magistrate and collector, in charge of the sub-division of Khoorda, district of Pooree.
Mr. Kirkwood, relief manager in Cuttack district.
Lieutenant Money, deputy commissioner of Maunbhoom.
Lord H. U. Browne, magistrate and collector of Nuddea.

424. We find that the accounts of expenditure on account of the famine are not yet made up sufficiently to admit of our giving them with precision; but an approximate statement will be placed in the Appendix.

George Campbell,
W. E. Morton,
Calcutta, 6th April 1867. *H. L. Dampier.*

REPORT of the COMMISSIONERS appointed to inquire into the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa* in 1866.

PART THE SECOND.

BEFORE touching on more general questions respecting the means by which the area devastated by famines may be diminished and their effects mitigated in future, we propose to submit a few remarks on the measures which seem to us to be more immediately necessary for the restoration of prosperity. In the districts where the distress has been partial, we trust that, with good crops, things are rapidly returning to their normal condition, and it is only in respect to the country where the injury has been the greatest, that the question of remedial measures is very pressing. This description principally applies to Orissa. As regards parts of other districts which have suffered to an extreme degree, our remarks regarding Orissa will, *pro tanto*, apply. We shall, therefore, address ourselves to the state of Orissa.

2. The rapid withdrawal of the people from the relief centres, as soon as the new crop supplied the means of subsistence, sufficiently shows that the relief afforded in the latter part of the season had not as yet generated any general disposition to abuse it by seeking an assistance no longer necessary. It seemed to us that the relief which continued while we were in Orissa was confined to classes of helpless sufferers by the previous events, whose condition gave them the strongest claim on public charity.

3. Great as must be the desire of all to afford the largest amount of succour to the poverty and distress to which attention has been so powerfully drawn, we think that, looking to the condition of society in India, and to the burden already

borne by the Government in this country, it is not desirable that any feeling of regret for the delay which unhappily occurred in providing sufficient measures of relief in the past year should lead to any such success of liberality in the present season as might tend to diminish a due reliance of the people upon themselves, or hastily to abrogate that wonderful social poor-law, which, in the absence of any system recognised by positive law and administered by the State, induces the people of this country voluntarily to support their own poor to an astonishing extent.

Leaving aside for the present the parts of Orissa most devastated by the floods, and also the emaciated and helpless persons thrown on the care of the public when the general famine ceased, our hope is that, in the greater part of the country, that which is now wanted for recovery is rather that measures should be taken for facilitating its progress than direct aid on a large scale.

4. With regard to the physical condition of the people we have said that those who had not passed an extreme point of exhaustion seem to have rapidly recovered. Severe diseases of the bowels generally end soon in death or cure, and to the somewhat singular infrequency of the excessive fever which has been remarkable in other famines, and which so long hangs about the constitution, we may probably attribute the rapid recovery of the people of Orissa. The last accounts which we have seen appear to encourage the hope that in reality little disease of a severe and wide-spread character has been left behind among the general population.

5. As respects exhaustion of resources, although we have described the famine as much more one of food than of money, still the long continuance of excessive prices must have greatly drained the means of almost all classes. All the testimony shows that many a poor agriculturist, who has struggled through the crisis, has done so by sacrificing his convertible property; and it has doubtless been still more so among the non-agriculturists.

But we hope that, in the present year, good crops and good prices may have already done much to restore the former class, the more so as the revenue demand has been remitted on condition of remission of rents; and as respects those whom we have described as the proper labouring classes, and even the artisans, it may be supposed that so soon as agricultural and general prosperity return, the sad diminution of their numbers will, in a considerable degree, improve the condition of the remainder. Already the demand for labour exceeds the supply, and the Irrigation Company were importing labourers from a distance when we were in Cuttack.

Our hope, then, is that special localities excepted, little direct aid will be required for any other than the helpless persons already alluded to, or at least that a moderate expenditure in providing labour near their own homes for some of those who are not likely to seek it elsewhere, and only till the agricultural season has fairly set in, will suffice.

Comparing our observation of Orissa with all the accounts of very severe famines in other parts of India, the apparent escape of the greater part of the province from agricultural disorganisation of a very lasting character appears very remarkable, and may, we think, be in great degree owing to the definition and protection of the rights of all classes under the settlement which had lasted nearly 30 years. On the present occasion the agricultural effects of the famine seem to be of a more lasting character in some other districts; for instance, in Maumbhoom, and, we are told, in some parts of Behar. In the latter province the rents paid by the ryots are, we believe, much higher.

6. With regard to the laws of trade and political economy, we may say that in most parts of India there is a trading energy probably exceeded in no country in the world. We have shown that in Orissa it can be said that a want of experience of famine and other circumstances led to the sale of rice in December at a price less extreme than would have been the case if the degree of the scarcity of June had been fully and distinctly foreseen, and that the province is exceptionally deficient in energetic traders, a want which it shares with Bengal. But we have also shown that the wide extent of the scarcity clearly militated against early importations on private account, and that later in the season, the physical obstacles were almost insuperable to native means. Even as it was, the traders of Pooree and Balasore then did what they could, and private enterprise brought down

down the Mahanuddee the surplus of Sumbulpore. That the petty and unenergetic traders of Cuttack failed to undertake the purchase of large cargoes at False Point, and their transport to Cuttack at a time when all the resources of Government hardly availed to accomplish that operation, is a circumstance which does not seem to us surprising. A Jotee Pershad might have done so; but that the traders of Orissa, such as we now know them to be, should have undertaken the task, was not to be expected.

7. It has been in some quarters supposed that exportation was carried on to an excessive and imprudent degree at a time when famine was impending. We cannot find this to be the case. No doubt the exportations of 1864-65 were large; we have noticed the quantity exported from Balasore as a great drain on a somewhat small district; but that was the legitimate result of great demand and high prices, in a country where there was then no expectation of famine. We have shown that after the failure of the crops of 1865 was known, there were scarcely any sales for exportation by sea.

As respects the exportation by land from district to district, and from one place in a district to another, it must be remembered that the areas and boundaries of agriculture and trade are not the same as those which artificially constitute districts and divisions. The parts where there is grain must supply those where there is not, and the country must supply the towns in times of scarcity as in other times; perhaps in greater proportion in times of scarcity, because there is more wealth in the towns. Miscalculations will occur, and more energetic traders may sweep particular tracts before the less energetic arrive; but, local exceptions apart, trade seems in 1865-66 to have followed very much its legitimate course.

8. In the present year 1866-67 much has again been said about imprudent exportation. It has been alleged that while Government was importing grain into Orissa, the people were exporting. We have even heard it suggested that they were exporting it to Calcutta to sell to Government for the purpose of importing it back again. All this seems very much to arise from a confusion of terms. Orissa is, as we have explained, a very long narrow country. In the south the floods having destroyed part of the crops, and the people having been rendered cautious by past experience, prices were, in the cold season, still very high. In the extreme north of the province, there had been scarcely any damage by flood, and there was a splendid crop. Rice became there as cheap as in any part of the Lower Provinces, and the situation favouring export, export naturally resulted. We ourselves saw large quantities exported on bullocks to Southern Orissa, and there was likewise some export by sea, and, it may be, to the Hooghly. The fact is that, under these circumstances, the line where the trade divides itself, where on the one side it is more profitable to export down the road towards Cuttack, and on the other to supply the metropolitan and export demands of Calcutta and the Hooghly, is about the boundary of the Balasore and Midnapore districts; and it may be that, from Jellasore, to carry rice down the road, or to take it the other way to the seaports, and thence to False Point or Pooree, would be about equally profitable. The whole question of export seems to be not so much one of interference with any local trade as to merge in the broader question whether, under any conditions, it is proper to preserve the food of the people by prohibiting or burdening its export to foreign countries.

9. We think it quite clear that the importation of rice into Orissa by Government during the famine interfered materially with no private trade, there being very little with which to interfere, and that little having continued simultaneously with the Government importations. The only real interference which has occurred has been subsequently. Probably there would have been some private import by sea into Southern Orissa during the favourable season of 1866-67, and this the large Government imports may have prevented. That is to a great degree a necessary evil; after the terrible events of the past season, it was impossible to risk any further delay in supplying the tracts denuded by the floods, and doubtless it has been a wise policy to make provision against all possible contingencies. It may probably prove, in any case, not disadvantageous, to a province so exhausted, to supply in some degree the deficit caused by the second misfortune of flood following a greater calamity. But it is desirable to avoid, as much

as possible, either a glut of the market or too great an expectation that in future the work of importation will always be undertaken by Government. It seems to be rather an object to establish such conditions that the obstacles to trade, at the season when it is now closed by natural causes, may be overcome, and we venture to think that the anxieties of the Government regarding the sufficiency of the supply for the coming season may be greatly obviated if it be thought proper to adopt the measures which we shall shortly propose in respect of the arrangements at, and in connection with, the harbour at False Point, by which we anticipate that, not only may the general trade of the province be facilitated and enlarged, but it may be rendered comparatively easy to import, and distribute during the season of the rains in the parts of the Cuttack district which have suffered from flood, any quantity of rice which the turn of events may then render necessary.

10. Regarding the condition of the tracts desolated by flood, we must speak with much diffidence, because we were not able ourselves to visit them, and it appeared to us that at the time of our visit, no precise or exact information respecting the extent of the injury done was possessed by anyone. The evidence taken by us was upon this subject somewhat perplexing, the destruction being shown to be in some parts very extensive indeed, while as respects others (in the Pooree district), one gentleman, who had the best means of observation, assured us that the greater part of the flooded crops had eventually recovered, and that in his opinion, within the limit of his observation, quite as much good as harm had on the whole been done by the inundations. There can be no doubt, however, that all along the course of the larger rivers in the great deltaic area from the Dhamrah to the Devee, great tracts have been desolated. Shortly before our arrival, a member of the Board of Revenue paid a visit to the stations of Pooree and Cuttack, and submitted a report on this subject, but we imagine that his report was founded on information of an extremely general character. Detailed inquiry was about to be made, and may probably have been submitted to the Government of Bengal, but we are not at present informed on the subject. We can, therefore, only make some very general observations.

From the maximum of injury which may be supposed to have resulted from the floods, and the consequent requirements, the following deductions may probably be made.

We hope it will prove that a good deal of the lowest land produced exceptionally good crops in 1865, having suffered comparatively little from the drought, and that the occasional occurrence of devastating floods being, as it were, one of the normal conditions of these tracts, the cultivators may be able to re-occupy their lands.

Again, it will, we trust, be found that the crops on the lands which were submerged only during the comparatively brief periods of the very highest floods survived, and that, benefited by the silt, these lands may also continue to be cultivated.

But there must remain along the course of the larger rivers intermediate tracts, neither so low as to escape the effects of the drought of 1865, nor so high as to escape the fatal continuance of the submergence of 1866, on which the effects of the calamities of two successive years must be overwhelming. In these tract the sad deduction to be made from the present misery is only that they seem to be to a very great extent depopulated by death and emigration. To those of the people who remain, some special assistance must no doubt for the present be given. But even in these tracts we cannot but think that, since the depopulation of the whole country has so much increased the general demand for labour, as soon as the agricultural season commences, the remedy is to be sought rather in restoring an agriculture which will in that case rapidly absorb all available labour, than in the continuance of more direct measures of relief.

11. Our view, then, in brief is, that, exceptional cases apart, the duty of Government now is to promote and restore agriculture, rather than to give direct relief in any other shape.

12. The residue of the famine to which we have alluded may be divided into temporary, and in some sense permanent, charges on the public.

The weakly and the convalescent form the temporary charge. The emaciated invalids

invalids must be tended till they are restored to health, or their sufferings are ended in death. The convalescents are employed in the convalescent gangs till they are well enough to be absorbed in the labour market of the country. On these classes little more need be said.

13. The more permanent charge may be generally divided into the widows and the orphans. The condition of the latter is obvious; they must be supported. The class of widows requires some explanation. They are in considerable numbers at all the relief stations. Many are those who have been left destitute by the death in the famine of their natural protectors. But it must be admitted that a large proportion of them are not exactly in that position. They are generally elderly women who, in ordinary times, were maintained by relatives (often comparatively distant) who were not legally bound to do so, under that indigenous social poor-law to which we have alluded. When the pressure of the famine became severe, and it was a struggle for life, people so situated were turned out in large numbers. The very old of both sexes have probably succumbed. But there remain a large number of elderly women who have survived by the aid of public relief, and who are now (either physically or by habit) unable to earn a livelihood by labour. Strictly speaking, they have just as much claim on their distant relatives as they ever had before the famine, and when the country is restored to its normal state, some of them may again find an asylum. But, on the other hand, they are people who, in any country in which there is a distinct provision for the poor, would have, in the absence of immediate relatives bound to support them, a clear claim to public relief; and in practice, now that they are established as pensioners of the public, it would be extremely difficult to get rid of them. They may fairly say that, having saved their lives in the famine, we cannot let them die now, or turn them out on the chance of their being supported by others on whom their claim was never quite clear, and who, having once seen them otherwise supported, may now, under all the circumstances of their own condition, not improbably shut their doors against the return of these poor creatures. On the whole, then, without here expressing any opinion as to the degree to which it is proper to assume the charge of the general pauperism of the country, it seems to us that these poor women, that is, the individuals now receiving relief, must be maintained till they can be otherwise provided for. The rolls may be weeded of undeserving objects; they may earn something by spinning and similar work; but for the most part their maintenance must fall on the public. To the widows must probably be added some helpless and diseased cripples who have similarly become public pensioners.

14. We think it extremely desirable that a line should be drawn between the duties which Government will undertake and those which devolve on the voluntary efforts of a charitable public. Under all the circumstances of the past famine, we would recommend that, in addition to the temporary continuance of direct relief, where it may be required, which we understand to have been undertaken by the General Relief Committee, reliance should be placed on the charity of a liberal public for the support of the permanent charges left by the famine,—the widows and the orphans.

15. To the Government we would submit the following measures, in addition to the provision of local employment in special cases and in special localities till the time of general agricultural operations.

We shall not, in this place, express any opinion on the general question of permanent settlements; suffice it here to say that natives, excepting only those of an especially educated and improved type, look much more to the present than to the future, and much prefer a low assessment secured for the present generation to one a little higher, secured for ever, so far as the Government of the day can secure it. In Orissa the subject has been so much discussed with the zemindars that they have come to look on the acceptance of such a settlement on the usual conditions as if it were a favour on their part towards Government, in consideration of which they may make extremely exorbitant demands. For the purposes of the present day, we have no doubt that a liberal assessment for a long term is almost as effectual as a permanent settlement, and we think that the continuance of the present settlement of Orissa is the best possible arrangement for that province, since the circumstances are now such that a

sufficient revision is impossible, and the settlement made with much minuteness and care, if equitable without being very light 30 years ago, must now be, generally speaking, light as well as equitable. We would only venture to suggest that the object of giving security for a generation would be better secured by a term of 30 than by one of 20 years. The whole revenue of the province is not so great as to make its increase 10 years sooner or later a matter of vital importance to the empire, and under all the circumstances of a province recovering from so great a calamity on the one hand, and on the other the scene of the first great work of improvement undertaken by private enterprise, without a Government guarantee, we think it would be well to secure fixity for such a term as we have mentioned. The measure would not interfere with the prospective determination for ever of the public demand, if that should eventually be deemed proper. Such a step might be taken at any time in regard to estates which had fulfilled the necessary conditions, should such be the policy of the Government.

16. But whatever be the terms and conditions of the settlement, this we would beg earnestly to lay before the Government, that it is of all things desirable and necessary that the settlement should be finally concluded and placed beyond all doubt and question at the earliest possible moment, and before the commencement of the rapidly approaching agricultural season. It is most particularly to be deprecated that the minds of the agricultural community should remain disturbed at such a time. The engagements of the proprietary cultivators provide that their payments, as fixed at the last settlement, shall continue till another settlement is made, but we could find no such provision in the engagements of the superior proprietors. It will, therefore, be necessary either to extend the term by law or to take fresh engagements from each zemindar. Eventually, no doubt, they will, generally speaking, acquiesce in the very liberal terms offered to them. But the Ooryahs are an obstinate people. The zemindars have become, of late, very much impressed with the idea that the most extravagantly liberal terms (or almost any that they choose to ask) are to be conceded to them, and many of the estates are, of course, at the present moment, much depressed and broken. Hence it seems not improbable that there may be some delays and difficulties. In the estates which have especially suffered, not only may the zemindars be really unable, for a time, to take them up at the former revenue, but the only means of obtaining that consideration and aid which the ryots of such estates must at such a time require, would be to take the management, for the time, into the hands of Government.

17. Worst of all, in respect both of past mismanagement and present suffering appear to be the permanently settled estates or killahs, chiefly in the lower part of the Cuttack district. Of these, it has been recommended that Government should take temporary charge, with the consent of the embarrassed proprietors; and if in truth it be no great object "to preserve these old families," the representatives of which are officially represented to be "steeped in debt and debauchery, the former a lunatic, the two latter entirely and hopelessly in the hands of their designing amlahs and creditors," it certainly appears that such a step is necessary for the sake of the wretched remnant of the people.

18. The following course is that which we would suggest. Seeing how very pressing the matter is in respect of time, we think that the very fullest powers might with advantage be given to the most qualified officer to be found in the country, who should be located on the spot, and should have complete control of all the local arrangements. A law to extend the present settlement might, if it be found necessary, be passed. At any rate, the officer on the spot should be empowered and required at once to arrange and conclude the extended settlement, in every case except those in which, from special circumstances, he thinks that the former rents and revenues really cannot be immediately paid. In these he should have full authority to make exceptional arrangements without further reference.

19. At this point we would draw particular attention to the unvarying and decided character of all the evidence taken by us regarding the zemindars of Orissa. It cannot be said that there are two opinions, on the fact that the great body of the zemindars have lamentably failed in the duties expected of them. We have described the evil which has resulted, in the past year, from a reliance on them for duties which are theirs in theory, but which the practice of generations

tions has shown that they ignore in fact. And we think it necessary to recur to the subject here, because it appears that this theory of the Bengal administration is still, to a great degree, made the basis of measures for the future. In the previous letters regarding the settlement, the Board of Revenue recommended fixity of the revenue, to the exclusion of remissions for bad seasons, on the ground that the profits of good years would enable the zemindars to give the ryots the necessary remissions in bad years, as if they thought that the zemindars, being under no legal obligation, would really do so. And in the very letter (No. 5002 B, dated 20th November 1866, to the Government of Bengal) with which they submit the report showing the failure of the zemindars in the past year, they say "whatever capital may still be in the hands of the wealthier zemindars will be severely taxed to meet the calls of their tenants for assistance during the coming year," apparently still imagining the zemindars to be benevolent and enlightened landlords, ready to share with their tenantry the last shilling of their capital. We observe, too, from the published reports, that it seems to be proposed, in the most distressed tracts, to make advances, not to the ryots, but to the zemindars for the benefit of the ryots. It is impossible to subordinate facts to a theory. The ryots in the broken and impoverished estates which cannot without assistance recover their ground, must, we think, be directly assisted by Government, except in special cases of particularly good zemindars. Where, therefore, the estates are so reduced by the past calamities that neither zemindars nor ryots can at once assume their old responsibilities, we think that the course which the law in that case permits should be followed, and that the estates should be taken for a time into the hands of Government, subject to the usual allowance of a percentage to the proprietors. The killah estates, already alluded to, might be similarly managed, in virtue either of the formal consent of the proprietors or of a special law. These arrangements would be the more easy, because most of the estates so damaged as to require such measures would probably be found to lie within a moderate circle round the estuaries of the Delta, in which also the killahs lie; and a temporary special Collectorate might be formed at some central place, for the management of that country under a sort of modifyed ryotwar system, something like that already followed in Khoordah, for a description of which see Mr. Barton's examination, pages xxxii-iii. It might probably be necessary to station a deputy collector in the southern corner of the Pôoree district, which has suffered so much, and where there are already some Government estates. The persons who have suffered so severely from the cessation of the salt manufacture would require special consideration, with a view to render them capable of supporting themselves by agriculture. The nature of the settlement with the Thanee ryots is such (their payments being fixed), that as soon as they have recovered their position, they would not much suffer from being again made over to the zemindars, if the latter are able to resume their responsibilities; and the Orissa temporary settlement has this advantage, that when remissions are given to the zemindars for extraordinary calamities of season, the concession can always be made, as on the present occasion, conditional on the remission of the payments of the ryots also. It appears, however, from the opinions expressed to us, that much care will be necessary to secure the practical enjoyment by the ryots of this benefit.

20. In the permanently settled estates a temporary Government management would have this good effect, that the rights of all subordinate holders would, no doubt, be ascertained, and a record formed for permanent reference, as in the estates already settled under Regulation VII. of 1822.

21. In the broken and depopulated estates of which Government may take charge, we have no doubt that it will be necessary to make advances to the ryots to enable them to sustain themselves and their labourers, and to carry on cultivation till the next harvest is reaped, and that they must be treated altogether with much liberality and tenderness; but in matters of this kind, if the people are well managed by competent European and native officers, they are far from faithless. If only Providence should give favourable seasons, there need, we think, be little apprehension of great pecuniary confusion and loss. If fair remissions of the accustomed rents be made for a time, there will probably be little further loss, and (circumstances favouring) comparatively few bad debts; while the mere pecuniary return from the restoration of estates, which without such care may remain desolate, will many times repay the moderate

moderate expenditure. That expenditure may, of course, be charged to the estates, and the Government may retain them till it is recovered, if it be deemed proper to do so.

22. The settlement question is intimately connected with that of irrigation. Till the settlement is concluded, fair scope cannot be given to the irrigation works, now rapidly coming to the point which will admit of their extensive use. We do not propose here to attempt to say in what degree a certain unwillingness to take the water is due to the impending settlement, or how far it may be necessary to coax the ryots, by giving them water in the first instance on very liberal terms. Suffice it to say, that till the settlement is quite concluded, there must always be doubt as to the motives of zemindars and ryots, and it cannot be said that the Irrigation Company has a fair field. When doubt on that subject is removed, the Company will, we are sure, consider in a generous spirit how far both the good of the people and their own interests alike require temporary concessions within the maximum scale of rates, which may be agreed on with Government under the terms of their contract.

23. It is very difficult to eradicate from the native mind the old system of the country, by which revenue rates are graduated for wet and dry land. The true solution under our system is, we think, to fix the revenue without relation to the description of wet or dry, or reference to the amount of the produce in any shape, but solely with regard to the prevailing rent-rates, from which the water-rates of an Irrigation Company must be distinct. But in the present instance, the only practical remedy for all misunderstanding is, without any delay, absolutely to fix the revenue payable by the zemindars, as well as the rent or revenue of the Thanee ryots, for a generation to come.

24. The Government has already adopted the policy of advancing money to the East India Irrigation Company, in order to enable them to prosecute their works for the irrigation of Orissa without interruption from the present condition of the money market; and such is exactly the course which we proposed to recommend. The works already executed, especially the head works on several branches of the Mahanuddee at Cuttack, are of that large and substantial character, and have cost such large sums, that they both afford an ample guarantee of the substantial character of the undertaking, and will suffice to secure the advances which may be made.

25. The completion of the Kendraparah canal will not be long delayed, if it is actively prosecuted, and it will give not only irrigation to a large tract of country, but a most important and much needed means of communication between Cuttack and the sea, to which we shall shortly more particularly advert. It would be especially desirable that the canal from the Katjoree, on the other side of the delta of the Mahanuddee, should be undertaken, both for the irrigation of the Pooree district (that which we have shown to have most suffered from drought) and to establish an easy inland water communication to the great Chilka Lake and through the lake to the Ganjam district, where, we understand, the Madras Government has undertaken a canal to connect the lake with the Ganjam river. Other canals will permeate the delta, and every mile of the high-level canal to the north-east (which has been already commenced) will supply a link of communication between the different portions of this province so wanting in such means.

26. While we should be very sorry to see any arrangement which would deprive the Irrigation Company of its character of a perfectly independent and unguaranteed undertaking, or throw any doubt on the free working out of the first great experiment of the kind, we are sure that, in that character, the East India Irrigation Company deserves, and will meet with, the most special and liberal consideration, the more so as the calamity which has overtaken the country, if it shows the value of its water, also impedes its operations, and the expiry of the settlement at such a moment has been unfortunate. In addition to the temporary advance of money on liberal terms, we would suggest that hereafter any direct advantage derived from the works of the Company might be considered, and an allowance equal to the direct saving of public expenditure might, under certain circumstances, be made. We would instance the Katjoree regulating weir, which takes the place of a very imperfect Government work, and the probable

bable effect of some of the canal embankments as a protection against floods, thus forming a substitute for the expensive works which Government must otherwise undertake. Any allowances of this kind, being a voluntary concession on the part of the Government, on equitable grounds, need only be made when the actual benefits have been assured by the completed works. But it might tend to the encouragement of the enterprise to let it be known that any such benefits will be considered.

27. We have shown how completely the greater part of Orissa is, as it were, out of the world; how inaccessible it is to ordinary trade, and with what fearful results that inaccessibility was attended in the past unhappy year. We now proceed to indicate the mode in which we think that this defect may be remedied. We may also notice that the town of Cuttack, besides being the capital of the province, and of a great district the importance of which must every day immensely increase with the progress of the irrigation works, is also now the residence of a large European and Christian community, to which the great establishments of the Irrigation Company are constantly bringing fresh accessions. Nothing can be more complete than the present isolation of this community during a great part of the year, when it is impossible, in case of the severest illness or other necessity, to move a family even by the slow and cumbrous methods possible at certain seasons.

28. The trunk road from Calcutta to Cuttack and thence onwards is a great work, and its prosecution will be extremely useful both as connecting different parts of the districts through which it passes, and as being the grand route for pilgrims to the temple of Juggernath. But the difficulties on this road, crossing, as it does, an immense drainage of the most difficult character, are extreme. Without an enormous expenditure, it can never be made easy either for very heavy traffic or for rapid carriage travelling. (See on this subject Mr. Crommelin's Evidence.) We hope that it will be pushed on, especially the portion between Midnapore and Balasore, the remaining works on which, as now proposed, are not excessively heavy. The early completion of that part of the road would place in permanent communication with Calcutta the Balasore district, which, though so much nearer, is by sea less accessible to ordinary European vessels than the other districts. Possibly a steamer of very light draught might be used to run into the Balasore river, and thence to take pilgrims arriving by way of Ranee gunge and Midnapore to Pooree. By land a perfect communication beyond Balasore seems yet distant; we trust it will eventually be completed.

29. Again, the high-level canal, which is intended to connect Cuttack with Calcutta by a long series of internal water communications, is that part of the Irrigation Company's projects which involves the farthest extension into districts yet hardly approached. Even when completed, the evidence tends to the opinion that for through traffic in heavy goods the sea route will be preferred.

30. We come, then, to the sea route by way of False Point, which place we have described as within 30 hours' steam of Calcutta. We have also mentioned how well the anchorage is protected. The place may, without exaggeration, be said to be by far the best harbour on the whole coast of India between the Hooghly and Bombay. The depth of water, though not very great, is quite sufficient for a very large class of steamers, and there is this great advantage that the bottom is so soft that the commanders of vessels are indifferent to running aground, although they have usually no occasion to do so. The place must, without doubt, be the harbour and outlet of the whole system of water communication which will be utilised and systematised by the canals of the Irrigation Company. Of these, the most advanced will reach the tidal waters in direct communication with False Point, next year. There will remain only two things: first, the means of disembarking cargo and passengers at the anchorage; and second, the communication thence to the mouth of the canal. If these be provided, we cannot doubt that the enterprising company which runs coasting steamers twice a month along the coast will gladly make False Point a port of call; other communications will spring up; and the dreary uninhabited waste at False Point will become alive with traffic. One day we may hope that there will be shipped from thence a great surplus produce of rice and other staples grown by the help of irrigation. Seeing, then, the importance which False Point must inevitably assume as soon

as the Kendraparah canal is open, and the absolute necessity which will then exist of doing that which Government will also do under such circumstances; looking further to the very large importations of grain which are now being made by that route, to the proximity of the tracts in which relief operations on a large scale are still going on, and to the facility of access to them by this route, also to the general importance of the communications with Cuttack, we submit the very great advantage of doing at once that which must shortly be done, with a view to make the route immediately practicable.

31. The measures which we suggest are no more than the following, all of which will come within the compass of a very moderate expenditure.

We think that a dismantled vessel should be anchored at False Point as a receiving ship for goods and passengers, accommodation for the latter being provided; and we would have a suitable small steamer of light draught to run between the receiving ship and the mouth of the canal. From the latter place, passengers can now reach Cuttack by ordinary palanquin travelling in a night. Next year they will travel more easily by the canal.

Proper postal communication must, of course, be established, and we think that a telegraph is an altogether essential part of the scheme. Without the means of communicating the arrival and departure of vessels, the effect of the whole arrangement would, in great part, be lost.

By these simple means an incalculable benefit would be immediately conferred on the inhabitants of Cuttack, communication with the distressed tracts would be rendered easy, and the way would be prepared for a very much larger traffic.

It would be farther desirable that the whole of the rivers communicating with those which debouch at False Point should be searched out by small steamers. At present they are hardly known, but there is a congeries of rivers, and the country may be completely opened up. It will be a question for practical men whether the steamers used on the Ganges are of a kind best suited for the Cuttack rivers. The Irrigation Company's small steamers are of a very different build, but have not power sufficient to tow fleets of boats. The steamers sent down from Calcutta at the end of the season went 25 miles up two different rivers, towing native boats, in November. Efficient boats should be provided for the purpose of landing and distributing the cargoes brought to False Point. The entrance to the Dhamrah river may probably be improved.

32. We annex a memorandum regarding various important roads in Orissa, drawn up by our colleague Colonel Morton, to which he would solicit the early attention of the Government. A map exhibiting the roads also accompanies this report.

33. We have not discussed the means of protecting the country from inundations, because that is one of the most difficult of engineering problems which has already been referred to a Special Committee. We can only say that the subject is one of the utmost importance, demanding the most careful attention.

George Campbell.
W. E. Morton.
Calcutta, 16 April 1867. *H. L. Dampier.*

ROADS in ORISSA.

I WOULD recommend that the following roads, imperial and local, be surveyed, and estimated for as early as possible, and that funds be assigned to as large an extent as possible yearly for their construction or repairs:—

1. *Madhub to Kulkutpore, in the Pooree district.*—Madhub and Kulkutpore are two important marts; the former lies on the Cuttack, Gope and Pooree-road, the latter is isolated; the proposed line would not only connect the marts, but bring Kulkutpore into communication with both Pooree and Cuttack. The length of road would be eight miles.

2. *Cuttack viâ Ungool to the boundary of the Central Provinces.*—This road, an imperial line, gives direct communication between Cuttack and Sumbulpore; it is described as being in very bad order; it should be thoroughly repaired and kept in repair. For the present it may remain an earthen line, and no large bridges need be built.

3. *Taldunda*

3. *Taldunda to Parradeep.*—The imperial line from Cuttack to Taldunda ends at the latter place, which it is extremely desirable to connect with tidal water. This may be done by prolonging the line about 20 miles to Parradeep.

4. *Cuttack to Machgong.*—This is an earthen local fund road, 35 miles in length, in the Cuttack district. The Commissioner proposes to make this an imperial line and metal it throughout. Like the Cuttack and Taldunda-road, if prolonged, it will form a very important line of communication between Cuttack and the tidal water of the Davee river.

5. *Kendraparah to Bulrampore, in the Cuttack district.*—This short line of four miles is greatly required to connect the imperial Cuttack and Kendraparah road and Kendraparah itself with the tidal water of the Cheeturtallah river. It should be constructed from imperial funds.

6. *Jajpore to Sydpore, and thence to tidal water on the Kurooah river, continued over Government embankments to Singpore, in the Cuttack district, length about* 20 *miles.*—This is considered by the Commissioner a very important line of communication; it will connect the town of Jajpore with a tidal channel.

7. *Jajpore to Chettabar, in the Cuttack district, eight miles long.*—This is a local funds earthen road, partly completed; more earthwork and bridges are required. This line connects Jajpore with the trunk road, and is much required. It should be completed at once, if possible, from local funds; if not, these should be aided by a grant from imperial funds.

8. *Bhudruk to Talgrope viâ Bishenpore, in the Balasore district, seven miles long.*—An important line required to open out the Government estate of Noanund, should be constructed from imperial funds.

9. *Kooloo to S. Balliapal and thence to the Dhamrah, in the Balasore district,* 22 *miles long.*—This line would connect Bhudruk with the sea; it might, at first at all events, be made an earthen road.

10. *From S. Balliapal to Buroo, Mudaree and Basodeepore, in the Balasore district.*—Six miles of road are required from Balliapal to Buroo, whence to Basodeepore is a good fair-weather road. This line should be undertaken at the expense of local funds.

11. *From Bhudruk to Rooknaidpoor district, in the Balasore district, seven miles.*—Required to join Bhudruk with the coast road,—a local fund line.

12. *Soroh to Anundpore, in the Balasore district, five miles in length.*—Will connect Soroh with the coast road.

13. *Jellasore to Neez-Napoo and thence to Kamoorda,* 10 *miles in length.*—Required to connect the extreme north-east part of the Balasore district with the trunk road; —a local funds line.

REPORT of the COMMISSIONERS appointed to inquire into the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa*, in 1866.

PART THE THIRD.

1. WE now come to considerations of a more general character as respects the liability of the country to famine, and the means of mitigating such calamities; and first, it may be desirable to consider how far Bengal and the adjacent countries may be deemed to be liable to extensive famine within the range of ordinary probability.

2. Perhaps the prevailing feeling now is, that a country so moist as Lower Bengal, is comparatively free from risk of the terrible scourge which has, within living memory, so grievously afflicted the Upper Provinces and other parts of India. If we compare the rain-fall and the nature of the soil and climate, there might at first seem reason to expect that the drought which causes famines elsewhere, is much less to be apprehended in Bengal. But on the other hand, it must be remembered that rice is the almost exclusive food-staple, that it requires a supply of water many times greater than that which suffices for the more hardy cereals of Upper India, and that the artificial irrigation is infinitely less. We know that Bengal did suffer in the year 1770 from famine, more wide-spreading and terrible than any which has ever befallen any other British possession, and

which Colonel Baird Smith deemed to have been the most intense that India ever experienced. A reference to all the early regulations and records will show at a glance that, in the earlier days of British rule in Bengal, famine occupied a place in men's minds at least as prominent as that which it has held in the minds of the present generation in the North-Western Provinces; in fact we may say more so. It is true that Bengal has not experienced terrible famine for nearly 100 years. But we must not forget that an exemption of upwards of 70 years had rendered the Ooryahs forgetful of that which their forefathers had suffered in previous centuries, and we believe that we are correct in saying that the Punjab, which would seem of all countries the most liable to such desolations, has not suffered famine of an extreme character for upwards of 80 years, since, in 1783, it was desolated by the scourge to a degree which may fitly compare with the Bengal calamity of 1770. It may, we think, possibly be a question whether the sufferings in the present century of the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, and of some other provinces, have not been to some extent dispensations which have fallen on particular parts of the country at particular times, rather than evidences that those provinces are very much more liable than some other countries of India to such scourges.

3. It may be doubted whether the natural calamities which have yet occurred in the present century are equal to those known in former centuries. The famines of modern days have been of a comparatively partial character. The well-remembered famine of 1837–38, which is really the only calamity of the kind, before that on which we have reported, which has actually reached a very extreme degree of intensity in any part of this Presidency, in the present century, was confined to a tract which may in some sense be deemed limited. It chiefly affected the Lower Doab, part of Bundlecund, and some part of the country on the Jumna about Agra and Delhi. But we believe that both at Loodianah (which may be taken to represent the nearer Punjab) and at Jubbulpore, (representing the nearer portions of the Central Provinces), grain was in that year exceedingly cheap, and both the Upper Doab and Oude (in which last country there has been no great famine in the present century) exported to the distressed tracts. In fact, although a succession of adverse circumstances and great local failure caused very intense distress and much agricultural disorganization, we have noticed in the former part of our report, that on that occasion, the price of food never reached a very extreme point, speaking comparatively. We may say that it scarcely anywhere reached three times the ordinary price, taking the average of a number of years preceding.

There has often been a difference in the course of the seasons in the upper and lower portions of the North-Western Provinces, perhaps due to the varying effects, yet to be traced, of the branches of the monsoon coming up from the Bay of Bengal on the one hand, and from the western coast on the other; and in 1861, the Lower Doab was prosperous, while the Upper Doab and part of Rohilcund suffered, together with one unhappy tract about Agra and Delhi, which suffered on both occasions. Previous to 1860, the price of wheat in the upper portions of the North-Western Provinces may be taken to have been about the same as the rates quoted before 1837–38, and as those for rice in Orissa before 1865. At Allygurh, the cheapest place for which prices are given by Colonel Smith, the average was nearly 35 seers per rupee; but that place was probably somewhat exceptionally cheap. In 1860–61, the price in the worst localities of the famine rose to 7½ and 8½ seers per rupee, say to four times the ordinary rate, but that rate did not last long, for in February, March, and April, vast importations brought it down to 10 and 11 seers, say to three times the ordinary rate.

4. There have also been two modern famines of a partial character in the Madras Presidency.

In 1832, the rains failed below the Eastern Ghats, which caused great distress in the coast districts, from Madras northwards, in that and the following year. The suffering was indeed continued into 1834. The most severe suffering was in the Guntoor district, 200,000 of the inhabitants of which are stated to have perished from hunger and disease. Large bodies of the starving poor found their way into Madras; but there, as in Calcutta, measures were taken to get them back into their districts. Local works were provided for their employment, and bounties were paid on the importation of grain—a system alluded to as having

having been previously adopted in 1824. As in Orissa, the price of salt was lowered to induce merchants to export it and bring back grain. The agricultural disorganization and loss of property and revenue seem to have been very great, and it was principally this disaster which led to the great irrigation works on the Kistna and Godavery, in imitation of the ancient works on the Cauvery, improved by modern skill, which had preserved the delta of that river.

In 1852-53, again, there was great failure of rain in the country above the Ghats, the Bellary district being chiefly affected. That is a dry country where, in a hotter climate, the rain-fall hardly equals that of the driest districts of the North-Western Provinces, and in the famine year, only about one-third of the usual quantity seems to have fallen in the cultivating season. We have not found mention of a difficulty of procuring grain for money on this occasion; but immense numbers of the people were supported by public works. In the single large district of Bellary as many as 100,000 persons were at one time employed, and for five months the number seems to have averaged about 80,000 persons, employed at a total cost of between 12 and 13 lakhs of rupees. The value of the work done was estimated to be between three and four lakhs. Mr. Maltby, a member of the Board of Revenue, went as Special Commissioner for the distressed tracts, and superintended operations in consultation with the collector of Bellary. The result of the measures adopted in saving the people, is stated in his report to have been successful; since he says that, with the exception of some severe outbreaks of cholera, no great loss of life occurred.

We have not the means of exactly comparing prices as expressed in Madras local measures; but from Mr. Maltby's report, it would appear that "cholum," the ordinary food of the people, rose at Bellary from 39 to 15 measures per rupee, or not quite to three times the ordinary rate, and he mentions that the Bellary maximum rate of that season was nearly as high as that which obtained in the Guntoor district in the previous famine. He says that in the part of the Bellary district which suffered most, the price rose from an ordinary rate of 50 seers per rupee to 14 seers. If that be a seer at all equal to the Bengal seer. the maximum rate would not seem very excessive when judged by the standard of recent events; and we may generally gather that in neither of the Madras famines did the price ever rise beyond four times the ordinary price, if so high.

5. Colonel Baird Smith has remarked on the rough periodicity of famines, and it may be said that these local famines recur in one part of the country or other every 5, 10, or 15 years. The following we know to have happened in the range of inquiries to which our subject has led us, within the memory of the present generation:—

	Interval.
1832-33.—Lower parts of the Madras territory; food supposed to have reached three or four times the ordinary price.	
1837-38.—Lower Doab and some adjoining districts of the North-Western Provinces; food reached three times the ordinary price - -	5 years.
1853-54.—Higher parts of the Madras territory; food reached three and four times the ordinary price - - - - - - - -	16 „
1860-61.—Upper Doab and adjoining districts of the North-Western Provinces; food reached four times the ordinary price - -	7 „
1865-66.—Orissa and part of Western Bengal; food reached eight and ten times, and in particnlar places thirty or thirty-five times the ordinary price, and was not procurable for money in many places -	5 „

It will be seen that, with comparatively small exception, the same area has never been twice very severely affected in the last 40 or 50 years, while many provinces, which are probably equally liable to the calamity, have not suffered during this time.

6. But if we look to the greater famines of a more far-spreading character, both the cycle of periodicity and the areas of their range are very much larger; the difference is almost like that between comets of the smallest and those of very large orbit. The greater famines occur in successive centuries; instead of 5, 10, or 15, we may say at intervals of 50, 100, and 150 years. We have not had the opportunity of studying historical records as we could wish, but we see vague mention of great famines in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, notably one in 1471; and without going beyond the more recent centuries, we may mention that there seems to be no doubt that one of the great historical famines affected India about the year 1631, in the reign of Shah Jehan. Notwithstanding the

liberality of the Emperor, "it was found that money could not purchase bread, and a prodigious mortality ensued. Disease followed famine, and death ravaged every corner of India." This famine is said to have extended over a great part of Asia.

Another mention is made of terrible famine in the year 1661. We have not learned its exact extent, but it was not universal, for though it raged in several different parts of India, both Bengal and the Punjab must have escaped, since the Emperor Aurungzebe imported grain for the relief of the people, on a very large scale, from both those provinces. He sold part at a moderate price, and part was distributed gratuitously. The historian represents these operations to have saved many millions of lives, and to have rescued many provinces from total destruction. Indeed his exertions on this occasion seem to have mainly contributed to establish the reputation of Aurungzebe in the early part of his reign.

7. In the 18th century we do not find mention of any famine on the greatest scale till that of 1770 swept all the lower part of the Gangetic countries, and we know not how much besides. To this we shall shortly recur; but for the present we pass on to the great famine of 1783–84.

That was undoubtedly one of the greater famines. We have not at present the means of ascertaining whether it extended west and south, but as respects the great plains of the Ganges and Indus water systems, we have the authority of the then Governor General, Warren Hastings, who says, writing on the 15th October 1783 (as quoted by Mr. Gleig):—

"We are here under great apprehensions of a famine. The soltitial rains have failed in all the western parts of Hindustan from beyond Lahore to the Karumnassa. It has raged most violently in the countries most remote; our province of Behar has suffered greatly by the failure of the last harvest, and by the artificial want caused by the apprehensions of greater. The complaints and fears of it have already extended to Bengal, where we have great plenty."

The apprehensions of the Governor General were justified, for, as the season advanced, and the necessities of Behar and the neighbouring provinces increased, Bengal was drained of its food supplies, and a considerable failure of the crops occurring in the latter province in the subsequent year 1784, it also was involved in famine in that year, although in a less degree.

This famine may then be described as having extended from the Punjab to Behar, both provinces inclusive, and eventually to Bengal also. That it proved fearfully severe in, and in the immediate neighbourhood of, the British territories of that day, that is, in Behar and the adjoining provinces, is sufficiently apparent from its historical importance in our annals, and that it was still more severe in the then remote Punjab is equally true. Twenty years ago, when this event was scarcely beyond the memory of the most aged, the President lived in very intimate relations with the people of the Upper Sutlej, and both the popular accounts and clear historical traces seemed to him distinctly to point to more complete and permanent desolation than anything known in modern times. A new area and a new population seem to reckon from that date, the native year or sumbat 1840. It is evident that a famine so widely extended affected an area many times greater than any which we have mentioned in this century, and it seems that a greater area necessarily involves a greater intensity also, since less relief is obtained by importations from neighbouring provinces. The apprehensions which arise in the mind are whether great famines, such as occurred in the first half of the 17th century and the last half of the 18th century, may not, in the dispensations of Providence, be possibly still to come.

8. The observations in the earlier part of our report rather tended to the opinion that, with all our modern progress, we are perhaps not better prepared to meet these great natural calamities than was India a hundred years ago; that the improvement of our communications may be counteracted, for the purposes of this question, by the diminution of the tendency to hoard the grain of years of abundance, formerly in such times so valueless; the increase of cultivation, by the increase of population and by the increased proportion of the soil devoted to other products than the food of the people; the increase of wealth by the increased demand for both necessaries and luxuries. Our best means of communication would be sorely taxed to supply food to 50 or 60 millions of people, and

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if they could convey such quantities, they would not be effectual, unless sufficiently abundant sources of supply actually exist. It has been the common native belief that great famines are never the consequence of a single bad year; that they occur only when a bad year or years are followed by one of extreme failure. The idea seemed to be that the old hoarding system, combined with the ordinary course of trade, insured a sufficiency of grain to carry the population of any province through a single bad year, and that it is only when the stocks have been already much diminished before such a year, that the most absolute starvation has resulted. Whether or not this belief may have been true in former times, the experience of the Cuttack and Balasore districts seems conclusively to prove that a long course of peace and prosperity and previous good years, afford, under modern conditions, no sufficient resource against a single year of failure, when there has been much exportation, and circumstances render importation exceptionally difficult.

9. Partial, or what we may call provincial, famines may be best mitigated by improved means of communication, which may enable the abundance of one province efficiently to supply the deficiences of another. If we pre-suppose good government and stable rights of property enabling the people to save or to borrow the money with which to buy in bad years, this remedy may, in such cases, nearly suffice.

But what shall we say as to the effect of one of the wider famines under modern conditions; one of the famines so wide that the food supply of India generally may fail?

10. As regards climate, India is, to a very great extent, one country, and the course of the seasons is similar in character, if not in degree. Almost everywhere in India it may be said that in the spring season of other countries of the northern hemisphere agriculture is nearly suspended owing to the total absence of rain. In June and the following months, the universal monsoon usually refreshes the earth throughout by far the greater part of the country. It deluges all the western coasts of the Peninsula, as well as the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and some of the eastern districts of this Presidency are, as we have before said, most abundantly supplied. On the western side of the Peninsula, the abrupt Western Ghàts much obstruct its course, but it thence finds its way to a moderate extent into all the table-lands of the Deccan, to a greater extent into Central India, and perhaps to some extent into Northern India. Even the low country of the Madras Coast, to which it does not directly reach in considerable quantity, is supplied by the waters of the rivers taking their origin in the west, and which are at this season filled to the brim. The greater part of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency (excluding the more abundantly supplied districts of the extreme east) have a liberal but not excessive monsoon supply. We may take the average annual rain-fall of these countries to be from 50 to 80 inches. Thence the southerly breeze turned by the Himalayas to the south-east carries a gradually diminishing supply to the countries of the north-west. From Behar to Lahore, the annual fall may be said to average, in various parts of the plains, from 50 to 20 inches. Towards the end of the season the monsoon trends to the east, and from that quarter most countries of India hope to receive the final falls of the season, while, when the wind has still further veered to the north-east, the residuum of the rain supply is thrown more abundantly on the hitherto exceptionally dry Madras Coast.

The Punjab depends, for a certain hot weather crop and for the sowings for the spring crop, on a very precarious and scanty share in the ordinary rains, and a larger share of the latter rains of October; but so much being secured, it in some degree depends for the maturing of its main staples on early spring rains, which it shares with Western Asia, rather than with India. This last seems to be the only exception to the statement that India is throughout governed by one climatic system.

Partial disturbances of the different branches and currents of the monsoon cause partial famine. But general peculiarities of the whole monsoon are not unfrequently to be noticed. It sometimes appears that throughout India the monsoon is unusually early or unusually late, unusually abundant or unusually scanty, and when a general disturbance of this kind takes the form most

unfavourable to agriculture; then no doubt it is that one of the greater famines result.

11. The principal mitigation of such wide-spread disturbances may be found in the fact of the contrast between what we may call rice and non-rice cultivation. It sometimes happens that a short general supply, which spreads ruin in the drier countries, will nevertheless, if favourably distributed, suffice for the rice crops of the lower and moister countries; while again a failure at the season critical to the rice crops may be consistent with early rains sufficient for the quick early crops of Northern India and the Deccan, and late rains which bring to maturity fine crops of wheat and barley in the countries where those grains are the staples. Accordingly, we have not learned that the famine of 1770 appeared in the severest form in the most northern portion of India, while we have seen that the famine of 1783-84 was not felt in Lower Bengal to the same degree as elsewhere.

12. Supposing, however, that for any reason the general food supply of India should at any time prove insufficient for the whole population, there is this very serious fact, to bear in mind, that there is absolutely no other country to fall back upon for supplies. In case of general scarcity of cereals in Western Europe, we have on one side Russia and parts of the Turkish dominions, on the other America;—great producing countries under such entirely different climatic conditions that simultaneous failure in all is hardly within the bounds of possibility. But in all the South-Eastern Hemisphere, India is the only great country which ordinarily produces a surplus supply of food. In China, the permanent conditions of the country are distinctly the other way; the tendency of China is habitually to import food, and the demand more than absorbs any surplus of the comparatively small food-producing tracts of Siam, Cochin China, and ultra-Eastern Asia, and generally causes a drain on India. The coffee and sugar producing countries of the equatorial and southern regions more and more require importations of food, for which they more and more lean on India. The countries of South-Western Asia are at present poor, and can supply little or nothing. Great natural barriers separate us from the countries of Central and Northern Asia, also themselves poor. Whatever our want of food may be, it must, under almost all possible circumstances, be met within India, or it will not be met at all. We cannot but think that all these things supply material for very anxious consideration.

13. We now more particularly address ourselves to Bengal and the rice-eating populations. We have been able to obtain extraordinarily little information regarding the circumstances of the great Bengal famine of 1770. Unfortunately, the official records of that period have not been preserved in Calcutta, and it is only by a search of the records and libraries of the India Office in England that the details (which undoubtedly exist) of so great an event in the history of British administration, may be obtained and turned to account. Bengalee education and literature are of such modern creation, and the great native families of the present day are of such recent date, that little authentic information has been furnished to us from native sources. But by the assistance of the same enlightened native gentleman of Calcutta, Baboo Rajendra Mullick, whom we have mentioned as conspicuous for his charity in the recent famine, and of his active and intelligent sons, we have been enabled to ascertain enough to serve as a basis for some general observations.

14. Colonel Baird Smith mentions in a note that he had heard that this famine was caused not by drought, but by excessive rainfall. We find, however, that the fact is certainly the other way. Not only is native opinion decided that the physical conditions of Bengal are such that, though great rainfall and flood might cause much injury and local damage, a general failure of an extreme character could not thus be caused; but native tradition is distinct that the famine of 1770 was mainly due to drought. The truth, however, is, that in countries so situated, flood and drought frequently or generally co-operate in any great destruction. Great drought is generally followed by excessive rainfall, and *vice versâ*.

A passage has been pointed out to us in Hamilton's Hindustan which confirms the view that drought was the main cause of disaster in 1769–70, as does also

also a passage in a Bengalee publication of 1820, a time when the event itself must have been within living memory.

15. From such sources, then, as are at present accessible to us we glean the following:—From the tables of Mr. G. Herklotts, Fiscal of Chinsura, re-published by Colonel Baird Smith, it is to be gathered that during the last 150 years there had been no great general increase in the price of food grains in this part of Bengal till within the last few years. The quotations from 1700 to 1716 seem to show cheaper prices, but from the last-mentioned date the price of coarse rice appears to have pretty constantly varied between 15 and 50 seers per rupee, and generally between 24 and 40. The average of the 10 latest quotations for years previous to 1769 is from 32 to 33 seers. The 10 years further back include some scarce years, and would give a dearer rate; but, on the other hand, the quotations are stated to be generally for the month of August, probably rather a dear month of the year. On the whole, the prices before the famine of 1770 may have been not far different from those in Orissa before the late famine.

16. Like most Indian famines, that of 1770 was not exclusively the result of the failure of a single crop. The crop of 1768 was a bad one, and the early crop of 1769 is also said to have been bad. Mr. Herklotts quotes the price of coarse rice in 1769 at 11 seers per rupee, and if this quotation is for the month of August, it would seem to indicate an excessive failure thus early in the season, that being in fact a famine price which we find but once reached in all the years previously quoted from the beginning of the century. Possibly, however, the quotation may be from a later date in the year, when the apprehensions were more serious. From this point the course of the famine appears to bear a curiously close resemblance to that which we have recounted in Orissa. The main or late rice crop of 1769 failed in an excessive degree, owing to the premature cessation of the rains; in October not a drop of rain fell, and in November serious famine commenced. There was hope of some partial relief from the cold weather crops, but no rain fell in the cold weather or early spring, the country was burned up, and the herbage withered away. Before the end of April 1770, the famine had spread universal desolation. Rice rose gradually to four and at length to 10 times its usual price. In respect of prices, the coincidence with the Orissa famine is remarkable. Even the highest quoted price is identical with that for the dearest week at Balasore—$3\frac{1}{4}$ seers per rupee, while tradition tells of rates of 1 and $1\frac{1}{4}$ seer per rupee in some localities, corresponding to those known to have been paid on the Dhamrah in the past year. The miserable results were much the same, or, coming on a poorer population, they were perhaps even more terrible in degree, as they were certainly much more widespreading.

17. This famine extended into Eastern Bengal. It was severely felt about Dacca. Mr. H. Beveridge, C.S., in an interesting note with which he has favoured us, tells us that he has traced allusions to it in the records of that collectorate, from which he gathered that the Court of Directors had called for and obtained a full report regarding it. In Dr. Taylor's Topography of Dacca, though the famine is attributed mainly to drought, it is stated that, in the early part of the season, a great innundation destroyed the crops of the low lands, and that this was followed by great drought, with intense heat and high winds, destroying all vegetation. It would seem, however, that the famine was not so severe in the east as in the northern and western districts of Bengal. The western part of the country, as the driest, naturally suffered more, and allusion is made to the northern districts as having been among the earliest and most severely afflicted. We have before mentioned this famine as extending to Orissa.

18. Hamilton says that the calamity extended to Upper Hindustan also, and that no adjacent country was capable of furnishing an adequate supply of food. We have no information to show exactly how far it extended to the west, but several local notices make it clear that it was felt with the most extreme severity in Behar, where the year 1770 is the era of traditional depopulation, more so, it appears, than 1783. Probably, if there was anywhere abundance, it must have been

been in the country north of Agra and in the Punjab, regions far too remote to give very material assistance, as communications stood in those days.

19. There was consequently, it may be gathered, the same absolute want of food as in Orissa, so that, in most places, it was not procurable for money. In the western districts half the population are said to have perished. In Mills' History it is stated, on the authority of a letter of the Governor in Council to the Court of Directors, dated the 3rd November 1772, that more than a third of the inhabitants of Bengal were computed to have been destroyed, while the most favourable statement is that, at the lowest computation, at least one-fifth of the inhabitants of the British provinces perished. Importation from abroad on a sufficient scale was probably quite impossible. In one respect the Government servants of those days were accused of being too active, for most serious charges were brought against them of forestalling the market by purchasing up the grain, and thus in fact causing the famine—an accusation which is explained as having its origin in timely purchases for the supply of the public departments. Evidently then, as now, the popular belief turned to the existence of stores of grain monopolised for wicked purposes. Mr. Beveridge calls our attention to a passage in the evidence of Sir H. Strachey before the House of Commons in 1812, in which, in reference to this famine, that gentleman speaks of "all the information that has been got, and all the plans that have been suggested," from which we may presume that the whole subject is very fully on record.

20. It is perhaps now generally supposed that extreme failure of the rice crops in Eastern Bengal is almost impossible; but not only was the contrary the case in 1770, so that, notwithstanding means of communication by a system of rivers almost as easy as in the present day, the eastern districts were wholly unable to supply food to mitigate the sufferings of the rest of the country; but the fact seems to be that, in the last century, Eastern Bengal was peculiarly unfortunate. Mr. Beveridge supplies us with the annexed picture of the effects of combined drought and flood in 1784, in Sylhet, one of the most eastern and moistest districts, as drawn by Mr. Robert Lindsay, the well known collector of those days, in a report dated 3rd September 1784:—

"In addition to the total failure of the grand crop, not one grain of which has been saved, two-thirds of the cattle have already died from want of nourishment, and I see very little prospect of saving the remainder, for not a tuft of grass or verdure of any kind is to be seen from one end of the district to the other. The low lands, though always overflowed at this season of the year, produced luxuriant crops of grain, and pasture for cattle, but the late rise of the water has been more rapid than has ever been known in the memory of man, and overwhelmed the whole province in general ruin. The country through which I passed on my way to Sylhet, exhibits the appearance of an open sea, in the midst of which a few small islands appear." Again, he says:—"Not only their crop, their cattle, and houses, but the grain intended for seed, is gone. I observed and listened to their lamentations as I passed along with a degree of sorrow and compassion I never before experienced, which communicated to my feelings the more forcibly, because it was totally out of my power to afford the smallest assistance or alleviate their present distress. Both men and women were employed in endeavouring to save the lives of the few cattle that still remained by diving in this open sea, and scraping from the bottom roots of grass and weed for their food." The loss of cattle from the absence of vegetation in that luxuriant country is a curious feature, and one which did not occur to the same extent in Orissa in 1866.

In 1787, again, there was a very serious famine in Eastern Bengal, which is attributed to great inundations.

21. The impression which we derive from the very general account which we have been able to give of the great disaster of 1769-70 is, that in the very similar year 1865-66, Bengal generally was much nearer to the brink of a similar catastrophe than is generally known; that in fact if the failure of the rains of 1865 had been but a little more complete, the disasters of Orissa might have been repeated on a scale ten times as large.

It may be, that without such a previous partial failure as occurred in 1768, the unusual exports of the preceding years had reduced the stocks of 1865 in an almost equal degree. The export of rice and paddy from the lower provinces

vinces of Bengal in the two years preceding 1865–66 was, in round numbers, 1,300,000 tons. We must repeat that such a degree of failure as the Board of Revenue contemplated in November might have had terrible results, and we think that at that time, before the actual out-turn could be known, the apprehensions of Sir A. Cotton and Mr. Moncrieff were far from ill-founded.

In respect of wealth, there can be no comparison whatever between 1769–70 and 1865–66; the question is whether there might not have been, as in Orissa, such a failure of food that money would have been useless.

After all, although, as we have said, the country becomes gradually drier towards the west, the difference in rain-fall and climate between Orissa and the greater part of Bengal is not very excessive. The Orissa returns of rain-fall may not be very accurate, and one or two years show an abnormal excess, but the average annual fall of the province may be taken to be from 55 to 60 or 65 inches. That of Calcutta is stated to be not quite 69 inches, say at most 70 inches. In Bancoorah and the extreme west of Bengal, it does not exceed the Orissa fall, and in most of the districts east of Calcutta, the increase seems to be small till the extreme east of the province is reached. The information on these subjects is, however, very imperfect. The Board of Revenue can give us no information of any kind regarding the rain-fall.

22. The cereal agriculture of Bengal has probably in no way materially improved in its character in the last century, or at least, we may say, that in no part of India is there so little improvement in the mode of cultivating food grains. Artificial irrigation is less common than in other provinces. There are no wells; tanks there are, and a few bunds or dams, but they are little used for irrigation, nature usually giving the means of a tolerable crop without such assistance. Any wealth which has accumulated in the hands of the higher classes of ryots, who exist in some districts, has been principally turned to the cultivation of sugar (both date and cane), red pepper, and other luxuries, and of the mulberry for feeding silk worms, and jute or oil-seeds, for purposes of exportation. The cultivation of food has increased with the population, but it may be said that in every way rice is cultivated exactly as it was a hundred or a thousand years ago, and the yield is probably not larger. In the north, the south, and the west of India, the people, during periods of peace and prosperity, have made wells and other works, which gradually add to the productive power, and *pro tanto* ensure its constancy; and in both the north and the south, Government has contributed great works of irrigation. In the east it has not been so. The climate does not, in ordinary years, stimulate to the same exertions which are required in more arid countries; the people are less energetic, and the tenures of the land are not generally in all respects favourable to improvement.

23. The holders from Government under the permanent settlement are now not unfrequently, separated by two or three removes of middle-men from all those who have any practical connection with the agriculture of the country, and the establishment of their proprietary character has led to a devolution of rights, without reference to fitness, to men, women, and children, and to a subdivision and complication of interests which is absolutely bewildering, and which, while it renders improvement very difficult, makes litigation the chronic condition of the tenure of land in Bengal. If fixed property of a superior degree is in some respects an improvement on the condition of a hereditary office-holder, in other respects the proprietary family is less favourably situated than the office-holders selected from among the family. There is no system of management by selected representatives of families and communities as in Northern India.

24. Passing over the various kinds of intermediate tenures, it may be said that, in large estates, so far from the actual management being in the hands of persons whose interests are more permanent, and whose action is more considerate than in other parts of India, it is just the other way. Where not infeudated in the manner which we shall shortly describe, the estates are generally let out in considerable portions, for a limited number of years, to speculative farmers of the rents which may be realised from the ryots. Indeed so established has this custom become, that when such estates of minors and others come into the hands of Government in the Courts of Wards, they are thus let in farm as a matter of course. The tenures of the ryots again have not been settled and recorded, in the offices of Government, in Bengal as in Orissa. They have been

the subject of very much uncertainty and litigation, and in most cases the present mode of improving an estate is simply by enhancing rents, without any attempt at improvement of the soil on the part of the superior holders; excepting only the grant of favourable leases in jungly estates to persons who clear jungle at their own expense. The duties of a landlord are not those of a British landlord. No portion of the expenses necessary for successful cultivation are borne by the landlord. The only capital invested by him and his middle-men is sunk in litigation.

25. With all this, the great extension of the breadth of cultivation is beyond doubt. The area cultivated has certainly enormously increased. But the general opinion is that the population has also very greatly increased, and the mass of people to be fed is thus much larger than before.

It may further be a question whether the modern conditions of society are more favourable, than those which before existed, to the case of extreme scarcity. Sir H. Strachey puts it thus in the evidence, from which we have already quoted: "During a great famine, dependence, slavery, and captivity are for the poor highly enviable," and, without going quite so far, we may say that the creation of a body of, in some sense, independent labourers for wages, increases the difficulty of abnormal seasons. We doubt if English labourers could as well resist a season in which food should be two and three times its ordinary price, as do the people of India.

Such, then, being the conditions of agriculture and population in Bengal, it may be that a failure of the rains, such as has before occurred, would leave the province without a sufficiency of food for its inhabitants.

26. If this had happened in 1865–66, could the void have been supplied? We fear not. Probably, if the full extent of the actual calamity of 1866 had been anticipated by the Government in the end of 1865, the sufficient supply of rice to the population of Orissa would have fully taxed all the resources of Government. If nothing had been available from Bengal, we very much doubt whether a sufficient supply could have been obtained from Burmah and the limited surplus-producing districts of the Madras Coast; without absolutely stopping exportation to other countries it might have been impossible, and in that case Mauritius, Ceylon, and other places would have starved. If these importations by sea would scarcely have sufficed for Orissa, much less would they have sufficed for all the population of Bengal and Behar. We may say broadly that rice could not have been found to supply a great deficiency in those provinces. Behar would certainly have been included in such a calamity, as we know that it was included in the great failure of 1769–70. In fact it may be said to have its supply of rain from Bengal, and a failure in Bengal involves a failure in Behar. Such being the course of the rain supply, we may presume that, as in 1769–70, the countries next to Behar would not have supplied any surplus in such a failure. A return, furnished to us by the North West Board of Revenue, shows that at Allahabad, in 1865, there was of rain, in the latter part of the season, but 1·9 inch in September, and none at all in October or November. It is marvellous that this should not have led to greater failure than actually occurred, but at any rate we may presume that, in a season a little drier still, there would have been dearth and not surplus. In the farther or extreme northern portion of the North West provinces, there were, we believe, good crops in 1865–66, and in the Punjab they were certainly excellent. But the portion of the North-West Provinces alluded to is that where an unusual extension of cotton cultivation had taken place. Both on this account and by the demand from the west, grain was reduced in quantity and enhanced in price. In the Punjab, where it was abundant, the surplus supply of a population so much smaller than that of the Lower Provinces would probably have been very insufficient, and would have been, with very great difficulty, conveyed over 1,200 or 1,500 miles of intervening distance. In truth we believe that the single line of railway, on which cotton was then largely carried, was quite insufficient to convey the grain which was offered in the upper part of its course, and that like the lower stations in 1861, the stations near Delhi and Meerut were in 1866 blocked up with grain awaiting transport to the south. A sufficient quantity to supply the partial scarcity in Behar was not carried, much less a supply for Bengal and Orissa. If it had been carried to the latter countries, there would have

have been the same difficulty which was experienced in Ireland in changing the food of the people from an inferior article to which they are accustomed, to one much superior to which they are not accustomed. As in Ireland, there would have been difficulty about grinding wheat and Indian corn; when ground there would have been difficulty in teaching a rice-eating population to eat the food; and when from hunger they ate it, it would probably have caused the diseases of the bowels which, in such circumstances, are so fatal.

27. Altogether, gloomy as the view may seem, we must express our belief that if the same calamity, which happened in the last century to Bengal, and last year to Orissa, had happened last year to Bengal also, the failure to supply by importation, which resulted in Orissa from want of information and other causes, would have occurred in Bengal from the want of any adequate source of supply, and that rich Bengal, with abundance of money, would have perished for want of food. That country is probably less liable to partial famines than drier countries, but it may be that it is equally liable to great famines. It is much easier to state the evil than to supply a remedy for this state of things; but it is best to look the evil fully in the face, since the natural calamity which has happened in one century may happen in another, and if we cannot prevent it, we may probably, in some degree, mitigate it.

28. First, as respects the promotion of agricultural improvement, must be placed the tenure of the land.

The question of a permanent settlement of the Government land revenue only arises, in these provinces, as respects Orissa and some small tracts or isolated estates in Bengal. We have already said enough to show our opinion that a permanent settlement is not very eagerly sought for by the Ooryah zemindars themselves, who look more to lightness of assessment in the present generation than to a promised permanency for future generations, and in times the events of which they do not pretend to foresee.

There can be no doubt that a permanent settlement, limiting for ever the demands of the British Government, must greatly increase the private wealth of the country, and render the zemindaree rights a more stable investment for capital than in provinces where the demand is liable to increase. But, on the other hand, there is, we apprehend, equally little doubt that, under the existing circumstances of India, this increase of private wealth is to a great extent gained at the cost of the public exchequer.

It is, we think, to be considered whether, in all permanent settlements which may be made, the proprietor should not be called on to prove his real appreciation of the advantage by paying a higher proportion of the assets than under the present liberal system he would have paid when accepting a settlement for a limited period only; and farther, whether the revenue payable from the land might not, as in many other parts of the world, be expressed in grain, as are corn rents, to be converted into money according to the average of a series of seasons struck at intervals of 10 or 20 years.

29. It appears to us that the question is not only whether a permanent settlement is good in the abstract, but may also be whether it is so good a thing, that it is desirable to obtain it by substituting other taxes for the progressive land revenue which is surrendered. That is a political question with which this Commission may be hardly expected to deal, but the President proposes to submit a note on the subject.

It follows, almost necessarily, from the facts which we have before stated, that a permanent settlement, which should fix the payments of only one of several parties interested in the soil, and he the one most remote from all practical concern in its improvement, while the actual possessor of the "*dominium utile*" should remain, as much as ever, subject to uncertainty and extortion, would not give the full advantages of the system. A permanent settlement, to be effectual, must fix or regulate for ever the rights and payments of all parties having rights in the soil, be they who they may, not of one only. Such a settlement would certainly have immense advantages, and would lead to great agricultural improvements; and if made on a system of commuted corn rents, calculated on the average prices of a series of years, would, in our opinion, be that which would most combine permanency of tenure with a prospective

increase of land revenue to the State, in some degree commensurate to its claims and its necessities.

30. In Bengal and Behar, the permanent settlement is, of course, a fact which we must accept taking the good and the evil together. But much may be done to give certainty and security to the under-proprietors where they exist, and a clear title to the landlord where he is sole owner.

The question of the settlement and record of under-tenures is, however, one of very great difficulty and importance, which it is quite impossible sufficiently to discuss in a small compass.

31. In Behar and other provinces, where the mercantile spirit prevails among the people, the mode of managing large estates by farming the rents to speculative middle-men for short terms is almost universal, but among the less speculative Bengalees there has also sprung up another system known as that of putnees. That is, in fact, a great system of permanent sub-infeudation, by which the superior holder, in consideration of a sum of money down and a rent somewhat in excess of that paid by himself, grants lands to be held of himself in perpetuity. The grantee, having thus become practically proprietor, soon follows the same course, and the repetition of tenures sometimes becomes very great. There are also many ancient tenures of a similar description, and in fact there is every sort of variety in the names and incidents of such tenures, and much complication of every kind. The result, however, is that the feu-holder of the last remove has, saving accidents and litigations, a substantial proprietary title. Much land has thus usefully come into the hands of men of the middle classes, and many putnees are held by enterprising Europeans. But even these men have not yet as a rule attempted practical farming, the cultivation of indigo excepted. In India no large farmer has held his own against the small farmer, the single man who cultivates his plot of ground with the assistance of his family and of such occasional labour as he may hire. The nearest approach to a considerable farmer is not the educated man or capitalist who has adopted that profession, but the substantial ryot, who occasionally expands into the possessor of two or three ploughs capable of cultivating 20 or 30 acres. Still, in the putneedars and under-putneedars of Bengal, we have a class who may some day themselves utilise those of their lands in which rights inferior to their own do not exist, if science and progress should hereafter render it possible.

32. Last in the scale come the ryots. There can be no doubt that it was the intention of Lord Cornwallis and his advisers to give to this class also the benefit of his famous settlement. Although it was not found possible, as at first intended, to record all individual rights, the clearly expressed provisions that the zemindars should not take more from the ryots than the established rates of each pergunnah, and should not eject them, seem distinctly to confer on the ryots permanency of tenure and general fixity of payment. For 70 years the only ground of enhancement recognised by the Courts was, that particular ryots were paying rates exceptionally low and under the established and legal rates. Even as respects such ryots, the Courts had held that possession at the same rate of rent for 12 years before the settlement, gave a right to hold at that rate for ever, however low it might be, and Act X. of 1859 has so far extended this right that all who have held at the same rate since the settlement are entitled so to hold for ever. In theory, therefore, the ryot of the time of the permanent settlement has by law as permanent and fixed a tenure as the zemindar; and the law has further protected him against the difficulty of proving his holding by providing, that if he can prove a holding at a uniform rate for 20 years, he shall be presumed to have held from the settlement, unless the contrary be proved. But in practice there are several difficulties. The knowledge of a right to hold at fixed rates, in a country where till then no payments, superior or inferior, had been fixed beyond the reach of despotic interference, but slowly reached the lower classes of the people; the zemindars, themselves in those days highly assessed, as peace and prosperity increased the resources of the ryots, irregularly pressed either for increased rents or for various unauthorised extra cesses and benevolences, such as in India constantly crystallize into fixed payments; and many compromises were made under which they were bought off by somewhat increased payments. The holder of the most ancient tenure may any day find his fixity utterly destroyed by the exhibition,

hibition, in his zemindar's books, of some small unexplained varieties in his actual payments, in the time of his grandfather, 50 or 60 years ago. The case is also frequent in which holdings are declared variable, not because the rent is shown to have varied, but because the holder cannot give that amount of proof of 20 years unvaried holding, which satisfies the local Courts. So great is the unreliability of evidence, as it is taken in this country, that many judges consider oral evidence always worthless and documentary evidence generally worse. Except in the case of those men who have already successfully run the gauntlet of all the Courts, it may be said that the most painful uncertainty exists, whether each man is proprietor of valuable land or a mere tenant. In some districts there are many ancient and valuable ryot-tenures at fixed rates, but in other parts of the country all depends on the tendency of the litigation, much of which is yet, we fear, to come.

33. The remaining class of rights is that of those ryots who have right of occupancy, but not right of holding at a permanent fixed rent. Till the passing of Act X. of 1859, the only standard of enhancement for these men was that of the pergunnah rates, which had become extremely vague and ill-defined. By the last-mentioned enactment, the principle was introduced that these ryots should be liable to enhancement of rent on account of enhancement in the value of the produce of their lands, arising from causes other than their own industry and improvements. It has been ruled by the highest Court, that this entitles the zemindar to enhance in proportion to the increase in the market value of the staples of production; and the effect is, so far, to put the ryot somewhat on the footing of a permanent holder on a fixed corn rent. If adequate machinery be provided for working out this principle, it will admit of a tenure beneficial to a considerable degree, and we think that such machinery should be provided something after the fashion in which the "Fiars" prices are struck in Scotland.

This, however, is not all. The old provision for enhancement to the rates payable by the same class of ryots for lands of the same class still remains as an additional instrument of enhancement, and the pergunnah rates having much fallen into desuetude, there is still much uncertainty, not yet fully dealt with judicially, on the question what constitutes a *class of ryots;* while the provision to save improvements effected by a man's own labour and money not being separately introduced into this clause of the law, it is still doubtful whether a man who by his own industry has converted barren land into first-class garden land may not be charged first-class rates.

34. All these uncertainties are rendered doubly harassing by the farming system under which the profit of the farmer largely depends on successful enhancement.

It may be added that a new class of tribunals having been suddenly created under recent changes of the law, a large proportion of the officers employed to decide questions of rent and other matters affecting the lower grades of agriculturalists, are not so experienced and efficient as might be desired.

35. On the whole question we can only here say that the great necessity of Bengal is, to render certain and definite the rights in the land, and thus to enable a man with money in his hand to deal confidently with some one person as the absolute owner of at least the "*dominium utile*" over the field which he wishes to buy. At present there are so many various interests, and so much uncertainty regarding all, that most dealings in land are a species of gambling, and comparatively few have an interest so complete and secure as to enable them to improve with prudence, if otherwise willing to do so.

By an Act passed in the year 1859 a system of voluntary registration was introduced, but in practice it has been surprisingly little used, up to this time.

36. The most wide and general improvements in the land must, in all countries, be those of the people themselves; the area of the greatest of those, which the Government can effect or directly promote, must after all be comparatively limited. Perhaps, therefore, next in importance to the tenure of the land, in the scale of those things which may tend to mitigate famine, are those great arterial communications which connect one province with another, and one group of provinces with more distant groups.

37. Already a great system of railways has far advanced towards this object,

but in great crises the carrying powers of any railway must be over-taxed, and it is the peculiarity of the condition of things in India that the demand on their resources must always be somewhat irregular. Like the physical condition of many things in India, like her rivers, which are sometimes so flooded, and sometimes so dry, it probably must always happen that the flow in the arteries of communication must sometimes be excessive, and sometimes not so; and this must be the more the case while the local habits and means of the people are adapted to systems in which traffic must be regulated by the seasons. Gradually we may hope that local arrangements and modes of transport and storing will adapt themselves to a system of communication which knows no interruptions of season. But meantime the whole demand for carriage will also doubtless increase. And in all ages the excessive demand for the means of transporting food, which must occasionally result from great irregularities of season, must, in a great degree, remain unabated.

We believe that the maximum carrying power of the railways may be increased many times at an expense very much less than the original cost—a mere fraction, in fact, of that cost, by doubling the lines; and we would earnestly urge that Government action and Government credit should be used to the utmost to obtain, at as early a period as possible, this increase of the power of all the lines which are in any sense arteries connecting different provinces of large productive powers, whether the present traffic be or be not sufficient to render immediately necessary such a step for every day use.

38. We would also ask to be allowed to suggest, for the consideration of those better acquainted with the subject, whether a system of differentiated charges for goods, to vary according to season and to demand, might not tend to promote such a system of local traffic and storing as would lead to more free use of the railways in the dull seasons, and diminish the struggle for their use at other seasons, and the unseemly difficulties which must always arise, when the supply of carriage is not equal to the demand, and when the accommodation afforded is really much more valuable than the money paid, and can only be given to those selected either by rule or favour.

39. We think it desirable that all future canals should, if possible, be adapted to purposes of navigation to a greater degree than has hitherto been the case in Northern India. Especially in low countries, where the money value of irrigation may be smaller than elsewhere, the levels and the character of the traffic are generally very favourable to canals of navigation, which can also be maintained at all seasons with a comparatively small minimum supply of water, and by the profits of navigation may compensate for any deficiencies of irrigation in ordinary years. The rivers of India are probably less suited for navigation than almost any rivers in the world, and the value of canals is, therefore, increased, provided they can be combined with profitable irrigation, or made at such a reasonable cost that they may supplement more rapid means of communication, or feed railways at a season when local traffic by land is difficult.

40. The importance of feeder roads to connect the local marts with the great arteries of communication is so evident and so well recognised, that we need hardly dwell on that subject. We shall only here say that the difficulty and expense of maintaining substantial metalled roads is in many parts of India so great, and such roads must, of necessity, be in flat countries so much like railway embankments without rails, that, looking to the constant progress of iron, we think that all considerable roads should, wherever the nature of the country admits of it, be scientifically laid out, as if for light railways, so that they may at any time be converted into railways.

41. We have before said that so long as the food supply of India, as a whole, suffices, and famines are confined to particular provinces, it may be hoped that efficient means of communication will go very far to save peoples prosperous under peace and good government from the worst effects of seasons of failure. But we have noticed that of late years there has been some reason to fear that throughout India generally we have trenched to a dangerous extent on our food reserves, and that it is a question whether the concurrence of many demands on our agricultural resources may not in fact render food permanently scarcer and dearer. We have also suggested our fears that more general climatic derangements than any which have been experienced since the British Empire in India attained

attained anything like its present extent, may be expected to recur at long intervals; and the experience of all countries seems to show that the tendency of an increasing cultivation, and the denudation of natural forests and jungles, is to render the seasons more extreme, droughts more severe, and floods more rapid and extensive.

If all this be so, the question of increase in the food general supply seems to assume an importance greater than some might have been inclined to attribute to it in a country where the supply has generally exceeded the needs of the inhabitants, and in one quarter or another the markets have not unfrequently seemed to be glutted by excessive plenty. Probably the only mode in which the Government can directly aid in increasing the food supply is by great works of irrigation, to which in fact its attention is now so much given.

42. At the present moment perhaps the most pressing question in this branch of our subject is that of increasing the supply of rice and what we may call rain crops. When rice can be effectively irrigated, no irrigation is, it may be said, so essential. In respect of other crops, water is but one of several conditions of successful agriculture. Wheat and such grains require both capital and industry, manure, and laborious care, as well as water. They also require much agricultural skill, and a good rotation of crops. In rice cultivation, water alone seems to be the alpha and the omega. No rotation is required, and no manure is necessary. Water seems to supply for that grain a continually renewed means of fertility, and with water alone the same field appears to yield abundant crops for hundreds of years in succession; still more is it so if the water bears with it a fertilizing silt.

43. Our brief historical retrospect seems to show that the years in which all the wheat-producing countries are similarly affected by drought, are very far apart; that in all the ordinary famines, such as those of which we have modern experience, the abundance of one province may (the means of communication sufficing) supply the deficiencies of another. The experiences of 1661 and 1783 appear to show that the case in which there should be a simultaneous failure in the wheat and the rice countries together, is of all things most rare, and that if such unhappy events do occur, their cycle is probably to be looked for rather in successive thousand years than in successive centuries. In great part of the wheat-growing countries there is already much irrigation both by the people and by means of great public works; much would probably be saved in any famine. Rice, though not a main staple, is everywhere known, and it seems probable that inferior as it is, rice might more effectively supplement the food of the wheat countries than would wheat that of the rice countries, where it is utterly unknown to the people, whose diet is of so exclusive and so uniform a character that they would have great difficulty in changing it, and where wheat will not grow.

The demand of foreign countries in Asia is for rice much more than for wheat and barley. Rice is the food of all the tropical populations, and while throughout the circuit of the Indian Ocean, those populations seek their supply in India, other sources are open to those more distant places, where there is a demand for wheat.

44. The same cause, which much tends to hinder petty works of artificial irrigation in the greater part of Bengal, must greatly militate against the successful undertaking of great works in that country by Government. That cause is simply that the failure of the natural supply of water is so rare that the urgency does not seem to be great, and as an unenergetic people would not ordinarily pay very high for water, very expensive works might probably not be financially remunerative. Looking, therefore, to the necessities of improvement in other provinces, where water being more scanty must be more ordinarily remunerative than in Bengal, we could hardly recommend the Government to undertake at present any very general system of irrigation throughout the whole of Bengal Proper. It is rather, we think, by increasing the rice supply of neighbouring provinces, that occasional deficiencies may be mitigated.

45. We would, however, recommend that an examination should be made of the plan suggested by Sir A. Cotton for supplying water to some of the western

districts of Bengal, to Nuddea and Moorshedabad, which suffered in the past year, and to Calcutta. It is true that the scheme has never gone beyond the stage of the most general suggestion. No attempt to ascertain its practicability has yet been made, and we can by no means venture any opinion that it will be found practicable. But, on the other hand, the whole matter lies in a very small area. An examination of the Ganges at Rajmehal might well determine the question, whether an attempt might be made to dam that great river, as the southern rivers have been dammed, with reasonable probability of success and within the compass of a practicable expense. If so, there would remain only the farther question of crossing the Bhagiruttee and one or two other rivers by aqueducts. Supposing all this could be done, we cannot doubt that in part by irrigation, still more perhaps by navigation, the canal would be very successful and advantageous.

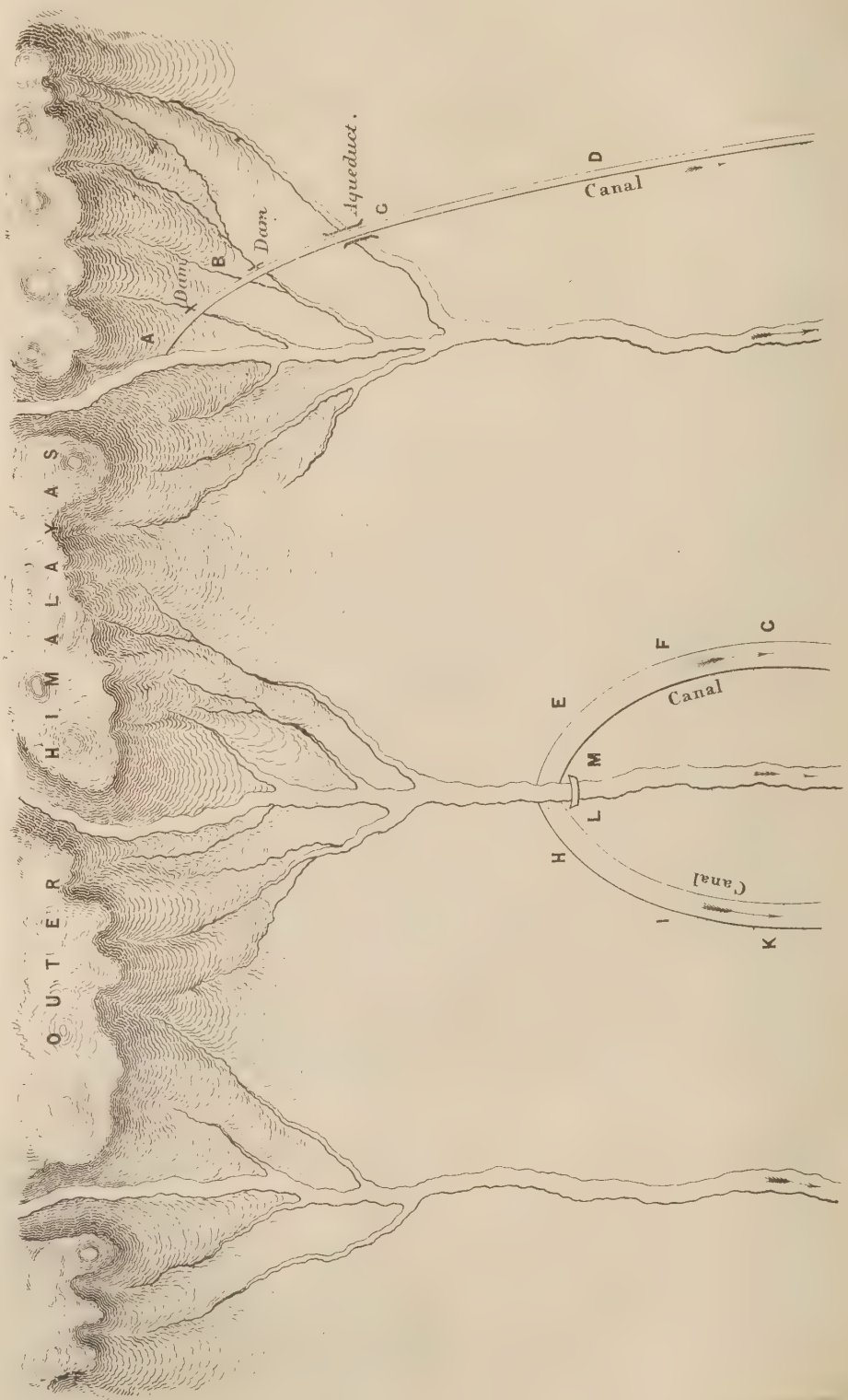
The supply of pure water to Calcutta would be a further very great advantage. And we may suggest a still larger view of that phase of the question. There seems to be little doubt that the stream of the Ganges once flowed in the channel now called the Bhagiruttee, and that the tendency of the changes of recent periods in the world's history has been to throw the waters of the main stream to the east, and deprive Western Bengal of its perennial streams. Mysterious as are still the sources of malaria, one thing the experience of centuries does seem to show, that it is much due to stagnant water; perhaps it may be not so much to the surface water exposed to the free action of the air, as to the water which saturates the earth below. Nothing seems to tend so much to healthiness as running streams which drain this water and cause it to percolate freely from its sources, and nowhere is malaria so often generated as in those places where streams have ceased to flow. May it not be possible that the fearful unhealthiness which has of recent years depopulated so many portions of the districts adjacent to the Hooghly and Bhagiruttee, is due to the greater and greater cessation of a sufficient percolation through those western districts, and that an artificial supply of water would, as it were, restore the circulation. A flourishing capital of Bengal has perished by malaria before the present day, as is testified by the ruins of Gour, standing in the midst of the Gangetic plain, but deserted by the Ganges, and now surrounded by malarious forest, and the home of the tiger and hyena.

46. Again, on the western borders of Bengal, where the supply of rain is less than elsewhere, where drought must always be more felt, and where an undulating surface offers facilities for storage and irrigation, we think that a most careful examination of all possible means of irrigation should be made. The plans for utilising the Damoodah appear to be promising, and it might be considered whether the opportunity might be taken of bringing to the right bank of the Hooghly, and passing under the river to Calcutta by iron pipes (if not over it by taking advantage of the bridge which may possibly be constructed), a supply of drinking water as pure and good as any in the world, such as it filters from the hilly country into the bed of the Damoodah. The minimum dry-season flow of the Damoodah appears to be about 700 cubic feet per second, quite enough for such purposes.

47. There are some other streams from those western hills, and if their water supply is very intermittent, it might not improbably be utilised by some system of storage.

As respects, indeed, the whole of the undulating tracts of the west of Bengal, it is very well worthy of consideration whether a system of embanked tanks or lakes, such as exist in similar countries in Southern, Central, and Western India, might not be constructed. The principal problem requiring solution would probably be, how to arrange for their construction and maintenance, and the distribution of and charge for water with reference to the Bengal system of tenures. It is to be feared that few zemindars could be induced to undertake such works, and, with many conflicting interests in the lands to be watered, the arrangements would no doubt be more difficult than in provinces where there is but the Government on one side and the ryots on the other. With care and trouble the means of arrangement might, however, not improbably be found, and if Government would undertake the duty and sell the water, the difficulty might thus be solved.

48. Orissa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48. Orissa and great part of Midnapore are already the field of the East Indian Irrigation Company, the success of which, we may confidently hope, will be equal to the greatness of their undertakings.

On the other side of Bengal, in Behar, is an extensive rice country with a supply of water very scanty for that staple. Both the Soane, already the subject of a great scheme, and some minor streams, seem to supply means of irrigation on the south of that province. We would especially recommend that, if possible, the works should be so constructed as to supply a large rice cultivation over extensive areas. The cold weather supply of water must be very limited, but in the monsoon season it is boundless.

In the north of Behar the greatest scarcity from drought seems to have been repeatedly experienced in the tracts nearest to the Himalayas. There are, in fact, very commonly, near the foot of those mountains, tracts where the soil is excellent, and rice may be, and sometimes is, produced in large quantity and of excellent quality, but where the water is sunk deep under the thick deposits from the hills, and there are very scanty means of local irrigation. On the other hand, the river supply issuing from the hills in the vicinity of those tracts is inexhaustible, and the facilities for making canals from the smaller streams are very great. In some parts of the country (notably in Rohilkund) such tracts are by these means turned into beautiful gardens. We would recommend that the northern frontier of Behar should be carefully examined with the view of ascertaining what facilities exist for utilising the large and small streams.

49. The necessity of increasing the production of rice suggests an allusion to the difference between two systems of irrigation which have been adopted in different parts of India; since one has been chiefly applied in Southern India to rice cultivation, requiring more abundant water, and is now about to be brought into use in Orissa, while the other affords a less abundant supply to the wheat and other produce of the drier seasons of more northern regions. The one mainly deals with rivers when they are in flood. In the south the copious supply of water brought down, in the monsoon season, from the Western Ghats to the arid Eastern Coast is dammed and distributed over large rice-producing areas. In Northern India, the perennial supply brought by the great rivers from the interior of the Himalayas is utilised with greater difficulty; for, flowing at the season when it is most required, in comparatively small streams in the lowest part of the large beds, it is led from the point where it issues from the hills by long and expensive works over the difficult sub-montane country to the lower plains, and the minimum supply is the limit of the capacity of the canals.

50. The Himalayas appear to be so arranged in transverse ridges that the waters do not freely issue from their interior in many streams. They are generally, within the mountains, collected into great rivers fed by perpetual snows, and these burst through the outer range at intervals 50 to 100 miles apart. In the intermediate space the only streams are those of a short, shallow, sudden character, which rise on the outer face of the outer ridge, and after every fall of rain run a rapid and headlong course, generally falling into the larger rivers within a comparatively short distance.

The water system, then, may be said to be arranged somewhat according to the annexed Plan.

The canals are usually taken from the point where the river issues from the hills, without very expensive head works, by taking advantage of one of the several channels which the water has formed, guiding the stream, when low and tractable, by temporary annual embankments of a petty character into that channel, and then leading it away. But, generally speaking, in the early part of the course of such a canal great difficulties are encountered. The torrents of the outer hills must be crossed by great aqueducts and other works; in other places great deposits render necessary very heavy cuttings; in others a too rapid fall involves very expensive works to control the downward course of the stream. It is not till the more level plains are reached that the course becomes easy. This kind of canal is shown in the sketch A. B. C. D.

51. The essential engineering difference between this and the southern system consists in the absence of any attempt to control the main stream in floods. In the summer the river flows on its course without opposition, and the canals are only supplied by its overflow. Some rice is thus grown by canal water, and

some irrigation of other kinds is supplied to supplement the deficiencies of the rainy season; but the quantity of water required for each acre of rice is at that season much greater, and the area then irrigated by the canal is much less than in the cool season. In this latter, which is the wheat-growing season, the embarrassing circumstance is this, that when there are showers irrigation is not much wanted, and when there are none the want is universal just at the time when long droughts have sometimes reduced even the Himalayan sources below the point on which the calculations are based, so that every one cannot be fully supplied.

52. The best of these canals can never irrigate the whole country into which they run; they are a great, but still only a partial, mitigation of famines caused by extraordinary drought.

53. The southern canal works control the main streams by masonry dams carried completely across their beds, and command a large supply of water when the rivers are full. The dams are raised only to a certain height, so that the water in excess of the required level passes away without obstruction. But they are so regulated that the water can be raised to a level sufficient to enable the engineers to carry it through the high lands near the river, and its subsequent distribution over great areas is then extremely easy.

54. This system has been chiefly applied at the point where the southern rivers issue from the Eastern Ghats late in their course, and have formed deltas by encroachment on the sea. The deltaic tracts are those watered by the canal. But if similar dams can be constructed at any point of rivers flowing through great plains, there seems to be no reason why a similar system of irrigation should not be pursued. For instance, in the sketch which we have given, if we suppose a dam to be built at L. M. below the point of junction of the hill torrents, and clear of the broken sub-montane country, large rain season canals might be supplied, as E. F. G. and H. I. K. We think, however, that for practical reasons it would, as a rule, be necessary to keep inundation canals distinct from those which are used throughout the year.

There seems to be no doubt that the southern engineers have succeeded in making stable foundations in the sand, and constructing effective and substantial dams in the beds of great rivers at a cost moderate for such works, and which might not before have been thought possible. On the other hand, a great part of their success appears to depend on the possession of large stone of a suitable character, which almost by its own weight, when skilfully placed, forms a solid and durable barrier. In places where the ordinary brick and mortar must be used, the cost of such works rises to a point which may be deemed prohibitory, and unfortunately this is the case in great part of the alluvial plains of the North Western Provinces.

55. We would recommend, as the only prospect of rendering irrigation in Northern India a sufficient preventive of famine, that careful inquiry should be made as to the possibility of obtaining the material for controlling the streams by dams, and so utilising the monsoon supply and largely supplementing the present irrigation. At Delhi and some other points on the Jumna, suitable stone is known to exist, and it is possible that at other places in the North Western Provinces sufficient deposits of the stone-like material known as block kunker may be found. Similar deposits of stone and kunker may not improbably be found in the vicinity of the Punjab rivers.

All the rivers, even the most northern, are abundantly supplied in the monsoon season, and most of the northern rivers have this additional advantage, that they rise from the melting of the snow at a very much earlier period, and retain a full supply from March or April to November. The Sutlej is notably of this character, while some of the nearly rainless tracts in its neighbourhood are, in soil, perhaps the finest in India, from which, wherever irrigation can be had, are raised wheat crops not surpassed in the world, and where Indian corn and other valuable grains, and perhaps rice, as well as cotton and such costly products, might be grown to a very large extent with monsoon irrigation. That the Punjab is not too far north for rice, is amply proved by the fact that rice, grown almost entirely by irrigation, is the staple of Cashmere, and in a great degree of the Himalayas generally, and that the finest rice in India is produced in the Peshawur valley.

56. The

56. The following table shows approximately, so far as we can gather from very imperfect information, the average annual fall of rain in different districts or places, from which the advantage of monsoon irrigation may be gathered :—

Place.	Average Rainfall in Inches.	Remarks.
Delta of the Cauvery	30 to 35	The greater part of the fall is in the north-east monsoon in October and November.
Madras	30	
Godavery and Kistna Deltas	40 to 45	These districts share partially in both monsoons.
Orissa	55 to 65	Most of the rain falls in the south-west monsoon, but there is generally a considerable burst in October and often some rain in November.
Western Bengal	55 to 65	
Calcutta	69	
Districts east of Calcutta	70 to 75	
The most eastern districts of Bengal	90 to 110	
Eastern Hills	450	
Behar	45	The chief fall is from June to September.
Benares	40	
Allahabad	38	
Agra	27	
Delhi	23	
Ferozepore	16	Monsoon fall is extremely uncertain.
Lahore	18	
Peshawur	14	Most of the rain falls in the spring.

57. If great irrigation works must be undertaken directly by the Government, we would urge the necessity not only of forming provincial irrigation departments, but of establishing a general irrigation service for the supply of officers thoroughly instructed in and devoted to that department. In the Lower Provinces especially, all schemes of irrigation have had but the slightest attention from officers burdened with many other duties, and a distinct irrigation department is very much required. The great disadvantage under which the Government public works establishments labour is, that the officers are generally not devoted to particular branches, and it may be said almost never to particular undertakings. For many reasons constant changes occur, so that it scarcely happens that any man has ever carried out to completion any great work. The subordinate establishments, also, are far from being so effective and trustworthy as they might be made by sufficient training and the superintendence of more permanent superiors possessed of special skill. At the same time the Indian Military Engineer service is dying out, and for local civil purposes its place can never be sufficiently taken by officers of the Royal Engineer Corps or of the general British service.

58. A regular service has fewer and less valuable prizes than the free market of the world ; perhaps it is apt to be, as a body, less enterprising and original than would be men whose advancement and profit more entirely depend on their individual forwardness. But it has, on the other hand, considerable advantages in point of economy and reliability. If a government cannot have the full benefit of unrestricted freedom, if all its employment must in some shape take the form of some sort of service, regulated by general rules, it seems better that it should have a regular service, so arranged that it may have, to the full, the advantages of such a service, than that it should have that sort of semi-service which fails to give it the same advantages, while the government is still in practice debarred from the absolute freedom of the private employer.

The demands of the State for engineering talent and labour in many departments become larger and larger every day, and the necessity of a well-considered system for the supply of a large body of civil engineers is daily more apparent. Like the Indian civil servant, the Indian engineer, to be efficient, must learn much beyond his purely professional education. A knowledge of the language and habits of the natives, and the circumstances of the country and a willingness to do many things beyond the limits of strict professional etiquette, are of all things required, and the needs of the service can no more be supplied by pro-

fessional men engaged from time to time for the occasion than could the Indian civil administration be supplied by filling each appointment from Westminster Hall. We cannot but regret the disappearance of the corps which has supplied so many distinguished men. The existing system of supplying the service by young men sent out periodically from England is good in principle, but we think that its efficiency is marred by certain defects. It seems to us that higher tests of general as well as of professional education should be exacted from candidates, and that on the other hand greater inducements to take service in this country should be held out. We think that the rules which regulate salaries and pensions require revision. The salary on which a young civil engineer commences seems to be too low, the more so as in the lower grades there is an invidious distinction between the allowances of civil and military engineers, although holding the same appointments. The test of knowledge of the languages should be rather directed to colloquial than to book knowledge.

59. Doubtful as it may be whether any measures which can be taken would wholly supply such a deficiency of rice as occurred in 1770, we have no intention of proposing the prohibition of exports under any circumstances. If it be granted that the cotton crisis and the extraordinary demand of the years 1863-64-65 did diminish our stocks to a dangerous extent; that in a country where most of the grain, being consumed by the producer, is never brought to market, any extraordinary demand affects the market in an excessive degree; that the normal food demands on India of the inter-tropical and semi-tropical countries to the south is increasing and will increase, and that for the present the result may be, on the whole, injurious to the poorer labourers in this country, still we feel that in the end an increased demand will probably create an increased supply; that the proportion in which food and other staples are respectively grown will adjust themselves according to natural laws; that a surplus produce of food grown for exportation will in the end act, in some degree, as a reserve to fall back upon in time of scarcity; and that it may be hoped that eventually labour also will have its adequate share of the profit.

Even in time of extreme scarcity, we do not think that it would be proper, by any absolute prohibition, to run the risk of starving British colonies and other friendly countries whom we have accepted as our habitual customers in ordinary times. Exports must, generally, be left to contract themselves so far as contraction is possible, when the price rises so high as to reduce exportation.

We do not here enter on the financial question of export duties.

60. In this part of the globe the currents of the air are so much more regular, that there is, we think, reason to hope that practical meteorology might be more successful than where they are so broken and irregular as in England. We would strongly recommend that systematic effort should be made to obtain such a chart of the course of the rain-bearing currents as does not, we believe, as yet in any shape exist, and that their variations should be noted with a precision which may probably enable us to gather early indications of peculiarities of season, and to make preparation for coming misfortunes. In particular, we think that it is desirable to mark the course, limits, and effect on one another of the two monsoon currents of the summer months which, coming from the south-west and south-east, must meet somewhere in Central and Northern India, and to the varying relative intensity of which the climatic disturbances of the North-Western Provinces and of Northern India generally may not improbably be found to be due. If so, it may likewise be that Bengal is affected by the degree to which her rain-bearing currents either have free course to the North-West under certain circumstances, or may be dammed up by a strong transverse stream under other circumstances. It seems to us that these currents should be mapped out at least as precisely as the currents of the ocean are mapped. Possibly we may learn to distinguish between heavily charged and lightly charged seasons, and more especially between low flying clouds which pour down on the countries near the sea; and high flying clouds, which, passing over those countries, seem not unfrequently, in the latter part of the season, to go on to discharge themselves in the more distant north, and to dash themselves on the faces of the farther Himalayas.

61. Local registers of the rainfall should certainly be kept at as many places as possible in the Lower Provinces. They are already kept in other parts of India,

India, but we fear that the accuracy of most rain returns has hitherto been more than doubtful, and we have had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any reliable information on this subject. Nothing can be more simple than rain gauges, and yet it is wonderful how incorrect and discrepant the registers are often rendered by carelessness and misunderstanding of the most elementary rules. If the district officers are sufficiently impressed with the importance of a correct observation of the rain, and will give an intelligent attention to the subject, we cannot but think that they must succeed in obtaining tolerably accurate returns.

62. The importance of agricultural statistics, for many purposes, is very great, and we trust that every effort will be used to introduce a system which will supply them; but everything depends on the machinery to be employed for their collection; and after all, we apprehend that to discover the general out-turn of the food crops of any season, the personal observation and inquiries of a few active and intelligent men, thoroughly acquainted with the country and the people, will avail more than any formal statistics which we are likely to obtain for many years to come. The whole question then rather pertains to that of the administrative machinery, which may be reserved for separate notice, and we shall not further discuss it here.

63. All precautions taken and all improvements made, poverty, scarcity, and famine must still, as the world is now constituted, recur, and it remains to consider how these misfortunes are to be dealt with.

We have already alluded to the effect of changes which, while rendering the person more free, society more advanced, and labour in one sense more independent, may also, by loosening the ties of personal inter-dependence, render the poorer classes less capable of withstanding calamities of season. We must repeat a doubt whether the labouring classes of England or France could withstand a general enhancement of the price of food to twice or thrice its ordinary price, as do the natives of India. Suppose the price of wheat to be suddenly raised to 120 or 150 shillings per quarter, beef and mutton to half a crown a pound, and all other articles of food in proportion, what would be the state of things then or even long before that point had been reached? That is, in fact, much the same thing which occurs in India when rice in Orissa or wheat at Agra rises to 11 or 12 seers per rupee, and yet up to that point the people of many districts of India seem to be now, under favourable conditions, prepared to bear up for a time. But we must not blind ourselves to the fact that every step in advance, in the modern sense, tends to render them as dependent on daily wages as more civilised labourers. Under the purely native system, almost every man is more or less a farmer, or the immediate personal dependent of a farmer who has his banker and his banker's book, and the credit which enables him to live from year to year, rather than from day to day. But all our commerce and our enterprise, our great works and improved systems, create or increase the class of labourers depending on regular wages; and all increase of private wealth, enabling the richer to entertain labourers who are no longer slaves or serfs, adds to the class. If we should succeed in simplifying property in land in the hands of sole proprietors of considerable estates, the mass of the peasantry must either become labourers for hire, or tenants-at-will whose rents are regulated on commercial principles, and who have no longer the beneficial interest in the soil on which their present credit is founded. It may be that with the increase of general wealth, the labourer will eventually be, in ordinary times, better off than he ever was before, but that he will as well resist extraordinary seasons, we do not deem probable. There is, we believe, reason to expect a gradual increase in the classes who may hardly withstand a scarcity not amounting to that extreme famine which involves the whole population.

64. On the other hand, if the accumulation of wealth increases the number of rich and charitable residents of large towns, the need on the part of the rich for luxuries before unknown very largely increases; the feudal inter-dependence of the people diminishes as native rulers are exchanged for proprietors, and the native public endowments and charities diminish in number and in efficiency when no longer supported by native Governments and official superintendence. On the whole, the sources of voluntary relief of the poor are probably diminished.

65. The disadvantages attending any poor-law are so great, that we would still not recommend that resource in ordinary seasons. We have several times alluded to the wonderful way in which natives recognise the personal obligations of supporting their own poor. As long as any of a family, it may almost be said any of a clan, have the means of supporting their indigent relations and connections, they do so in a marvellous and admirable way. Only when calamity either reduces whole families and classes to starvation, or brings them so low that, on the principle of two on a plank, some must inevitably be sacrificed, large numbers are cast out either to die or to be saved by public charity. So long as the social feeling which dictates the sacrifices enabling the natives to support one another may suffice, hard as the system may appear on the poor, we would not interfere. Any action which should endanger the present ties might bring with it other and greater evils.

66. But when this point is once passed, and, if we are right, it will be more and more frequently over-passed, some system of relief becomes necessary. It would be inexpedient to encourage a too frequent appeal to the general public for local objects; these might be multiplied till the public becomes callous, and the resource so necessary on great occasions might, in a great degree, be lost. Experience proves that the voluntary local charity of rural districts is insufficient to meet heavy calls on it. It would be too heavy a burden on the Government that it should be required to afford the relief necessary on every such occasion, and the facility of obtaining the aid of Government and of the public funds would be still more liable to abuse than a too frequent appeal to a charitable general public.

67. It may be apprehended that one of the effects of the recent unhappy events, and more especially of the unfortunate errors which have occurred on the side of too much discouraging or resisting applications for public aid, will be that such applications may in future be made very constantly and very freely; perhaps too much so; and that being made, men in authority will have great difficulty in resisting them, and will feel it a very heavy risk and responsibility to do so, even when they are not quite convinced of the certainty of the necessity.

68. On the whole, looking at present circumstances in every view, it appears to us that the time has come when to relieve, not ordinary poverty, but the wider poverty of extraordinary occasions, it is necessary to institute some system of local taxation, by which the richer persons of each neighbourhood, who are best able to test the reality of local distress, may be made to bear the burden of local and partial famine, so far as local means will suffice, before, as a last resource in graver cases, resort is had to the general taxation and the general charity of the country. In the abstract, it might be most fair that all should bear alike any visitations of Providence in any part of the empire; but, on the other hand, there is, all over the world, so great a tendency to be over-charitable to our neighbours with other people's money, that it seems to be absolutely necessary in some way to localise all taxation for the poor, except in case of the most extreme calamity surpassing every local means.

69. It has yet to be shown that the charity which takes the shape of distribution of food in times of scarcity, and which the natives consider a cardinal virtue, will not, if well used and guided, suffice to support the poor of towns. Excepting only the special case of large bodies of people following a declining trade (as in some of the weaver towns), we believe that this town charity will generally suffice for the town population, and even for much of the permanent poverty of the surrounding tracts; it is only when masses of the population of the country are thrown on the towns that, under ordinary conditions, the resources of these latter are over-burdened. The question is how to deal with rural distress. The obligation of the zemindars, holding under the permanent settlement, to support the poor of their estates has always been asserted by the officers of Government, and has never, we believe, been denied by the organs of the zemindars, although sufficient effect has not been given to the obligation by precise law, and we have seen that in practice it has been ignored or evaded. The obligation is in fact one which attached to the Government while the Government was the great landholder of the country, but which has been transferred with its correlative rights to the zemindars.

70. We

70. We cannot make any recommendation of universal application, because the circumstances of different provinces are so different, and in many the Government, as still in some sense superior landlord, receives its revenue direct from the cultivators, either individually or in corporate self-governed communities. But as respects the permanently settled provinces, our opinion is that the obligation which the zemindars accepted with the permanent settlement, but which they have now failed to fulfil, should be put into practical operation, and that local taxation for the poor should take the shape of a charge on zemindaree rights to be enforced by law. We would recommend that on the occurrence of scarcity of such degree that the population are unable to support themselves, the zemindars shall be bound to support the poor of their estates by supplying food in return for labour to the able-bodied who are unable to obtain employment, and by feeding gratuitously the helpless, unable to labour; that, in the event of their failing to do so, the officer in charge of the district shall be empowered to call together a fairly constituted jury to decide whether or not the distress is such as to require relief, and if it is, to assess on the pergunnah the amount required to enable the public officers to afford the relief which the zemindars have failed to afford. Arrangements might be made for enabling any body of zemindars willing to fulfil the obligation thus thrown on them to do so by a self-imposed rate and to manage both the tax and the expenditure of the money.

71. It might be provided, as on similar occasions in England and Ireland, that when the rate thus assessed exceeds a certain proportion of the rental, an assessment on the district should be made, and that when the charge on the whole district exceeds the prescribed maximum, assistance should be given from the public exchequer. It would also be fair to provide that the zemindar should be entitled to recover from all persons holding a permanent transferable interest at a fixed rent intermediate between himself and the ryots, a share of the rate assessed, proportioned to their respective shares in the profits of the land. To provide against too great pressure on those deriving their income from the land, in a year of scarcity, the Government should be empowered to advance money to be recovered as land revenue by a rate spread over several years.

72. The result of an arrangement such as we have described would be somewhat as follows:

Ordinary poverty would still be left to private charity.

Extraordinary poverty and want, affecting considerable classes of the rural population who ordinarily support themselves, would be a charge on the land enforced by law.

The most extreme famine, affecting the majority of the people, would be a charge on the general revenues of the country, and the subject of appeal to the charity of the general public throughout the country.

73. As respects the distribution of the duties thrown in the last case on Government and the public, we think that there can be no better rule than that which has hitherto obtained, viz., that Government should supply employment by means of public works, and that the public should supply the means of gratuitous relief to the helpless.

74. To render public works, undertaken on occasions of famine, permanently useful, it is essentially necessary that the plans should have been prepared beforehand. Works undertaken in the hurry of the moment are generally rather conceived to *make* employment than deliberately determined as the best; and they are, for the most part, badly designed, badly executed, and worth but a very small fraction of the money spent on them. Looking to the great liability of this country to famine, and to the multitude of useful works which yet remain to be undertaken, we think that in every district a systematic scheme of works fit for times of famine should be drawn up with all the necessary working details, and should be kept prominently in view. These works would be principally roads. The permanent demarcation of the great arteries of traffic, by the construction of grand lines of railway, has now rendered much more easy and simple than

before the design of roads of permanent utility, and has created great new wants of this kind. We have before recommended that such roads should be embanked in the form of railways, and such embankments are of all works those which afford the best employment to masses of men, women, and children, such as it would be desired to employ in times of famine. In many districts irrigation works might be similarly designed. Our recommendation is simply this, that designs and practical working plans for works spread over many parts of the country should always exist, much in advance of the immediate means of execution, but in such form that they can be executed on any emergency arising which throws the population on the hands of the Government. It is very important that such works should be scattered in many different places, as experience shows that people unaccustomed to such work will often suffer terrible extremities without seeking it at a distance from their homes.

75. In case of moderate scarcity which affects only the habitual workers for wages, increased public works in the ordinary form may do good ; but it is most amply shown by experience that the moment there is anything approaching to general famine, the moment, in fact, that serious want is at all wide-spread, public works conducted in the ordinary manner, by contract at ordinary task rates, are quite inappropriate and unavailing. In every such case there should, we think, always be a special and entirely distinct arrangement for famine works, under which the wages, whether in the form of daily or of task-work payments, the provision of food, and the whole of the system, should be adapted to the employment of large masses of people to whom such labour is *not* habitual. Especially things should be so arranged that every individual who applies, and especially every woman, should have immediate employment without reference to any gang system which may render them dependent on the will of others, excepting so far as they voluntarily accept such an arrangement. We think that such works should never be placed under the same executive officers who at the same time superintend other works conducted in the ordinary manner. Special works should be superintended by special officers, who must fully understand that they must divest themselves of preconceived notions, and must adopt an entirely different standard of professional duty.

76. Above all things it must be remembered that, as we have said in the former part of our report, all substantial public works are the relief of the more or less able-bodied ; that if a certain point of suffering is passed before special works are made effective for relief they are useless. In that case either the attempt to obtain any considerable return for the money expended drives away the starving, or the work that can be required is nearly nominal, and the money spent is almost as much lost as if given away gratuitously. Much care and discretion and foresight will always be required to ascertain the point at which special works should be commenced. They are, however, in this country probably less liable to abuse than in some other countries. We doubt if, without great laxity, it would ever be found that in India, as in Ireland, the whole population would desert agriculture for easy public labour, and would resist a return to the ordinary labour to which they are accustomed when there is a demand for it. It will therefore be better to make special arrangement too early than too late. By judicious tests, the abuse of public labour in doubtful cases may, we think, be prevented.

77. It might perhaps be expected that we should frame a set of rules by which the indications of famine may be measured, and relief, when famine arrives, may be undertaken. We believe this to be wholly impossible. The subject is in some respects not a very wide one, that is to say, many of the same features seem constantly to recur in all famines. Human nature is, to a great degree, the same in all countries with which we have any intimate acquaintance or respecting which we have means of information ; and the same conditions constantly give rise to exactly the same questions and to similar phenomena whether in Bengal, in Madras, or in Ireland. But, if we may so express it, the same circumstances are differently combined on every separate occasion, just as a few pieces of glass in a kaleidoscope, although in themselves always the same, are combined in an infinite variety of grouping with every shake of the instrument. Everything so much depends on the particular conditions of the occasion, that

that any standard that we could frame would probably mislead, and might induce officers to substitute a too mechanical obedience to rule for that intelligent apprehension of the subject which we believe to be not difficult. For we repeat that the elements of famine are much the same everywhere. It is entire ignorance of the whole subject which produces disaster. We would recommend that the most essential parts of the reports on great famines, both in India, in Ireland, and elsewhere, should be collected and circulated in an easily accessible form, and that reliance should be placed on intelligent officers, to whom the gravity of the subject will now, we trust, be apparent, to acquire that knowledge which will enable them to work out in practice results far more satisfactory than could be obtained from any rules or models of conduct.

78. As respects the signs of coming famine, a vast deal depends on the previous condition of the country and people. A prosperous people will resist hard times under which a poorer people will succumb. Perhaps still more important is the duration of scarcity. If scarce years be followed by one still scarcer, the people are found with exhausted means, and succumb under a year which, if it had come after years of ease and plenty, would have been borne without a murmur. Particular classes may have suffered from other causes, like the weavers, and may be ready to succumb to the first pressure. In some cases, as we have shown in our account of the past famine, exports may have diminished the food supply to a degree which makes a partial failure ruinous to the classes who have not profited by the exports, and a more considerable failure ruinous to all. Our previous remarks have shown that, in our opinion, if the food supply be already for any reason below the average, a failure which involves the loss of anything like half the crop of a single season may probably involve an absolute deficiency of food, which may be disastrous in the highest degree, if it be not supplied by great importations.

79. After all, no indication is so good as that of prices, provided local circumstances are fully considered, and it is remembered that, as we have shown, prices which may seem moderate in one district are death in another. As a general rule, we should say that in prosperous parts of India prices may rise during any season to double their ordinary price, and even higher for a time, without the occurrence of real famine. But there are, we think, few parts of the country in which the people can resist trebled prices for more than a very short period. Food at three times its ordinary price, at a season when some months must elapse without relief, means famine in the great majority of cases, while in some cases famine comes long before that rate is reached. When the rate rises to four times the ordinary standard, it is probably accompanied by famine of a very severe description. But we must repeat that no rules will generally apply. So many circumstances, but above all the duration of the pressure, affect the question in practice, that we do not for one moment pretend to say that even these very general suggestions may not be falsified on the very next occasion.

80. We trust that in the majority of cases, the most extreme pressure of prices will be obviated by great private importations, and therefore we have not mentioned the importation of food as a part of the ordinary duty of Government on such occasions. The simple rule seems to be that which we have already quoted, viz., that Government should import only when, the want existing, from special circumstances no one else is likely to do so, or the merchants cannot do so to a sufficient extent. Those special circumstances must generally be either physical obstacles, or an extraordinary want of efficient traders. In this last respect, both Bengal and Orissa especially require watching. But we trust that the physical difficulties of communication with Orissa will be overcome, while the risks of her climate are also very greatly reduced by irrigation. And in Bengal the extraordinary want of native trading energy is in great degree compensated by ready access from the sea, internal water communications unrivalled in India, and the presence in Calcutta and in some other places of a great and energetic mercantile element, composed of Europeans and Hindostanees, and many other nationalities. It is now difficult to suppose the case in which it would be the duty of Government to import for Bengal, but the time may come when all energies, public and private, will be over-taxed. In Upper India such a case is still

still more improbable; private enterprise there has hitherto only been limited by the means of transport, and as Government could not suddenly increase those means, its interference in trade could only do harm. Its duty is rather by every possible means to increase the means of transport of which use may be made on an emergency.

81. In case it should again be necessary for Government to import food into any province, our opinion is that experience shows that it is better that it should be sold to the public at market rates only, and that no attempt should be made to sell at different rates to different people according to the degree of their ability. Large importations will of course lower the market rate, and so doubly benefit the people. By market rate we mean, it should be well understood, the highest price which the grain, sold freely, will fetch, not that it should be kept back till purchasers are found at any particular rate. Any assistance to be given to those who are not objects of unreserved charity had better be given in the form of money, or in any other way, leaving them to buy food at the ordinary rates. To the starving, food must of course be given gratuitously, and for the public labourers it must be provided in such a way as best suits the circumstances of each case.

82. Our impression is that, although scarcity and hardship increase gradually, there is generally a tolerably distinct line between scarcity and famine. If the people be sufficiently known, it will, we rather believe, generally be found that there is a time when, within a few days, or at most weeks, considerable numbers of persons, who have hitherto lived without resort to begging, are almost suddenly thrown up on the surface of society in a starving state. They may be concealed for a time from those who know little of native village life, but there is, we imagine, a distinct change in the ordinary conditions of that life. Sometimes we hear of a sudden outbreak of famine in a particular locality something after the fashion of an outbreak of cholera. It is doubtless often most difficult to foresee whether a scarcity will or will not become famine, and the very greatest care and skill will be required to form an opinion, but when famine has once appeared, it is a thing which may be easily recognised by those who look for it in the remote parts of the country where the poorest people are generally to be found, and the offer of food makes it very visible at the centres of the better classes, as was the case at Balasore in February 1866.

83. If famine can be anticipated, it may in great degree be forestalled by the judicious provision of public labour, and when it has actually appeared in the form which we have indicated, measures of direct relief must be taken. When relief has commenced, the skill and intelligence of local officers must always be again tried to the utmost. The conduct of the measures required in famine seems in all parts of the world to involve a constant nice steering between Scyllas and Charybdes of a character many times repeated. If special relief works are commenced too early, the ordinary labour market is disturbed without necessity; if too late, this most legitimate of all modes of relief becomes, as we have said, nearly useless. If daily pay be too freely given, the people of all countries, when employed for charity, will struggle to do next to nothing. If task-work is rigidly enforced, without the means of making it practicable to all, the object of relief may be defeated. If task-rates are too hard, they are injurious; if easy in the extreme, it is probably impossible to vary such rates according to the capacity of individuals, and the stronger labourers are enabled to earn far too easy gains, from which it is difficult to wean them. We cannot say that any one system should be followed under all circumstances. Everything must depend on individual skill and discretion.

84. It is very important that sufficient shelter should be provided for people working at inclement seasons, and that as far as possible the arrangements should be such as to admit of decency among gangs, a large proportion of whom will always be women not accustomed to such a life. If it could be so managed as to prevent abuse, a small allowance, to enable the people to hut themselves, might, under some circumstances, be the most effective and acceptable arrangement.

85. As respects, again, gratuitous relief, the first great question is between the two modes which would be called in England in-door and out-door relief, although

although in this country the terms might be reversed. If abuses could be prevented, there is no doubt that in times of the greatest distress, when the labour test is little more than nominal, and at all times as respects the helpless poor, there would be the greatest possible advantage in giving relief to the people, either in money or food, at intervals of a few days, and allowing them to take it to their own homes. Probably they would make the same quantity go farther; certainly it would do them infinitely more good, and all the evils of the feeding centres would be avoided. But again, in case of partial famine, such a system would probably present too many temptations, and unless there were the means of obtaining a real personal knowledge of all applicants, great abuses might result; while in more universal famines the means of managing such a system on the largest scale could scarcely be found in most districts. It can only be said still, that all must depend on the circumstances of the particular famine and the particular locality. Sometimes relief may best be given to the people at their own homes; sometimes, and perhaps more frequently, the feeding centres are a necessary evil. If these centres can be established at so many places, that the people can daily resort to them without sleeping away from their homes, most of the evil is avoided.

When that is the system, the distribution of cooked food is the method which is followed at native charities, and seems, on the whole, the best and the least liable to abuse. Care should be taken to provide cooks who will not interfere with caste prejudices. The provision of some sort of labour for those capable of working must always be the best check on unnecessary applications for food. But effort should be made to provide labour suited to them for those who are really unfit for rude out-door work.

86. The scale of diet has been a subject of much discussion; and on this subject there is more room for general rule. Even here, however, a good deal must depend upon circumstances. When the degree of famine is doubtful, and it is an object to guard against too free a resort to the feeding places, it may be proper to give only so much as may support life when eked out by anything that the people can pick up; but when unhappy creatures are reduced by long suffering, a liberal diet is necessary to restore them, provided it is not given in large quantities too suddenly, for then, as we have seen, it does harm. We must also consider this question to be one requiring more medical knowledge than we possess, for the difference in the scale of different dietaries a good deal puzzles us. Throughout the famine, opinions seem to have varied between four and eight chittacks; that is, between ½ lb. and 1 lb. of rice for an adult, and the Board of Revenue appear to have favoured the scale of ¾ lb. But we find that the Bengal gaol dietary prescribes 14 chittacks of solid food for a non-labouring native prisoner, and 16 chittacks for a labouring prisoner; that is, 1¾ lbs. and 2 lbs. We should imagine the gaol scale to be excessively liberal, the more so since we find the scale prescribed for a European prisoner in Bengal to be—

Meat - - - - - - -	1 lb.
Bread - - - - - - -	1½ „
Vegetables - - - - - -	1 „
Total - - -	3½ lbs. solid food,

besides butter, sugar, tea, milk, and condiments; whereas the regulations for Relief Committees under Act 10 Vict. c. 7, appear to prescribe for a starving Irishman only 1½ lb. of bread, or 1 lb. of biscuit.

We believe that rice is quite nutricious, saving that one chemical element is wanting in it. In Orissa, the nitrogenous element was, we understand, a good deal supplied by snails and such creatures; but every effort should always be made to add to rice either the nitrogenous grain called "*dall*," or "fish" or "ghee," *i. e.*, clarified butter. The food being thus composed, we should say that 1 lb. or eight chittacks would always be sufficient for people receiving gratuitous relief without hard labour, but an additional allowance might be made when substantial labour is exacted.

87. In those far reduced by starvation, quality of food is more important than quantity, and care more so than either. Good hospital accommodation is therefore a very essential part of all famine arrangements.

88. We have recommended that reliance should be placed on the public for the means of gratuitous relief, and this would of course involve the management of the operations by Relief Committees. Even if that were not so, we should have no doubt of the advantage of inviting officials and non-officials to co-operate in such a work in that form, and of thus enlisting much indispensable aid and sympathy. On every occasion the freest and fullest use should be made of this voluntary assistance. As much as possible should be done for the people through the people, and perhaps by more relying on them the difficulties felt in obtaining superintendence may be in great degree obviated. But on all occasions of famine, the official machinery also should be strengthened to the greatest possible extent.

(signed) *George Campbell.*
W. E. Morton.
H. L. Dampier.

Calcutta,
20 April 1867.

MINUTE by the Lieutenant Governor.

Report of the Famine Commission.

It is difficult, I may say, impossible, for me, in the midst of pressing official duties sufficient to occupy my whole time, to attempt any adequate comment on the Report of the Famine Commission, extending, as it does, to 424 paragraphs, and containing upwards of 200 closely printed pages of printed evidence, and more than 300 of official and private correspondence. I must therefore confine myself to brief remarks on such portions of the report as seem to reflect on the action of the local Government. I trust that neither the Government of India nor Her Majesty's Government will form any judgment on the conduct of any of the officers of this Government whose proceedings are impugned, until they have had an opportunity of explanation and defence.

2. I desire at the outset to correct an inaccuracy in my Minute of 5th January. In para. 55 of that Minute I said that in the *Hindu Patriot* there was no particular allusion to the famine till the 5th March 1866. This should be read in connection with para. 47, in which, after mentioning a notice which appeared in another native paper on the 23rd October 1865, I added, that beyond that it would suffice if I referred for further notice of the famine to two of the English papers and to the *Hindu Patriot*. It then escaped my notice that the subject had been referred to by the *Hindu Patriot* on the 16th and 30th October and 6th November; but as these dates are anterior to the Board's report of the 25th November, and to the action taken by the Government on the 11th December, and almost simultaneous with the advices I received from the local officers on the 21st and 27th October, it is quite obvious that the notices in the *Hindu Patriot* which I omitted to mention in my former Minute do not in any way affect my assertion, to which I must adhere, that up to the end of May "the leading organs of English and native opinion neither brought any material facts to the notice of the Government which were not reported by the local officers, nor suggested any measures which had not been already taken, but in fact virtually approved of all that the Government had done."

3. I will now notice the paragraphs of the report *seriatim*.

4. I beg that it may be remembered that the absence of subordinate executive establishments in Bengal and Orissa, the disuse of the local machinery of Canongoes and Putwarrees, and the discontinuance of their returns, are circumstances for which the present Government (indeed, I may say any officer now in India) is in no way responsible. The sections of Regulation IX., 1833, which rendered it obligatory on the zemindars in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency to prepare and furnish village accounts, were deliberately repealed by the Act of the Legislative Council of India, No. X. of 1859. The correspondence which led to the repeal of these sections is before the Government of India. Sir Henry Ricketts, when a member of the Board of Revenue, strongly advocated the repeal of all the laws relating to Canongoes and Putwarrees; but this sweeping measure was not accepted, and when the Board in 1863 again proposed that the remaining provisions of the law relating to village accounts should be rescinded, I refused to agree to the proposal. The Commission may be right in saying that the absence of subordinate administrative machinery was the main cause of the lack of reliable information which prevented many officers from reporting, in sufficient time for the application of a remedy, the degree of failure of the crops and the full extent of the distress; but it must be remembered that Canongoes and Putwarrees still exist as a recognised agency, though to a certain extent disused, in Orissa. Paragraphs 4 to 6.

5. The Commission rightly observe that the only cause of increased suffering which can admit of very serious question is the delay which occurred in respect to measures of relief. No question is raised as to the adoption of timely and liberal measures of relief in the Delta of the Ganges, and in the alluvial districts to the west of the Hooghly. The remarks of the Commission have reference Paragraphs 15 to 20.

only to Orissa and to the higher parts of the western districts of Bengal above the alluvium.

Paragraph 16.

6. The order of narrative adopted by the Commission, though well adapted to bring out the facts as they now appear in regard to Orissa itself, tends by this very circumstance to an erroneous estimate of the relation of those facts to the general aspect of affairs throughout the country at the time. The most serious apprehensions of scarcity were felt at first, not in regard to the districts visited by the Commission, but to those of Behar. (*See* paras. 22 and 114 of the report.)

Paragraphs 51 to 53.

7. The observations of the Commission as to the inexperience of the inhabitants of Orissa in regard to famine, or even scarcity, and as to their inability to comprehend the signs of the times, or to form any definite idea either of the probable extent of the coming calamity or of the measures that would be necessary to mitigate its effects, have a very important bearing on the proceedings of the local officers, as well as on those of the Government and of the Board of Revenue, from October 1865 to the end of May 1866.

Paragraph 59.

8. The Commission do not attach much importance to the circumstance that the 30 years' settlement was "just expiring," and that no new arrangement had been made, and consider that it could not have affected the famine in any material degree. In this opinion I fully concur; but it is necessary to correct the mistaken supposition of the Commission, that "it was thought desirable to keep the settlement waiting to see the character and effect of the Irrigation Company's works." The existing settlement does not expire till September 1867, and, until recently continued for 20 years, was renewable from year to year after that until a new settlement should be made. A new arrangement in 1865 would have been simply impossible.

Paragraph 60.

9. The Commission are mistaken in supposing that appointments to offices in Orissa have been made of late years with greater regard to general than to local considerations. When I first took charge of the Bengal Government, Mr. Shore, an officer of long experience in Cuttack, was acting as Commissioner of the division in the place of Mr. Cockburn, also an officer of local experience, and was shortly afterwards confirmed in the office. Mr. Shore remained there till he was selected to act as a member of the Board of Revenue; and the appointment was then offered to Mr. Ainslie, the only gentleman in the service who had any previous knowledge of the division; but he refused, and my choice next fell upon Mr. Ravenshaw. It is true that Mr. Ravenshaw had no previous knowledge or experience of Cuttack, but neither had any other officer whom I could have selected for the duty. He has passed through the usual revenue and judicial training that every officer in the service has to undergo. He had been selected early in his career for the special and somewhat delicate duty of Dacoity Commissioner, and had afterwards acted for some time as Judicial Commissioner of Chota Nagpore. He had always been regarded as an officer of more than ordinary intelligence, of good judgment, and of unusual energy both mental and physical; and it appeared to me that while he was quite equal to the performance of the revenue* and police duties of the Cuttack division, he was specially adapted, as he has since proved himself to be, for managing the tributary Mehals under Native jurisdiction, and dealing with the wild and occasionally turbulent tribes by whom they are inhabited. When Mr. Ravenshaw was appointed to act as Commissioner of Cuttack, he had been just 16 years in the service, and may be supposed to have reached the age of 36—an age at which if a man is not fit to be a Commissioner, he never will be. At that time, Mr. Dampier, his junior in the Service, had been a Commissioner for many months; and on looking back, I find that Sir Henry Ricketts was first appointed to officiate as Commissioner of Cuttack after little more that 14 years' service, and Mr. Mills after less than 13 years' service. It seems absurd, therefore, to say that Mr. Ravenshaw was not of that position in the Service from which Commissioners have been usually selected; and his appointment, though at first temporary, was certainly made with the prospect of eventual confirmation. I must say that, putting aside for a moment

* In the Board's Revenue Administration Report for 1864-65, Mr. Ravenshaw is included in the list of Collectors who are specially distinguished for the excellence of their administration.

moment the degree to which Mr. Ravenshaw may be thought to be responsible for the "delay which occurred in respect to measures of relief" in this famine, his administration of the Cuttack Division and the Tributary Mehals has been highly creditable to him, and advantageous to the public Service, and that in the conduct of relief operations from the time they were first undertaken, he has displayed not only the manly straightforwardness for which the Commission give him credit, but perfect devotion to his duty, and a capacity far above the average.

10. As to the Collectors, I found Mr. Money at Cuttack and Mr. Barlow at Pooree when I took charge of the Government in 1862, and I kept them there till they went to England on furlough. Mr. Muspratt returned from furlough in 1865, and relieved Mr. Cornell (a comparatively junior officer), who had acted for some time as Magistrate and Collector of Balasore; and as soon as a vacancy happened at Cuttack I sent Mr. Cornell down to fill it, hoping thereby to utilize, as far as possible, the local knowledge he had gained at Balasore.

11. In point of fact, it is owing to a persistent but vain endeavour of the Government to train up men of local experience for the higher offices in the Cuttack Division, that the field of selection on that ground is so limited, and that when, owing to one or other of the many causes with which India makes us familiar, the local supply fails, it becomes a matter of necessity to make choice of the best available man of general, instead of local, knowledge. The arguments of the Commission point rather to the necessity of more frequent changes among the junior Officers of the Cuttack Division, in order that a greater number of men possessing some local knowledge may be available for the higher appointments. It is remarkable that neither Sir Henry Ricketts nor Mr. Mills was ever in Orissa until placed in charge of a district, and that when Mr. Mills was appointed Commissioner, he had been but four years in the Division.

12. The Missionaries themselves admit that their early information was extremely vague. Mr. Buckley in his evidence (page xxxiii) says:—"During the last cold weather the general feeling was that dark and gloomy days were impending: there was nothing very definite." Yet, upon this information, he wrote to his Society in England that "a frightful calamity had befallen them." Paragraph 67.

13. The grounds of the estimate I formed of the mortality in Orissa during the famine are the statements made in Mr. Ravenshaw's reports, qualified by the information I received from Colonel Rundall and others, as to the present state of the labour market and the extent of cultivation in 1866. All the recent accounts connected with the measures still in progress for the relief and employment of the poor go to show, that though in particular localities the mortality has been excessive, on the whole it has not been so great as was at first supposed. But it is evidently impossible to arrive at even an approximation to the truth. There has been, without doubt, enormous loss of life, and whatever may be the actual numbers who have perished from want or disease, the result of this terrible calamity is appalling. The proportion in which this mortality was caused by the drought of 1865, or by the floods of 1866, is scarcely material to the present inquiry. Mr. Ravenshaw's later reports led me to the conclusion that more people had died from the latter than from the former cause, and the Commission are satisfied that the mortality was considerably intensified by the floods, and that the death-rate was highest during their prevalence There can, at any rate, be no doubt that but for the inundation of 1866 the whole Province would now have recovered, as a great portion of it has, from the effects of the drought, and that continued relief operations on a large scale throughout the present year would not have been required. Paragraph 69. Paragraph 80.

14. This is generally a fair statement of what happened up to the date of the Board's Report of the 25th November 1865, and of the Government Orders thereupon, dated the 11th December, but the Commission have omitted to notice an important letter of mine to Mr. Grote, dated 18th October 1865, and this omission is the more remarkable as the letter is filed in the Board's Office. In that letter, after detailing what I had heard of the failure of the crops and the probability of scarcity in Behar, and suggesting what might be done to meet it, I wrote as follows:— Paragraphs 83 to 108.

"The subject is one which needs immediate attention, and I shall be glad if the

the Board will take it up, adopting such measures of relief as they can, and suggesting any extraordinary measures which may seem right for the Government to take. Of course, before I can ask the Government of India to sanction extra expenditure on roads or other works, we must have accurate information and a good case. The accounts I have heard may be somewhat exaggerated, but they are such as to call for inquiry."

I had either Mr. Grote's or Mr. Chapman's authority for saying, on the 31st October, that the subject had then occupied the Board's attention, and that they were in possession of regular and late information from all parts of the country. On the 23rd, on receipt of Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 21st, I had called upon him for a full report on the prevailing scarcity, and in his letter of the 27th he had promised to "continue to keep the Government informed on the subject of the present pressure as often as may appear necessary." In his letters of the 6th and 14th November, he reported on the general state of the Division, and especially of Pooree; and all these documents were before the Board when their report of the 25th November was written. All the measures suggested, or apparently thought necessary by the local authorities, were sanctioned by orders of the 11th and 21st December, and the most ample instructions and authority for the employment of the people on public works were given in Colonel Nicoll's letter of the 19th idem. It would have been better, no doubt, in the sense of relieving me from some responsibility, if in the letter to the Board of the 11th December express instructions had been given for further and more detailed inquiry; but I had reason to know that the attention of the local officers was fully given to the state of their districts, and I felt confident that Mr. Ravenshaw would continue to report, as he had promised, and as it was his plain duty to do, all material facts that might come to his knowledge. In this I was not disappointed, for there was no failure on Mr. Ravenshaw's part to give, from time to time, such information as he was able to obtain, or in recommending such action as he thought necessary; and there is no reason to suppose that any special order for further inquiry would have elicited more trustworthy data. It is now clear that Mr. Ravenshaw's information as to the state of the crops, the available stock of grain in Orissa, the means of supply from abroad, whether by land or sea, the resources of the people, and the sufficiency of the means taken for their relief, was imperfect and erroneous; but it was then, and to a much later period, believed to be correct by every one residing in Cuttack, and there was no one from whom better information or a more reliable opinion could have been obtained.

15. I do not desire to relieve myself of any responsibility by pointing to the fact that the Board's letter of the 25th November and my orders of the 11th December were reported at the time to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State, and were published in the newspapers; but I think that if the Board's opinion had been so manifestly wrong as the Commission (paragraph 104) hold it to have been, the circumstance would not have escaped attention, and that if my action on the Board's report had been insufficient, its insufficiency would have been at once perceived and corrected. I freely admit that I thought the Board were right, and that I accepted the conclusion that though there would be serious distress and suffering such as the measures decided upon would suffice to meet, there would be no general famine. The Commission have hardly attached sufficient weight to the fact that Mr. Ravenshaw was desired on the 23rd October to furnish a full report on the prevailing scarcity, and that on the 27th he acknowledged his obligation to keep the Government informed on the subject, and promised to fulfil it.

Paragraph 79.

16. The Board, in their use of the word "famine" as distinguished from "scarcity," merely followed the distinction laid down in Mr. Strachey's Minute. He says:—"The agricultural population is mainly supported by its own scanty stores, not by importations from elsewhere. These facts explain how it happens that food may be selling in towns at famine prices while there is little general distress, and why comparatively small importations of food may produce a very great effect upon prices in the markets of the towns. It is only when the stores which the agricultural classes have reserved for their own consumption are exhausted that a state of actual famine is arrived at."

Paragraph 88.

17. The Commission omit to notice that though Mr. Ravenshaw did not advise

advise the importation of grain into Malood in November, yet he urged Mr. Barlow to buy and send rice from Poree for the destitute (*see* Appendix, p. 15).

18. Mr. Ravenshaw was in fact not more sanguine as to the out-turn of the crop than Mr. Barlow himself (*see* paragraph 4 of the Commissioner's letter of 11th November 1865, Appendix, p. 29). As Pooree was then admittedly worse off than Balasore, Mr. Ravenshaw cannot be blamed for accepting the estimate of the most experienced of the three collectors under him. It is clear from Mr. Webster's evidence (page xxxvi), that Mr. Money, the Collector of Cuttack, entertained no apprehension at that time, and believed that there were ample stores of grain in existence. Mr. Ravenshaw's opinion was not opposed to those of two out of his three collectors. Paragraphs 95 to 96.

19. I fail to perceive that any inconvenience resulted from the division of responsibility to which the Commission allude, or indeed that there was any such division of responsibility. The practice is that in all ordinary matters of revenue administration the Divisional Commissioners correspond with the Board, and that in exceptional cases, especially those into which other considerations than those of mere revenue administration enter, they address the Government direct. In the present instance, the Commissioner of Cuttack instinctively addressed the Government on the subject of the scarcity, when on its first manifestation it seemed likely to cause local disturbance. Such orders as were immediately required were at once sent direct to the Commissioner, and his letter was referred to the Board with a view to a comprehensive consideration of the state of the country, and of the measures of relief that might be necessary. From the first the Board were fully aware that it was incumbent upon them to take notice of every circumstance regarding the impending scarcity and famine which might be brought to their knowledge, and to seek such information from the Divisional Commissioners; and when the Government had formally called upon them for a special and comprehensive report on the subject, and had desired them to obtain a daily price-current of the principal articles of food in every district, there could not be, and I believe there was not, a doubt in their minds, that the duty thus imposed on them was a continuing duty to be performed as long as the scarcity, or the probability of scarcity, might last. So well aware were the Board of their proper function in this respect that on the 19th October, in consequence of my letter to Mr. Grote of the previous day, and some time before the Government had officially addressed them on the subject, they wrote to the Commissioners of Patna and Bhaugulpore, calling for information on the state of the crops and the prospects of the country; and it was upon the reports of these Commissioners and the local officers in reply to the Board's letter, as well as upon other information which the Board had of their own motion collected, that their report of the 25th November was based. If this circumstance had attracted the attention of the Commission, they would hardly have supposed that the Board were not responsible for obtaining general information on matters not specially brought before them, matters I mean so clearly within the sphere of their duty as the state of the crops and the country. Paragraphs 109 to 110.

20. In his evidence before the Commission (Q. 13) Mr. Grote distinctly states that the Board (consisting then of himself and Mr. Trevor) thought it their duty in October 1865, when the first apprehensions arose, to take note of the crops and the country, though this duty had not been formerly delegated to them, and their proceedings show that they acted from the very first on that view. Mr. Chapman, the secretary, it appears had doubts on the subject, though he certainly did not express them at the time; but not the smallest doubt was entertained either by Mr. Chapman or by Mr. Schalch (who did not join the Board till April 1866) that after the Board had been specially desired with reference to the accounts from Cuttack to report on the crops and markets, and the state of the country at large, and to keep themselves fully and daily informed of the prices of food,—still less, if possible, when orders had been passed on their report of the 25th November, and when the measures they recommended had been approved,—it was their clear duty to "undertake the charge of all measures for the relief of famine" (except public works), to obtain information of the state of every district, to act up to the limits of their power, and to keep the Government fully informed of everything that came before them. (*See* Mr. Schalch's evidence, Q. 14, 15, and 17, and Mr. Chapman's, Q. 31.)

 21. I cannot

21. I cannot, therefore, understand what the Commission mean by saying in reference to the famine, that the Board did not consider themselves responsible for obtaining general information on matters not specially brought before them, or why they should invent a plea for the Board which the Board have not advanced and would not think of advancing for themselves. Whether the Board's action in issuing their Circular, No. 12 of December 1865, was sufficient for the occasion, is a question which has passed beyond my competence to decide, and which must depend on the explanation which the Board may give of it: but as regards Orissa, it must be remembered that (as I have before mentioned) the Commissioner had already stated in his letter of the 27th October that weekly reports had been called for from each district officer, and had promised to keep the Government informed, and that a copy of this letter and of every other letter received direct by the Government from the Commissioner had been communicated immediately to the Board.

22. I confess that the Board's report of the 25th November (especially the language used in paragraphs 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14) led me to suppose that it was founded on reports specially asked for and specially furnished by each Commissioner, and that I now learn with surprise that it was only from two Divisions (Patna and Bhaugulpore) that any special report had been called for, and that for the rest the Board had depended "on the materials then in hand." (*See* Mr. Chapman's evidence, Q. 12.) This is a point which the Board will no doubt be able to explain.

23. It seems quite certain, however, that the omission to call expressly in December 1865 for further special inquiry had no influence upon the local officers, at any rate so far as Orissa is concerned, since the correspondence and evidence show that their attention was unceasingly given to the subject, and that the Collectors continued to report to the Commissioner, and the Commissioner to the Board and to the Government, as often as circumstances seemed to them to require it. Their information may have been imperfect and their views erroneous, but there was no reticence in reporting either the one or the other. In fact, in paragraph 113, the Commission remark that "in the Pooree district the alarm and distress continued with little abatement." It will be seen that though up to the 14th November the Commissioner, in continuation of his first correspondence, wrote direct to the Government, from that date he and the other local officers addressed all their communications on the subject of the famine in Orissa Proper direct to the Board, and that when Mr. Ravenshaw reported to Government, on the 2nd December, as to the state of the tributary mehals (which are not under the Board's authority), he sent a copy of his letter by the same post to the Board for their information, and was also told by me in the Secretary's letter, No. 4249, dated 13th December, that he should in future correspond direct with the Board on the state of the crops and price of grain even in those mehals. The only letters which Mr. Ravenshaw wrote afterwards to Government had reference to the postponement of the Agricultural Exhibition, to the prevalence of cholera, to the prevention of the resort of pilgrims to Jugurnath, and to matters connected with police and the administration of criminal justice, with which the Board had no immediate concern. As to the state of the crops and markets, and the measures thought necessary for relieving the people, there was no doubt or uncertainty in Mr. Ravenshaw's mind as to the authority to whom he was bound to report, and that authority was the Board. His report to Government, of the 2nd May, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently, was a reply to a special call from the Government in consequence of an increase of crime in Balasore, the over-crowding of the gaol, and the necessity (reported by the Inspector General) for strengthening the police.

24. Mr. Ravenshaw's unofficial letters to me were of course independent of his official reports to the Board.

Paragraph 115.

25. That the five lakhs given by the Government of India as a grant in aid of famine works were debited to railway feeders in districts which suffered less from famine than Orissa, was a mere matter of account. The grant enabled the Government to expend money more freely on public works in Orissa; and in fact, as the Commission show, the expenditure on this head, whether by the officers of the department or by the district officers, was never at any time limited by want of funds, though it was by other circumstances. The special grant of five

five lakhs was all expended on railway feeders in districts suffering more or less from scarcity and distress.

26. I need only remark that the orders of the Board in respect to remission of revenue, and to inquiry with a view to remission, were within the scope of their authority, and were not reported to the Government. At the same time it must be remembered that there was then, and for some time afterwards, nothing to show that the scarcity was other than local, or that it had affected materially the landholding classes. This will be made more clear presently. Paragraph 118.

27. It is important to notice that the meeting held at Balasore was attended by 400 persons of all classes, who were unanimously of opinion that to no part of that district was it then necessary to send relief. Paragraph 119.

28. It has always been regarded and insisted upon as an important duty of the Commissioner of Cuttack, in his capacity of superintendent of the tributary mehals, to visit some of those mehals every cold season, when alone they are accessible without danger to European life. Except as regards Mohurbunge there was no more than the usual necessity for his visiting these hills in 1865; and it was not until I was satisfied, after express inquiry, by Mr. Ravenshaw's assurance that his presence was not likely to be required at Cuttack in connection with the scarcity, that I gave my consent to his proposed tour. It is difficult to understand how personal communication with Mr. Barlow could have opened his eyes, as that gentleman was himself then, and indeed up to May, occupied in dealing with what he considered serious scarcity in only a portion of his district (*see* Mr. Barlow's letters of 8th, 16th, and 27th November, and also Appendix). Paragraph 120.

29. On the question of prices I can add nothing to what I have already said in paragraph 45 of my Minute of the 5th January last. Paragraphs 121 to 127.

30. I must deny altogether, as a general proposition, that any confusion arose from the concurrent action of different authorities. There were one or two instances in which mistakes were made (as might be expected on operations of such novelty and magnitude), but this was owing to no inherent defect in the arrangements that were followed in accordance with ordinary and established usage. Between the General and Public Works Department of the Government there was complete accord, all orders issued in the General Department having reference to public works being invariably communicated to the Public Works Department, and *vice versâ*, except as regards mere departmental details. The action of the local officers was in no way impeded by any want of a common understanding at head quarters, and I need only refer to Colonel Nicolls' letter to the superintending engineer (No. 6062), dated the 19th December (a copy of which was sent for information to the General Department, the Board, and the Commissioner), and to Mr. Crommelin's reply (No. 1636), dated the 3rd February, to show that combined action on the part of the civil and professional officers in the Province was carefully provided for. Not an order of Government of the least importance was issued either from the General or the Public Works Department of the secretariat without my knowledge and approval. Paragraph 128.

31. So far as I am concerned (and I believe the Board were under the same impression), I can state positively that when the Collector of Pooree telegraphed to the Board on the 25th November that grain shipped to Meetacooah would be better than money, I did not understand him to mean, and indeed it does not appear that he did mean, that there was an absolute want of rice at Pooree, but simply that rice was very dear there, and that it would be cheaper to import it than to buy it on the spot. The subject, as the Commission observe, met with prompt and earnest attention. Orders were at once given for the dispatch of 250 bags, pending the receipt of further advices from Pooree, and the Board were asked for their advice as to the supply of large quantities of rice from Akyab. But as neither the Collector nor the Commissioner pressed the application for the importation of rice, or wrote at all on the subject, and as they both seemed to rely rather on the extension of public works as a means of relief, the question was allowed to drop. The Commission admit, in paragraph 140, that Mr. Barlow wrote to the Commissioner on the 13th December, to the effect that rice could be procured on the spot, on terms more favourable to the buyers than if landed at Gopalpore; and that again in his letter of the 20th December he distinctly treats the question of importation as one entirely of price. Paragraphs 129 to 131.

Paragraphs 133 to 175.

32. The only point in connection with the prosecution of public works for the relief of the labouring poor which I have to notice, is the payment of wages in money instead of in rice. I have already shown that there was no stint of funds for the purpose. Ample provision was made, as far as money could provide, for the prosecution of those works both by the officers of the department and by the district officers, and the execution of every project brought forward was at once sanctioned. In my instructions of the 19th December from the Public Works Department, it was laid down, not as a matter of principle, but as a mere departmental rule, that on the works undertaken by officers of the department, wages should be paid in money, that any further relief should be supplemented by the relief committee and by the civil authorities, and that with this view the superintending engineer should place himself in free communication with the Commissioner, and arrange with him all matters not of a purely professional character. That these instructions (which, as before stated, were communicated to the Commissioner, the Board and the general department of the secretariat) were fully understood both by the Commissioner and by the superintending engineer, appears clearly from Mr. Crommelin's letter of the 3rd February, and its enclosures, and from the subsequent correspondence. About the same time the Board reported that they had authorised the collector of Pooree to spend 5,000 rupees on digging a tank at Sathparah, and that the collector had been informed that "the object of Government is mainly to give employment and to save people from starving, and that wages are to be paid in grain." This order was expressly approved in a letter from the general department of the Government, dated 21st December. On the 18th December the superintending engineer asked sanction for carrying on work on the roads from Pooree to Cuttack, and from Cuttack to Ganjam, observing that there would be no difficulty, with the collector's aid, in carrying out the Commissioner's suggestion that part payment of wages should be made in rice. Sanction was immediately given, and the superintending engineer was again told that the officers of the department should pay in money the wages of the labourers employed *on these works*, and that anything necessary to enable those wages to purchase food should be carried out under local arrangement. A copy of these orders was likewise communicated to the Board and to the Commissioner.

32. On the 26th January, the Board addressed the Commissioner, referring to these orders of the 30th December, and after stating that *I did not approve of payment of wages in kind*, directed that, in modification of their previous orders of the 13th December, the wages of the labourers employed in digging the Sathparah tank *should be paid in cash at a rate sufficient to provide food for themselves and their families*. This, I need hardly say, was not only an entire misapprehension of my views, but in direct contravention of the previous order expressly approved by me on the 21st December. A copy of the Board's letter was sent under docket to the general department of the secretariat, but unfortunately its importance was overlooked by the secretary,* and it was never brought to my notice at all. It must be evident, however, that if the Board's order had been fully carried out, and if the labourers had been paid in cash at a rate sufficient to provide food for themselves and their families no harm would have been done; since the necessity for raising the rates to a level with the price of food would have forced the local officers either to ask for more money or to press more emphatically for importation of rice. If the effect of the Board's order had appeared to the Commissioner, to the collector of Pooree, or to the superintending engineer, to be so disastrous as it is now represented to have been, it is most surprising that neither of these officers should have raised a word of remonstrance against it, and that when the Commissioner extended it to the works under the control of the superintending engineer, that officer, seeing that it was directly opposed to an order of Government received through his own official superior, did not at once protest against it and bring it to the notice of higher authority.

33. The

* The reason of this was that the secretary, Mr. Eden, was obliged, on account of severe illness, to go to sea on the 9th October, and did not return till the 23rd December. He was consequently not conversant with what had passed, and treated the Board's docket (which, taken by itself, was not calculated to attract attention) as a matter of routine requiring no orders, and merely intended for record.

33. The orders of Government in the Public Works Department, dated 26th January, approving of the superintending engineer's refusal to advance funds for the purchase of rice, was a mere departmental order upon a bare technical point, submitted by telegraph. It seemed to be simply a question whether the collector should advance the necessary funds, or the superintending engineer, and the decision being given in favour of the superintending engineer's view, it was assumed as a matter of course that the funds would be advanced by the collector, from whose treasury the superintending engineer must, under any circumstances, have drawn the money.

34. It is certainly to be regretted that Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January was not communicated to the Government, and still more so that the Board should have answered it by saying that "the Government decline to import rice into Pooree;" the fact being that in my note to Mr. Chapman of the 28th November, I had asked for an official expression of the Board's views regarding the supply of rice in large quantities from Akyab, and that the Board had incidentally reported on the 22nd December that they did not think that the Government need import grain at present. I cannot recal any expression of mine that could have afforded ground for the assertion that the Government declined to import rice. The correspondence, printed in the Appendix to the Report of the Commission, shows that I was disposed to adopt that measure if it were only shown to be necessary, but nothing indicating, or appearing to indicate the necessity was reported. If I had known that authority was wanted to enable the collector to advance funds for the purchase of rice, I should certainly have given it; but, as the Commission remark, the application was not reported to me, and the Commissioner's brief telegraphic message was not followed by any written official report to the same effect. The effect of the Board's order unfortunately was to prevent such general inquiry for grain on the part of the civil officers as would have necessarily brought to light the actual extent of the stocks which they believed to exist.

35. Nothing can be clearer from a perusal of Mr. Barlow's letter, given in the Appendix, than that the expression "destitution, general and complete," applied only to Mallood and that neighbourhood; while the effect of his 3rd paragraph is very much qualified by the fact that the measures of relief suggested by him are local rather than general. Indeed, he says that the revival of the salt manufacture was the only measure that would afford relief commensurate with the distress. This evidently points to Mallood and Parikood, in which he had suggested such a revival of the local branch of industry. Paragraph 142.

36. The difficulty of purchasing rice for storage seems to be spoken of by Mr. Barlow, as felt only in a particular part of the district. For in the very last paragraph of the letter quoted by the Commissioner, he says, "for the other works" (*i. e.*, other than those he had mentioned above) I do not require assistance (in grain), as I am making my own arrangements for the Khoordah road. See also paragraph 3 of Mr. Barlow's, No. 339, dated 1st February (Appendix); and in connection with this and paragraph 156 of the Report, I beg to draw attention to paragraph 5 of Mr. Ravenshaw's letter, No. 368, and paragraph 2 of the superintending engineer's letter, No. 1635, in the Appendix, passages which show what all parties at this time understood to be "the distressed tracts." Paragraph 153.

37. I now come to what the Commission say of my visit to Cuttack in February 1866. Up to the time of my departure from Calcutta, such verbal and unofficial communications as I had with the *personnel* of the Board on the subject of the famine were with Mr. Grote, the senior member, and Mr. Chapman, the secretary. I do not remember to have had any conversation about it with Mr. Cockburn, who only returned from England in December 1865. But it seemed to me that the public service would derive advantage from his accompanying me to Cuttack, where he had been for years an efficient and popular Commissioner, and that his local knowledge would be of great use in discussing local questions, whether relating to the famine or otherwise. Mr. Cockburn was, to all appearance, perfectly well when we left Calcutta, and continued so until we left Pooree. On the voyage from Calcutta to Pooree we had much conversation on the subject of the famine (or scarcity as we then thought it), of which, as may be supposed from the slight indications given of his action in the Board, he took a very sanguine view. Mr. Cockburn, it is well known, Paragraphs 176 to 191.

was a remarkably conscientious and humane man, always forward to advocate the cause of the people; but he held strongly to the opinion that the stock of grain in Orissa must be sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, and that the measures taken for the relief of the poor, supplemented, if necessary, by an appeal to public charity and by a further extension of public works, would suffice. He knew that I had the subject much at heart, as he himself had, and he promised to make every inquiry about it. When we were at Pooree he introduced to me several native gentlemen both in and out of the service, including zemindars and people connected with the Temple of Juggernauth, all of whom seemed to regard him with respect and confidence as their old Commissioner, and with whom he probably conversed more fully and freely than I could. With Mr. Barlow he was on terms of old and, I may say, intimate acquaintance. What may have passed between him and Mr. Barlow I cannot say; but I am certain that he left Pooree with his opinion unchanged. He was too unwell at Cuttack to attend much to business, but he saw a great number of the residents there, both European and native. He accompanied me on my visit to the offices, schools, and missionary establishments, and to the works of the Irrigation Company on the Mahanuddy, and he was present at the Durbar, having previously approved of the draft of the speech which I made on that occasion. After we left Cuttack he accompanied me to False Point, and thence in the *Feroze* to Chittagong and back to Calcutta. During that time we frequently talked about Orissa, with reference especially to the famine and the new settlement, but I never heard a word from him that could lead me to suppose that he thought the measures taken to relieve the distress were imperfect or inadequate, or that the Government could do more than it had done or had promised to do. I feel sure that if a suspicion had crossed his mind that anything further could or ought to be done he would have urged it on my attention.

38. There was certainly no regular investigation held either at Pooree or at Cuttack, but I received at a separate interview almost every European and native officer in each district, besides many others, including zemindars and residents of the Gurjat and Moghulbundy, as well as inhabitants of the towns; and, as far as I can recollect, there was not one of these gentlemen whom I did not question about the famine, each according to the special knowledge I thought him likely to possess, or who had not ample opportunity of personally representing his views, and full encouragement to do so. Besides this, I passed two whole days in company with the officers of the Irrigation Company; I was some hours with the missionaries; and I stopped and conversed with crowds by the road side; on all of which occasions the scarcity was a prominent topic of conversation. In short, I did everything that lay in my power to render myself accessible to all classes, and to elicit expressions both of private and public opinion. I questioned both Mr Barlow and Mr. Nolan at Pooree about the progress of the public works in that district, and though I gathered from them that labour was not so abundant as might be expected, I was informed that this was owing to the people having gone to work on the canals, and I certainly was not led to suppose by either that the rates paid by Government were insufficient to support life, or that proper arrangements for the supply of food to the labourers had not been made. Not a word was said about the orders of the Board prohibiting the payment of wages in grain. From Mr. Crommelin I learned that all the works under the Officers of the Public Works Department were making satisfactory progress, and answering the purposes of relief for which they were undertaken, and Colonel Nicolls, on whom I naturally relied for closer inquiry into the state of the works under his general control as chief engineer, seems to have received the same impression. Even from Mr. Lacey's reports, the inference to be drawn was not that there was no grain in the country, but that it was getting beyond the reach of the poorer classes. (*See* Appendix.)

39. Neither at Pooree nor at Cuttack did I see any signs of emaciation among the people, or any other indications of distress, though I drove and walked through a great part of both the towns, visited the hospitals, and was generally followed by a large crowd; and, though travelling by night, I could see nothing of the rural population either between Pooree and Cuttack, or between Cuttack and Taldunda, yet the bearers along the road were all strong and in good condition, and while some of them spoke to me of high prices, not one complained of distress

or

or starvation. Even the usual number of beggars generally to be found in native towns was not observable.

40. Why, if matters were then known to be really as bad as they had been represented in official documents now collected and presented in one view by the Commission, not one single circumstance was brought before me during my visit to Cuttack confirming that view, is not easily to be accounted for. I cannot subscribe to the theory of want of official boldness which the Commission have set up, or admit that the local officers had any lack of encouragement or opportunity to supply the fullest information or to express their views with perfect freedom. No such excuse has been, or can be, put forward by any officer employed under this Government, and the theory certainly does not account for the reticence of a large body of intelligent men, both European and native, altogether independent of the Government. Surely a much more reasonable, if not the only conclusion is, as stated by Mr. Ravenshaw, that at that time no one thought that famine was impending; that the distress had not then materially increased; that the belief in the existence of a sufficient stock of grain in the country was almost, if not quite universal, and that (except by fixing the price of grain) it was not supposed by any one that the Government could do more than it had done to relieve the wants of the poor.

41. Why, it may be asked, if the more trustworthy persons alluded to in paragraph 193 really held a different opinion, did they not take the opportunity of my presence in the district to avow it? The Irrigation Company may have found it profitable to import a small quantity of rice for the use of their labourers, as the magistrates of many districts frequently find it convenient to purchase in distant and cheaper markets a stock of rice for the use of the prisoners in gaol, but this circumstance afforded no indication of the necessity for importing on account of the Government large stocks of rice for the sustenance of a whole population. It is proverbially easy to be wise after the event, and it is equally easy for the most honourable men to persuade themselves, a year after the occurrence of such a calamity as the Orissa famine, that they foresaw its coming, but such foresight is of little use if it be not used for the public good. Even Colonel Rundall had no idea that there would be severe famine until the end of March, or the beginning of April, and, as shown in paragraph 212 of the report, Mr. Barlow, writing on the 5th March, in reply to my official letter of the 21st February, asking for a special report of what had been already done and what more was required, replied that for the present, at any rate, he did not consider any further remedial measures on the part of Government necessary.

42. The Commission are obviously mistaken in supposing that Mr. Ravenshaw's letter to the Superintending Engineer, No. 36, dated 11th February, could possibly have been reported to Government with that officer's letter of a previous date. The Superintending Engineer's letter of the 3rd February, No. 1636, is the one which, with all its enclosures, is quoted at length in paragraph 20 of my Minute of the 5th January, and contains nothing that could suggest the inference that the Government works were impeded by the want of a supply of food for the labourers, or by any other cause, though the importance of providing them with food was fully recognised. The fact is, that the Commissioner's letter (No. 36), dated 11th February, was never communicated to the Government in any shape whatever. It was not mentioned at Cuttack, either to me or to Colonel Nicolls, that such a letter had been written, and I was wholly unaware then, and for a long time afterwards, that any orders for not supplying grain to labourers had been issued, either by the Board or by the Commissioner, or that in this way the object of Government in supplying employment for the people had been in the least degree frustrated. Mr. Barlow, in his subsequent letters of 30th March and 10th May, makes no allusion to such orders, but speaks of the public works in his district as affording employment to a large number of people, and offering a sufficient field for all who seek labour, and urges their extension by a further grant of public money, which was at once sanctioned. Paragraph 164.

43. What Mr. Barlow really thought, even at the end of February, will be gathered from the following passages of the Appendix:— Paragraphs 183 to 212.

Evidence, page xviii. Mr. Lacey says, "I don't think the other European officers" (*i. e.* Mr. Barlow and Mr. Livesay, there were in other) "took so

serious a view as I did. I think the general impression among them was that there was grain in the country." "I was in constant communication with Mr. Barlow, and he was fully in possession of my views." Again, evidence, page ii., Baboo Ramokhoy Chatterjea says, that at the meeting on 25th February, "The European members (Messrs. Barlow, Livesay, and Lacey) agreed to write to the English papers, but afterwards changed their minds, thinking the distress was not such as to necessitate the measure." *See*, too, page v., where Mr. Livesay says, "I remember the meeting of the 25th February, I remember Mr. Barlow saying then, or shortly afterwards, that he did not think it necessary to write to the English papers, that matters had not got so bad as that; that it might create a panic if men wrote to the *Englishman*," and so on. Mr. Barlow throws considerable light upon the intentions of that very Relief Committee, in paragraphs 12 and 13 of his letter, at page 161. No one reading that latter can say that the committee realised a famine widespread and severe, calling for extraordinary help from without in the end of February.

Paragraphs 192 to 203.

44. I agree with the Commission that if the facts now disclosed had been fully made known to the Government in February 1866, it would have been proper to take measures to import grain into Orissa at that time. That I was not disinclined to adopt that course, if necessity had been shown for it, I have already explained, and that the subject was considered after my return from Cuttack is mentioned by the Commission in paragraph 204 of their Report. The information before the Government at that time, though it may have been sufficient to raise the serious question of importing food into Orissa on account of Government, was certainly not enough to justify the adoption of that measure, and all that I saw and heard in Cuttack satisfied me that the necessity for such abnormal action had not arisen.

Paragraphs 214, 215.

45. I request a careful perusal of Mr. Barlow's letter (No. 366) at page 154 of the Appendix; the demi-official, at page 156; and his report of 30th March, at page 158. From these letters it will be seen that Mr. Barlow was a firm advocate of the principle of exacting piece-work, declaring he would rather abandon the works than yield the point; and on page 159 it appears that he held that so long as the works were in the neighbourhood of villages food would be procurable. This would show his belief in the existence of village stocks. In truth, the facts being, as stated by the Commission in paragraph 194 of their Report, it is easy to imagine how officers as energetic and anxious as Mr. Barlow may have been misled for months as to the actual quantity of grain available in the country. Mr. Barlow's report of the 30th March read in connection with his later letters of May, printed at pages 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, and 176, of the Appendix, contain ample evidence that there was no want of official boldness nor any compulsory reticense on Mr. Barlow's part, and that in common with all the officers of the division he failed to realise the fact of a general famine of food till a very late date.

Paragraph 209.

46. Besides what the Board had mentioned in their Report of the 25th November, it had been repeatedly stated that the high prices of grain prevailing in the eastern districts of Bengal, where there had been a good crop, were owing to large exportations to the westward, and the fact had been publicly cited in support of the opinion that the deficient supply in particular localities would be met from other quarters by the natural operations of trade. (See *Englishman* newspaper of 12th February, quoted in paragraph 49 of my minute of 5th January).

Paragraphs 217, 218.

47. I would specially draw attention to the extract from Mr. Barlow's letter of the 30th March (quoted by the Commission) in which, after alluding to the "liberal policy" of the Government, "the wisdom of which and the great advantages obtained to the district thereby are better perceived each day," he concludes with these remarkable words: "It is in this view then, and as seeing that no particular measure is at present called for, that I reply, as I have done, to the query of Government, implying, as it appears to do, a promise of further assistance at such time as it may appear necessary." Mr. Barlow was therefore well aware that the Government would give him whatever assistance he might ask for. The Commission admit that on this occasion Mr. Barlow was again silent on the subject of importation of rice, but in fact he had never suggested it except as a means of feeding the poor of Mallood and Parikood on cheaper terms

terms than could be obtained by local purchase. The idea of importing food for the whole population apparently never occurred to him. It cannot be affirmed for a moment that this report from Mr. Barlow was otherwise than as the Board described it, most complete and satisfactory, or that it required any notice from me beyond entire approval of his proceedings.

48. I must point out here that the mortality alluded to in the magistrate's orders, of 16th April, is distinctly stated to have been among "pilgrims," among whom mortality is at all times heavy. In many parts of the official evidence taken at Pooree, it is stated that it was only in the middle of April that the signs of starvation became very palpable in Pooree, and Mr. Barlow himself makes the "marked change" in the appearances which occurred then, his justification for writing to the papers in May. Paragraph 220.

49. It was not indeed till May that Mr. Barlow perceived that the labour system as a general medium of relief had failed, and that the only remedy was to support a starving population by gratuitous charity. Then it was that he appealed to the public for aid in support of subscriptions from local sources, and asked the Government to supplement it by an allowance *not exceeding* 500 *rupees a-month;* and that Mr. Ravenshaw, in forwarding Mr. Barlow's letter on the 15th May, proposed that Government should contribute 500 rupees a-month for charitable relief in each of the three districts! Not a word was said by either as to the necessity for importing grain to feed the people. To both it appeared that the only means of maintaining the destitute was by charitable relief, and for this all that they asked for was a little money. It was not till the 17th and 18th May that the Collectors of Balasore and Cuttack intimated, in reply to a proposal to send down some commissariat atta to False Point, that rice would be of more use. It was not till the 28th May that Mr. Ravenshaw realised the necessity for a general importation of food, and it does not appear that Mr. Barlow ever urged it at all. But long before these letters were received, a grant of 10,000 rupees had been assigned to each district from the North-West Famine Fund, and measures had been taken to import rice into Orissa from abroad. Paragraphs 219 to 225.

50. As to Balasore, the first notice that the Government had of the existence of distress was in the Commissioner's letter of the 2nd March, in which he applied for an officer, with full magistrate's powers, should be sent to assist the magistrate in the disposal of criminal cases, which had largely increased "owing chiefly to the present dearness of food;" and this application was immediately complied with. On the 16th, on the application of the Inspector General of Police, the police of the district was strengthened and the Commissioner was desired to report specially on the state of the district. This call was repeated on the 7th April, when the Commissioner was desired to proceed forthwith to Balasore for the purpose of making inquiry in person. Owing to reasons explained in the Report of the Commission, Mr. Ravenshaw's Report was not written till the 2nd May; but he wrote to me unofficially on the 8th and 20th April, and I think it will clearly appear that those letters did not indicate the necessity for any further measures of general relief other than those which had already been adopted. His letter of the 8th April, which he wrote from Cuttack, and which I received two or three days before leaving Calcutta for Darjeeling, is printed at page 223 of the Appendix to the Report. It contains absolutely nothing that could lead me to suppose that any further general or special measures, needing the interposition of Government, were wanted or likely to be wanted. The Commissioner's letter of the 20th April, which was written from Balasore, I received at Darjeeling. In it he stated that there was a lull in the increase of crime, which he hoped would continue; that the local officers had worked to the best of their ability, and that the state of the district (with reference to crime) was not due to neglect or mismanagement; *that he expected to finish and dispatch his official report either that day or the next;* that he meant to start for Mohurbunge the next day; that *large subscriptions had been raised in Balasore to support the starving;* that there was a good working Committee there, and that every one was doing his best; that food was distributed to those who could not work; that there were many who could but would not work, and that it was difficult to get labour unless the work was Paragraphs 226 to 257.

brought to their doors, the executive engineer being then in want of 100 men and unable to get them; that the only thing Government could do was to provide labour; and that this he had done, to a partial extent, on the Khas Mehals, but that the Public Works Department was the best agency for giving employment, the "bands of red tape" being a little relaxed, especially in Balasore, where there was no canal works for the people to fall back upon. Mr. Ravenshaw certainly described the distribution of food which he had witnessed as a painful sight, the poor people crowding and pressing on each other to obtain food; but he gave no indication that the means at the disposal of the Relief Committee were insufficient, still less that any importation of rice from abroad was needed. The immediate action taken upon that letter was the issue of orders to the superintending engineer to push on works on the Cuttack Trunk road in order to relieve the distressed poor, and to incur any necessary expenditure for the purpose in anticipation of sanction. The reason why the superintending engineer's letter of the 5th March was not formally answered until the 5th May is simply this, that the controller of accounts had amended his order curtailing the supplies immediately it was brought to his notice that more funds were wanted, and had regularly furnished the superintending engineer with all the money he asked for. The credits given to the superintending engineer from time to time are shown in the margin, and as a matter of fact the work on this road was never interrupted for want of funds, and employment was available for all who sought it.

	Rs.
October	12,000
November	15,000
December	20,000
January	15,000
February	25,000
March	20,000
April	20,000
May	25,000
June	20,000
	1,72,000

51. With all the facts before him that are embodied in the Commissioner's Report of the 2nd May, it is to be regretted that it was not written and dispatched before he left Balasore for Mohurbunge, and that though it had been called for direct by the Government in relation chiefly to the state of crime in the district, he did not at the same time (as in all other instances he had previously done) report to the Board of Revenue who were specially charged with all matters relating to the famine and the condition of the people. It is unfortunate also that in writing to me unofficially Mr. Ravenshaw did not more fully represent the facts of the case. Not himself seeing the necessity for adopting further and larger measures of relief than those which had already been taken, it could not be expected that he should recommend them, but the facts should have been fully reported without a day's delay. The report of the 2nd May did not reach the Secretary's Office in Calcutta till the 11th, and it was forwarded to me at Darjeeling. Before I received it I had on other information asked the Government of India by telegraph to place the balance of the North Western Provinces Famine Fund at my disposal. On the 21st* by telegraph to the Board I assigned 10,000 rupees to each of the Cuttack districts, directing them to administer these funds through the Commissioner and the relief committees. On the 16th and 17th I wrote to Mr. Chapman, urging on the Board's consideration the necessity for sending rice to Orissa, and on the 21st I informed the Board by telegraph that money was available for that purpose. On the 22nd Mr. Ravenshaw telegraphed to me from Balasore to "send rice if it can be landed at less than local rates, if not send funds to buy it," showing that up to that time he believed that rice was to be had in the district for money. Mr. Ravenshaw's report of the 2nd May was not formally answered until the 23rd, but immediate action had been taken upon it some days before. On the same date the superintending engineer was informed by telegraph of a special grant of 60,000 rupees (in addition to all former grants) for expenditure on relief works in Balasore and Midnapore. On the receipt of Mr. Ravenshaw's further telegram of the 28th May I at once over-ruled the doubts of the Board, and on the 29th directed by telegraph the immediate shipment of rice to Balasore, Dhamra and False Point.†

* *See* also Mr. Secretary Eden's letter, No. 632 T, of the same date.

52. As to what is said by the Commission about my leaving Calcutta without giving special instructions or making any special arrangements for the immediate transmission of information, I have only to observe, as regards Mr. Ravenshaw

† *Note.*—It is hardly necessary for me to say that, in telling the Board that I had received "alarming accounts" from Mr. Ravenshaw, I had not the remotest idea of implying that he was "an alarmist," or that the alarm he gave was at all unnecessary. It is obvious, indeed, that my telegraph to Mr. Chapman cannot bear that meaning.

Ravenshaw, that he could not have meant to say before the Commission that he was not aware of my intended departure from Calcutta and did not know when I went; *first*, because my intention to leave Calcutta was notified in the *Gazette* of the 11th April, officers in correspondence with Government being desired to send all urgent communications direct to Darjeeling; and, *second*, because writing to Mr. Ravenshaw from Calcutta on the 16th April, I expressly told him that I should start for Darjeeling the next day (Tuesday), and be there by the following Saturday, and desired him to communicate with me freely, by telegraph if necessary, on all matters of interest. I do not understand what instructions I could have given to the Board before leaving Calcutta. I have already stated that I had no reason to suppose that any further measures for the relief of distress would be required. The Board's line of action as to keeping themselves and the Government informed of all matters connected with the famine had already been defined and was clearly understood, and I could always communicate with them (as it is shown that I constantly did) by telegraph. It is probable that if I had been in Calcutta in the middle of May I might somewhat sooner have insisted on the importation of rice from abroad, but no instructions I could have left with the Board in the middle of April, would have helped forward that measure even if the necessity for it had been foreseen. I explained, in my Minute of the 5th January, that I went to Darjeeling, which is less than three days' journey from Calcutta, only under the pressure of medical advice, and that I should not have gone there "if I had thought that any further special arrangements for the relief of the distressed districts would be required, or that by remaining in Calcutta I could in any way have forwarded or assisted the operations that had been already undertaken."

53. I have nothing further to say about the Cuttack district. The Commission seem to have come to the conclusion that actual famine and starvation did not begin to be felt there till the beginning of April; and we had no further information as to the necessity for other measures of relief there till Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 28th May. A letter I received from the Reverend Mr. Buckley, towards the end of March (*see* Appendix), confirmed me in the impression that private charity and the employment provided on public works and the Irrigation Company's canals would suffice. Paragraphs 252 to 259.

54. These paragraphs require no further remark from me. I may observe again, however, with reference to paragraph 274, that Mr. Barlow's report of the 10th May was forwarded by the Commissioner on the 18th, and did not reach the Government till after assignments from the Famine Fund had been allotted to the several districts. There was no allusion in Mr. Barlow's report or in Mr. Ravenshaw's covering letter as to the necessity for importing rice, and nothing which was not stated with even greater force in Mr. Barlow's unofficial letter to Mr. Chapman, dated 15th May. Paragraphs 260 to 286.

55. It is unnecessary for me to notice what occurred after my return to Calcutta in the middle of June, as the Secretary of State has recognized "the promptness and energy with which the Lieutenant Governor and all the officers connected with the administration exerted themselves to mitigate the sufferings of the people both by pouring food into the famine districts, and by a still greater enlargement of the system of public works as soon as the extent of the impending calamity was realized by them;" and the Commission are also of opinion that every thing was done within the bounds of possibility to relieve and mitigate the distress. I cordially agree in the praise bestowed by the Commission on the members of the Local Relief Committees at all the stations. It was upon their action that I placed the greatest reliance from the very first, and I certainly was not disappointed. Paragraphs 287 to 320.

56. Mohurbhunge is a district entirely under native administration. It has not a single Government officer, native or European, resident in it. The Commissioner's visit to this district was rendered absolutely necessary by the misrule of the Rajah and the disturbances which had broken out in consequence. Mr. Ravenshaw settled these disturbances with great judgment and care, and restored the district to order in a few weeks. During his stay he exerted himself in a very praiseworthy manner to relieve the distress which prevailed there. The Rajah of Dekhanal has received an acknowledgment of his excellent conduct, which Paragraph 320.

I have already brought to the favourable notice of the Governor General in Council.

Paragraphs 398 to 402.

57. The tone of the weekly narratives forwarded by the Government of Bengal after the 10th June may have been in some instances somewhat too favourable as regards the prospects of improvement in the state of the famine districts. It did not, however, appear to be so at the time, and the point is not material, since the operations of the Government from that date were limited only by the requisitions of the local officers and Relief Committees, and by the means of transporting grain into the interior of Orissa at that season. Whatever our hopes for the future may have been, they certainly had no influence on present action. My letter to Mr. Chapman of the 11th June has not been fairly construed by the Commission. It is certain that Mr. Chapman did not suppose it to imply any wish to discourage local officers from writing general descriptions as distinguished from ascertained facts, and it is equally certain that the local officers, especially in Orissa, had been repeatedly desired to report fully on the state of their districts.

Paragraphs 403 to 405.

58. The Commission entirely overlook the circumstance that when the Government was asked by the Chamber of Commerce to appoint a General Committee, the Chamber stated explicitly that no appeal to the public was likely to succeed "at present crisis, or while Government holds any balance of Famine Fund." The same opinion was expressed by some of the newspapers, and one of them went so far as to say that the Government of India must render an account of its stewardship of the old fund before the public would give any further assistance. The agency of local committees was made the utmost use of from the first, both in collecting subscriptions and in affording relief, and it certainly appeared to me, as it appears to me still, that so long as the functions of a central body were to be limited to the disbursement of the balance of the old famine fund, amounting to upwards of 60,000*l.*, these functions could be better performed by the Board of Revenue than by any public Committee, and that the Government would not be justified in divesting itself of the responsibility for the proper disposal of the money. The Commission admit that the funds could not have been more efficiently administered than the Board administered them, and of this fact we have the best independent evidence. By adding two unofficial members to the Board for the disposal of business connected with the famine, I did in effect constitute them a public Committee with all the advantage of official organisation; and long before the funds at their disposal were exhausted we appealed to the public for aid, which was most liberally given to the full extent of our wants at that time.

Paragraph 406.

59. We relied on private and local charity and upon the agency of local Relief Committees in collecting subscriptions from the public only, so long as these means were supposed to be sufficient. We then fell back on the balance of the old North-Western Provinces' Famine Fund, the very existence of which was unknown either to me or to any of the local officers till May. Long before I received the resolution of the Government of India of the 20th June, recommending that the local Relief Committees should be made the means of inducing the public to come forward and help, I had taken this very step and had requested the Relief Committees to *advertise their proceedings and invite further assistance from the public.** At that time, too, the balance of the old fund had been made available, and the Government had been clearly told by the Chamber of Commerce and the Press that no appeal to the public (*i.e.*, no general appeal) would be successful.

60. The feeling that the landholders ought to support the poor did not in any degree deter us from giving the most liberal aid, when it was found and clearly represented that the landholders, as a body, were not to be depended upon, and that the sources of local charity would no longer suffice to meet the wants of the starving.

Paragraph 407.

61. There was at no time any limit placed in the expenditure of money on public works for the relief of the poor. Funds were freely supplied both to the officers of the Public Works Department and to the local officers to the utmost extent

* *See* Mr. Secretary Eden's letter to the Board of Revenue, No. 632 T., dated 21st May 1866.

extent of their demands, and they were told that they could have as much more as they wanted for the purpose. That they were not more freely expended, was owing to circumstances which were never represented to the Government. The Commission do not here take into account the much larger expenditure on ordinary public works in the distressed districts and on the irrigation works in Cuttack, or the money expended by civil officers, though they have alluded to the subject in other parts of their Report.

62. I am quite alive to those defects in the Bengal system of administration which have been brought into peculiar relief by the famine. It has been my constant aim for many years to encourage and further a habit of self-reliance among the people by the establishment of local municipalities, and the appointment of district committees composed mostly of natives, for the management of local institutions and the prosecution of objects of local utility. The district officers are certainly responsible for what the Commission call the "management" of the people, though the want of subordinate establishments (other than the police) prevents them from interfering much in the concerns of the people, except for the protection of person and property, the maintenance of roads, and the preservation of the public health, and from obtaining regular and reliable statistical information regarding the state of the crops, the existence of stocks of grain, the economical condition of the different classes of the population, and the like. But (as I have observed in noticing Mr. Cockerell's report) any systematic attempt to collect such information through a paid Government establishment would be extremely unpopular. The creation of sub-divisions has done much to bring the officers of Government in Bengal into more intimate contact with the people; and it is perhaps owing to the perfection to which this sub-divisional system has been carried in the Nuddea Division that the Government received early and correct intelligence regarding the late famine in the districts of that division, and was able to take prompt and effectual measures for its relief. Every district officer in Bengal is strictly required to pass a considerable part of the year in the interior of the district, and every divisional Commissioner is in like manner required to spend the seasonable months in camp, and to visit every district of the division as often as he can. As far as the Government is concerned, I have made it a point to see as many of the districts as possible, some of them more than once, and out of the 56 districts comprised in these provinces there are only 12 that I have not myself personally visited and inspected. The pressure of legislative and other business at the Presidency during the cold season has alone prevented me from seeing more of the districts in the interior. The remarks of the Commission on the constitution of the Government of Bengal, in para. 114 of their Report, are well worthy of consideration. Paragraph 408.

63. Whatever may be the responsibility that attaches to me in this matter, it certainly cannot be said with any truth or fairness that I have not given the closest and most unremitting personal attention to the subject of the famine, from the first signs of its appearance until now. From the 18th October 1865, when I wrote to Mr. Grote, desiring the Board to take the matter in hand, it was to me the subject of constant and anxious thought. Nothing that I heard from the Board, from the local officers (in the form of official reports, of private letters, or of conversation), from private sources, or from the press, nothing that I saw or heard from officers and persons of all classes during my visit to Cuttack, could lead me to suppose that the Government (besides sanctioning unlimited expenditure for the employment of the people on public works, and organising local relief committees, for the collection of subscriptions and the distribution of arms) would have to import food into the province of Orissa, for the support of the population, or that I should be justified in advising the Government of India to adopt a measure not only involving a large expenditure, but open on economical grounds to the most serious and weighty objections. I certainly had not the personal experience of a famine to guide me, but I was aware of what had been done in famines in the North Western Provinces; and if there was one lesson more than another to be learned from such knowledge, it was that importation of food by the Government was the very last thing to be resorted to, and a step only to be taken under the pressure of absolute and proved necessity. I can see now that I did not give sufficient weight to the isolated position of the province and its practical inaccessibility to private trade during the monsoon; but this circumstance was in my mind when I suggested the point for the Board's consideration, Paragraph 421.

sideration, in November; and it was only because I was satisfied by reiterated assurances that there was a sufficient stock of grain in the province for the consumption of the people, and by the want of any pressing application to import even a small quantity of rice, for feeding the poor of the Chilka Lake pergunnahs at a cheaper rate, that I abandoned the idea at that time. There really was no want of understanding between the two departments of the secretariat; and except by the Board's misunderstanding of my orders for paying the labourers in grain, and their mistaken assumption that I declined to import rice from above, mistakes which were, unfortunately, not brought to my notice, the action I desired to take on the information before me was not in any way impeded. I have shown that during my visit to Cuttack, in February, I used every endeavour to elicit information; that Sir Arthur Cotton's letter was of previous date; that every report of increase of crime was followed by an immediate call for further inquiry and report; that on my departure from Calcutta to Darjeeling, I desired the Commissioner of Cuttack to communicate with me freely by telegraph; that Mr. Ravenshaw's opinion as to the sufficiency of stocks was shared, as far as I knew, by every one in the province; that his account of the starvation at Balasore was accompanied by a statement that large subscriptions had been raised, that there was a good working committee there, and that the Government could do nothing but provide work; and that immediate action was taken on his letter of the 2nd May. I may have erred in judgment upon the facts before me, and I may have relied too much upon information which is now shown to have been erroneous, but that I failed at any time to give the fullest personal attention to the subject is not the case.

Paragraph 41.

64. The Government of India will not fail to perceive that the real point of the inquiry, though it has not by any means been fairly brought out by the Commission, is, whether the circumstances of Orissa, as known to the local authorities and reported to Government, were such as to warrant them on recommending or justifying the Government in resorting at an earlier period without such recommendation to so very serious and exceptional a measure as the importation on public account of rice sufficient to feed a large proportion of the entire population. It will not be contended, so far as the Government is concerned, that, short of that step, the measures ordered to be taken for the relief of the people, if fully carried out, were insufficient, that more could have been done, or that the local officers were not urged and encouraged from the first to keep themselves fully and constantly informed of the state of their districts, to report everything to the Government, and to adopt or recommend all measures that might seem to be required. It was known to all the local authorities that unlimited funds were forthcoming for the employment of poor on the public works; and Mr. Barlow's letters show that he, at least, was aware that if it were necessary that Government should contribute funds for the relief of the destitute, aid in this shape would also be given. The Commission admit, as, indeed, they must, that "in some shape there must have been a considerable quantity of grain in the country;" and it is well known that when the prospects of the autumn and winter harvests of 1866 were assured, a good deal of old rice (hoarded during the period of severe pressure) found its way into the market, and had a sensible effect in reducing prices. How were the local officers to conclude, in the absence of all experience, and in the face of general opinion and information to the contrary, that this stock, large as it undoubtedly was, would be insufficient for the support of all the people (though at very high prices) till the next harvest. Even if they had sooner apprehended a general famine, it by no means follows that they could reasonably foresee such an absolute dearth of food as to necessitate its provision from abroad in large quantities by the agency of the State. And what materials had the Government for sooner arriving at the conclusion which was forced upon it in May that recourse must be had to a measure so contrary to all received principles, and so fraught with danger to the supply of food through the ordinary channels of trade, a measure, be it observed, that, so far as I know, has never been resorted to by the Government in any part of India on any previous occasion of famine. I submit that upon a fair consideration of all the circumstances as they appeared, or could have been known at the time, the omission to resort to such an extreme step at an earlier period, though now deeply to be regretted, cannot possibly be charged against the Government as a grave offence involving official culpability or neglect.

65. No

65. No one can regret more poignantly than I do the painful events that have happened in connection with the famine, or the possibility that they may have been aggravated by any shortcomings of mine. I desire that one and all of us may be judged with due regard to the novelty and difficulty of the position in which we were placed, and that no one may be supposed to have shown indifference or wilfully neglected his duty throughout this calamity, or to have acted otherwise than in accordance with the dictates of honour and humanity. Paragraph 422.

66. I wish to express my hearty concurrence in the praise bestowed by the Commission on the officers named on the margin, and to recommend them to the favourable consideration of his Excellency the Governor General in Council and of Her Majesty's Government. There are many other gentlemen, both European and Native, whom I have from time to time brought to the favourable notice of the Government of India for their admirable conduct in connection with the famine, but the only addition I should wish to make to the list of those most conspicuous for their exertions is Mr. Robert Scott Moncrieff, of the firm of Messrs. Gisborne and & Co., of Calcutta. Paragraph 423.

Mr. G. N. Barlow.
Mr. H. Muspratt.
Mr. T. H. Shortt.
Dr. N. Jackson.
Mr. Harris.
Mr. Barton.
Mr. Kirkwood.
Lieutenant Money.
Lord H. Ulick Browne.

67. The Commission have not in this portion of their Report alluded to what had been done before 1865 in the way of making and improving roads in Orissa, and of providing the division with a system of embankment and irrigation calculated to obviate the effects of drought and inundation; but the Government of India are aware that I had done all in my power to push on the former class of works, especially the trunk road from Midnapore to Ganjam, and that the operations of the Irrigation Company have received at my hands the utmost possible encouragement and support.

Belvedere,
15 April 1867.

(signed) *Cecil Beadon.*

MINUTE by his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, dated the 20th April 1867.

I HAVE read and considered with much care the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1866. I concur, with few exceptions of no material importance, in the conclusions which they have formed. It is apparent that the failure of the autumnal rains of 1865 was the real cause of the famine which has desolated Orissa. The famine was aggravated, no doubt, by the inundations in August 1866, and by the peculiarly isolated, and, at certain times, the almost inaccessible position of that province. The drought extended in a lesser degree over a large portion of Bengal also, and considerable distress and misery were experienced by the people; but, generally speaking, there was not, out of Orissa, absolute famine. The suffering and mortality were great in parts of Midnapore and Nuddea, districts adjacent to Calcutta; and also in Maunbhoom and Singbhoom, districts of Chota Nagpore, which adjoin Orissa on the north and west.

2. I concur in the view of the Commission that timely measures were not taken to meet the evil, when famine threatened the country, nor indeed when it had become, I may say, certain; and I think with them, that valid reasons cannot be adduced for this neglect. It seems to me beyond all doubt that there was a want of foresight, perception, and precaution regarding the impending calamity, which are quite unaccountable, even when allowance has been made for the fact alluded to by the Commission, that the officers under the Government of Bengal had, with scarcely an exception, no previous personal experience of the character of famines. I say this with very great regret, the more so, that I am satisfied that there was no want of kindly and earnest feeling on the part of the authorities towards the people; but that there was, on the contrary, a strong feeling of sympathy towards them. The fact seems to have been that, in most instances, those on the spot who were earliest brought face to face with the signs of coming famine could not bring themselves to speak out as firmly and decisively as they should have done; whilst the more distant and superior officers appear to have accepted a foregone conclusion, and to have been unable, on that account, to discern in the reports which they received sufficient grounds for special interference while there was yet time.

3. The evidence brought together by the Commission proves overwhelmingly to my mind that towards the end of 1865, and early in 1866, it must have been apparent that the produce of the harvest of the year would not be sufficient in the three districts of Orissa, not to mention the adjacent tributary mehals, to feed the people until the next two harvests could be reaped. This being so, it was clear that, unless a sufficiency of food was in store to supply the deficiency, importation of grain would be unavoidable. Now whether that importation could and would be made by the traders of the country was a question, the solution which entirely depended on local knowledge and local inquiry. It seems strange that the civil officers on the spot could not, by strict and searching investigation, have placed this beyond all doubt. I am sure that they could have done so had they gone about the matter in the right way. But even as the case now stands, in the absence of the precise information which such an inquiry must have elicited, it appears to me quite evident that there was no hope that private enterprise could have done what was necessary; and, therefore, that the State ought early in the day to have undertaken the work.

4. When the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal visited Orissa in February 1866, he went there not only to see how the irrigation works were progressing, but also to form a judgment on the actual condition of the province, and the probabilities or otherwise of a famine. His Honor had quite enough before him to show that there was at least much danger of the occurrence of such a calamity. It seems to me to be scarcely credible that all the different individuals with whom he personally conversed should have been altogether silent at such a momentous period; and that they should have given no expression to the anxious fears and doubts which they cannot but have felt. But at any rate the very clamour from the starving multitude, which beset him when at Pooree, ought to have led him to make especial inquiry, which could not have failed to lay bare the real condition of the people at that very time. It was certainly the duty of the Lieutenant Governor to have done this.

5. For my part, as early as November 1865, I had some misgiving on the state of Orissa, and watched with much anxiety for any evidence which would have warranted the interference with Government with trade, and justified on its part the importation of grain into the province. And it was not until the return of the Lieutenant Governor to Calcutta, and after hearing all which he had to tell me of the state of things in Orissa, that I came to the conclusion that all which appeared to be necessary had been done for the country.

6. If it be strange, however, that the Lieutenant Governor should have been misled by what he saw and heard when at Pooree and Cuttack in February 1866, it seems at least equally remarkable that the reports and statements of the succeeding months of March and April produced no change in his opinion. Up to the middle of May, certainly, he never, in the slightest degree, departed from the view he originally formed, that no famine in Orissa was to be apprehended; and that nothing more serious than a considerable scarcity of food, involving a certain amount of suffering, was to be feared; and that ample arrangements to afford such relief as would be necessary had been made. Indeed it is clear that, even to a later date than that just mentioned, his Honor was of opinion that the statements of the distress would be proved to have been much exaggerated.

7. I fully agree with the Commission that it was a mistake of serious moment on the part of the Lieutenant Governor allowing Mr. Ravenshaw to leave the seaboard. That was obviously his proper position. There he could best consult with the district officers, and judge of the state of things as they changed from day to day. And there he was in easy communication, by telegraph, with the Board of Revenue and with the Lieutenant Governor. If his presence was absolutely necessary in the Tributary Mehals, some other officer should have been sent down to take his duties on the sea coast. He left Balasore on the 20th of April, and he did not return until the 11th of May, at a time when the state of the people was of the most deplorable character. He unfortunately left, too, a position where he was easily accessible, without making the report he had promised, and, during his absence, the reports of the district officers, upon which at the time so much depended, had to follow him in his wanderings, instead of going direct to superior authority.

8. In

8. In like manner, there can be no question that Mr. Schalch, the only member of the Board of Revenue who had any personal knowledge of Orissa, ought not to have been allowed to go to Darjeeling when he did. It was clear that he could far more usefully be employed in Calcutta, for it was certain, even to those who were most sanguine at that time, that the people in Orissa and in many parts of Bengal would suffer much distress even if unvisited by absolute famine. If his absence from Calcutta had been considered permissible, he should rather have been deputed to Orissa than have been taken to Darjeeling. Such deputation at that time might, and in all likelihood would, have proved of the highest value; but, as he was not then sent to Orissa, he should certainly have remained with his colleague in Calcutta.

9. Again, it appears to me quite impossible to acquit the Board of Revenue of serious errors in their management of affairs in Orissa from the very commencement of the crisis even to the end. The members of the Board at the outset set their faces against the wish of the officers of districts to go about and to ascertain the real state of things, and the actual out-turn of the harvest, under the delusion that inquiry was useless, and even pernicious, unless followed by remission of revenue, which they had determined not to grant or recommend. Notwithstanding these views, the district officers did visit the interior of their districts, and did, to some extent, ascertain generally the state of the crops and the condition of the people. There was, indeed, ample to show at an early period that a great calamity was about to fall on the Province, and that vigorous measures should be taken to meet it.

10. The Board, however, having once taken up the opinion that importation of grain by State agency was inexpedient, adhered to that conclusion, it may be said, to the last. Even when the Lieutenant Governor, on the 10th and 17th of May, suggested to them the expediency of importing, the Board declined to do so; and nothing, therefore, was done until the 29th of that month, when his Honor directed that grain should be imported. Thus, at a very critical time, nearly a fortnight of time, that it is difficult to value, was lost. On the 9th of June, in a like spirit, the Board thought it unnecessary to send down more grain. Hence it was that the importation of food in all June was quite inadequate to the urgent demand.

11. Notwithstanding the extraordinary emergency of the crisis, only one steamer was for some time employed on the coast of Orissa; and yet it is clear from Captain Howe's evidence that other steamers might have been hired had orders for the purpose been issued. The judicious employment at once of three or four steamers, would, in part, have atoned for the mistake in delaying so late the importation of food, and would have enabled the Government to throw into the Province a considerable quantity of grain before the full force of the monsoon broke on the sea coast of Orissa, rendering importation slow and very difficult.

12. Moreover, when grain was sent down by the Board, serious mistakes were made as to its disposal. Instead of buying it up on account of Government, a certain price was, in one case, only guaranteed, and in another it was doubtful whether all the cargo was available. In the instance of the *Philomene*, which was wrecked on the 1st December 1865, the cargo of which for two months was lying on the coast, the opportunity of purchasing a large quantity of rice was neglected both by the Lieutenant Governor and the Board.

13. Further, it appears that the unfortunate order whereby money and not grain was to be paid to the labourers employed on the famine relief works emanated from the Board, and was maintained by that authority. This was the main cause, in my belief, why these works proved unacceptable to the starving people, and consequently of little value in lightening their distress. It was not surprising that people unaccustomed to work on roads, and with a known dislike for such labour, should decline to work for money which could not obtain for them food. Thus it was that in the month of February 1866 no more than 100 labourers were working on the Pooree high road. Had grain payments been allowed, multitudes would have flocked to these works, and thus have demonstrated at once the destitution of the population and the scarcity of grain in the country.

14. No doubt Mr. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of the Province, was placed in a very trying and difficult position. New to the Province, and, therefore unacquainted with the people and their language, it was very difficult for him, at such a time, to do justice to his charge. The failure of the harvests and the famine which broke on the country came on him quite unprepared. But he had the means of ascertaining, by careful and patient inquiry, what was the real state of things, and approximately what was the extent of grain in store in the country. It was a great error in judgment on his part to maintain so positively, and for so long, that there was a sufficient amount of grain in the Province to meet the wants of the people. He should, on the contrary, have attached more weight to the views of those who held a contrary opinion, such as Colonel Rundall, Mr. G. N. Barlow, and Mr. H. Muspratt, and have helped them to combat the opinions of the Board, and to convince them of the real state and wants of the Province.

15. Of all the Government officials in Orissa, Mr. G. N. Barlow is deserving of the greatest credit. From first to last he was indefatigable in his endeavours to help the people; and it is only surprising that on the 5th of March 1866 he changed his views and thought, apparently for a time, that all which was necessary had been done by the State.

16. Independent of the information which was available to the Lieutenant Governor direct from the Commissioner of Orissa, and from him and the district officers through the Board of Revenue, the heads of two departments were with him at Darjeeling. The one officer was Lieutenant Colonel Nicolls, the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department for the Bengal Government, and the other officer Lieutenant Colonel Pughe, the Inspector General of Police within the same jurisdiction.

Lieutenant Colonel Nicolls conducted all the correspondence, and controlled all the arrangements connected with the public works going on in Orissa, and he accompanied the Lieutenant Governor to Pooree and Cuttack. It seems very strange that he did not ascertain and bring prominently to his Honor's notice all the difficulties which impeded the employment of large bodies of labourers on the Pooree and other roads. These difficulties were so great as practically to have destroyed much of the benefit which would otherwise have accrued from them to the people. The difficulty in obtaining supplies, and the insisting on task work when the labourers were too weak to fulfil such conditions, were the true explanations of the disinclination on the part of the people to accept such employment.

17. Mr. A. Crommelin, the Superintending Engineer, instead of using his influence in support of Mr. Barlow's proposals for grain payments, as Lieutanant Nolan had done, and which might have been expected from the character of his communications with the Collector, appears to have used his influence to induce the Chief Engineer to decide against this plan. He was not even willing that the officers of the public works should undertake the nominal responsibility of advancing money for the purchase of grain wherewith to supply the labourers on the works. Mr. Crommelin was allowed by the Chief Engineer to take leave for three months at a very critical time, when every officer capable of doing his duty ought to have remained at his post.

18. In like manner the Inspector General of Police should have been able to have given the Lieutenant Governor prompt and conclusive evidence of the real state of things in Orissa. He ought to have received regular reports from the police officers in the province through the Deputy Inspector General, and should have brought all matters of importance at once to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor. The reports of Mr. W. C. Lacey showed clearly the dreadful state of things in the Pooree District by an early date. Mr. E. Shuttleworth, the chief police officer of Balasore, deposes to a similar state of things, to a certain extent, in that district. The evidence regarding Captain Fisher, the police officer of Cuttack, and the way in which he was allowed to leave his district, is not satisfactory. But, on the whole, the police in Orissa appear to have done their duty.

19. I fully admit that the mode in which the greater number of the Government officials mentioned by the Commission, from the Commissioner downwards, and

and all the English and native gentlemen to whom they refer, exerted themselves in attempting to mitigate the general distress when the true nature of the calamity revealed itself to them, is beyond all praise. Their patience, care, and self-negation were most honourable to them. The services of Mr. Sykes and Mr. Moncrieff and the Rajah of Paricood deserve especial acknowledgment.

20. I will now say a few words on the action of the Government of India towards the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in this dreadful calamity. It must be obvious that in all matters connected with the administration of any portion of India, it is necessary for the Government of India to work through the local Governments. This is, indeed, the only legitimate mode in which the Administration can be conducted with due regard to order and system. This is more especially incumbent when the Governor General and the Members of Council have not, as in the case of Orissa, personal knowledge of the locality in which any event of importance may be going on. I have always, however, while working through the chief local authority, listened to all communications which bore on such matters, whatever might be the quarter from which they might come, and have given them such attention as they might appear to deserve.

21. When distress began to show itself in Orissa in November 1865, Mr. Moncrieff wrote to me on the subject through Dr. Farquhar, the Medical Officer on my staff. I read his letter, and begged that he would apply direct to the Lieutenant Governor. As I have already said, though I had instinctively a leaning the other way, I yet concurred in the views of the Board of Revenue, and the Lieutenant Governor, and of my Council in December 1865, that it was not expedient, on the information then before Government, at that time to interfere with the grain trade of Bengal and Orissa.

22. From that time I was in constant personal communication with the Lieutenant Governor up to the beginning of April. I saw his Honor just before he left Calcutta for Orissa, and immediately after his return ; and on both occasions had long conversations with him on the agricultural prospects of the Province, and the measures which had been taken for the relief of the people. The Lieutenant Governor always persistently stated that it was his firm belief that, while there would be distress and suffering, there would not be a famine, and that the importation of food by the State was neither necessary nor expedient. I always, on the contrary, inclined to and expressed the opinion that he might have to interfere ; and I gave his Honor to understand that I would support any recommendation of this kind which he might think proper to make. Sir Cecil Beadon was, as far as I could judge, as earnest and anxious regarding the state of things in Orissa as possible, but he never seemed to anticipate the possibility of the Government having to undertake to supply food for the people. The anxiety which I had originally felt on the subject was revived, owing to the reports which now appeared in the newspapers; and I brought the subject again before the Council shortly after our arrival at Simla in April. It was then determined, after some discussion, that the matter should be left in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, as we had no sufficient data to warrant our interference.

23. From the 11th of December until some time in May, with the exception of a letter in reply to a reference on Sir Arthur Cotton's proposal, we received no communication from the Lieutenant Governor as to the state of things in Orissa, and that reply furnished no ground for believing that any action on the part of the Government was called for. On the 2nd of May the attention of the Government of India was attracted to a letter in the *Englishman* regarding the increasing distress in Orissa ; and on the 10th of that month the Lieutenant Governor was asked "whether the distress in that Province was as severe as was represented, and if so, what steps had been taken for its relief." On the 14th of May a telegram to the same effect was sent to him. It is needless for me to quote the correspondence which passed between the Governments of India and the Lieutenant Governor, which will be found in a separate *précis*, now before the Secretary of State. Suffice it to say that in all cases we have given his Honor all, and more than, he has asked for. The demi-official correspondence between the Lieutenant Governor and myself has expressed my readiness to meet to the fullest extent any call for assistance that might be made.

24. I did not agree in the views of the Lieutenant Governor objecting to a mixed Committee for the management of the funds available to meet the general distress. On the contrary, I would gladly have seen such a Committee formed, both because it would have given general satisfaction, and because I considered that a Committee so composed was calculated to do good. This I explained to the Lieutenant Governor, leaving it to him to act as he might think proper.

25. A good deal of unmerited obloquy has fallen on the Lieutenant Governor, consequent on his going to Darjeeling during the prevalence of the famine. I am quite sure that this step was absolutely necessary for his health, which had been much shaken. Moreover, his absence from Calcutta would not have been productive of mischief had his Honor and the Board of Revenue only recognised the necessity of importing food into Orissa, and had they taken steps to ensure its being done expeditiously and effectively. It was the persistence in the error that this was unnecessary which caused all the mischief. The Lieutenant Governor could have been just as well informed of all that was going on in Orissa while at Darjeeling, as if he had been in Calcutta, provided suitable arrangements had been made with this object. There were data forthcoming which ought to have induced him to change his views, if he had been disposed to give them due weight.

26. It would be out of place for me to advert, otherwise than very generally, to the remedial measures which the Commission suggest in the second part of their Report, until we can obtain the deliberate opinion of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. I may, however, remark that the irrigation works of the Orissa Company are now being vigorously prosecuted, with funds advanced by the Government of India; that we lent them all the money which their officers asked for during the famine, and expressed a readiness to lend them more.

27. A settlement of the land revenues of the Province of Orissa for 20 years, upon the now very liberal terms of the settlement just expired, has been announced, and has been, I understand, favourably received.

28. Opportunity has been taken of this great calamity in Orissa to assail the Government of India on the grounds of want of vigour in the prosecution of irrigational works in India. I can only say that the present Government of India is not justly open to such an attack. I have myself, for the last 20 years, been a consistent and strenuous advocate for such works. I found this question before the Government of India, when I came out as Governor General, in a forward state for decision. Lord Elgin and all the Members of Council had been in favour of active measures. I took up the matter warmly at once, and used all my influence at that time and subsequently, publicly and privately, to press their importance on the notice of the Secretary of State for India. I could do no more.

29. I would not be understood, by the remarks I have just made, to imply that little has, in my opinion, been done heretofore in works of irrigation for India. I am very sensible of the real value of the great works which have already been carried out in this country. I am rather of opinion that, though much has undoubtedly been done, much still remains to be done.

30. My remarks, it should also be borne in mind, are less applicable to Lower Bengal than to other parts of India, for want of rain is happily there not a common want, and the dread of famine on that score is consequently less strong than elsewhere. No famine until now has visited Lower Bengal for 75 years.

In Orissa, moreover, where special irrigation works are required, such works, on an extensive scale, were in course of construction when the famine fell.

31. Under these circumstances, therefore, it is not to be supposed, even if more had of late been done in India to prosecute irrigational works, that more would necessarily, in this respect, have been done than has been done for Lower Bengal.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*

MINUTE by the Honourable *H. M. Durand*, C.B., dated the 23rd April 1867.

As far as they are based on the official information which has during this terrible calamity reached the Government of India, I concur entirely with the views expressed by his Excellency the Governor General in the Minute of the 20th April. Of the private correspondence with Mr. Moncrieff and Sir Cecil Beadon, and of the conversations with the Lieutenant Governor, I can pretend to no cognizance; and the somewhat interlocutory remarks adverted to in paras. 21 and 22 of the Minute of the Governor General as having passed in the Council, having no data on which to proceed, were equally indefinite and unsatisfactory.

The Report of the Commissioners in their paras. 266, 269, 280 and, 286, shows sufficiently the state of ignorance in which the Government of India was left up to a date already far too late for effective operations in relief of the famine. Neither in 1865 nor in 1866, until too late, was any information, that I am aware of, laid before the Government of India by the Bengal Government that was in any degree indicative of the real state of affairs in Orissa. A subordinate Government which, under such circumstances, leaves the Supreme Government to gather from newspaper reports the hopeless condition of an important Province, is either strangely remiss in the duty it owes to the Supreme Government, and still more to the people under its charge, or else fails to realise the terrible magnitude of the impending calamity. In either case, the negligence is a grave reflection on any administrative system, and is sure to heap upon it heavy obloquy. In the present instance, it is clear that the appalling nature of the famine was as little realised as was the principle that the first duty of a Government is the preservation of the lives of its people. A visitation of this awful character is not to be met by recourse to the local charity of the Mofussil Stations, nor by that of the capital of the Presidency; but by the free and timely application of the revenues of the Empire. The measures of relief can only thus be proportionate to the magnitude of the catastrophe, which in this case demanded imperial, not petty exertions. To this fact the Bengal Government and its subordinate officers awoke too late; although practically, to quote the words used by the Governor General in the Council at Simla in April, his Excellency had given the Government of Bengal *carte blanche* in the matter of expenditure, and was prepared to sanction calls on the Imperial revenue to any amount.

H. M. Durand.

EAST INDIA (BENGAL AND ORISSA FAMINE).

PAPERS and Correspondence relative to the Famine in *Bengal* and *Orissa*, including the Report of the Famine Commission and the Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of *Bengal* and the Governor General of *India*.

(PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMAND.)

Part II.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
31 *May* 1867.

PART II.

STATEMENTS - - - - - - - - - - p. 5

CORRESPONDENCE - - - - - - - - - p. 223

LIST OF STATEMENTS RECORDED BY THE COMMISSIONERS FOR INQUIRING INTO THE FAMINE.

No.		PAGE
1	Baboo Doorjodhun Dass, Pooree, 18 December 1866	5
2	Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee, Pooree, 18 and 21 December 1866	6
3	Baboo Oodoy Churn Dutt, Pooree, 18 and 20 December 1866	8
4	Mr. J. J. Livesay, c.s., Pooree, 19 December 1866	9
5	Baboo Nursing Churn Dass, Pooree, 19 December 1866	10
6	Baboo Rughoo Nath Chowdhry, Pooree, 19 December 1866	11
7	Mr. J. W. Lacey, Pooree, 19 December 1866	11
8	Baboo Khetter Mohun Bose, Pooree, 20 and 21 December 1866	12
9	Mr. G. M. Currie, c.s., Pooree, 20 and 21 December 1866	13
10	Baboo Bagobat Moitee, Pooree, 20 December 1866	14
11	Mr. J. MacCullock, Pooree, 20 December 1866	15
12	Baboo Shoshee Bhoosun Mookerjee, Pooree, 20 December 1866	15
13	Mr. W. R. Green, Pooree, 20 December 1866	15
14	Baboo Kishen Mohun Roy Chooramony, Pooree, 20 December 1866	16
15	Baboo Poorosotum Patnaik, Pooree, 21 December 1866	17
16	Mr. Thompson, Pooree, 21 December 1866	18
17	Mr. H. C. B. C. Raban, c.s., Pooree, 21 December 1866	18
18	Baboo Rambuggun Ram, Pooree, 21 December 1866	19
19	Baboo Latchua Patur, Pooree, 21 December 1866	19
20	Baboo Goopee Pundah Brahmin, Pooree, 21 December 1866	19
21	Baboo Khetribur Bhugwan, Rat Sing, Pooree, 21 December 1866	20
22	Baboo Shib Persaud Sing, Cuttack, 26 December 1866	20
23	Mr. W. C. Lacey, Cuttack, 26 December 1866	22
24	Reverend William Miller, Cuttack, 26 December 1866	25
25	Mr. Henry Placid Crane, Cuttack, 26 December 1866	27
26	Issan Chunder, Cuttack, 26 December 1866	27
27	Russool Bux, Cuttack, 26 December 1866	28
28	Mr. W. Cornell, c.s., Cuttack, 27 December 1866	29
29	Mr. T. H. H. Shortt, c.s., Cuttack, 27 December 1866	32
30	Mr. F. Bond, Cuttack, 27 December 1866	33
31	Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose, Cuttack, 28 December 1866	34
32	Baboo Dwarkanath Chuckerbutty, Cuttack, 28 December 1866	35
33	Mr. E. J. Barton, c.s., Cuttack, 29 December 1866	36
34	Reverend John Buckley, Cuttack, 29 December 1866	38
35	Baboo Luckhee Narain Chowdhry, Cuttack, 29 December 1866	40
36	Baboo Jarnardan Sen, Cuttack, 29 December 1866	41
37	Baboo Wooma Churn Neogee, Cuttack, 29 December 1866	41
38	Dhanu Beara and 22 others, Cuttack, 29 December 1866	41
39	Mr T. K. Webster, c.s., Cuttack, 1 January 1867	41
40	Mr. A. Crommelin, Cuttack, 1 January 1867	44
41	Lieutenant G. Nolan, Cuttack, 1 January 1867	49
42	Mr. D'Souza, Cuttack, 2 January 1867	49
43	Mr. H. Levinge, Cuttack, 2 January 1867	50
44	Mr. J. G. H. Glass, Cuttack, 2 January 1867	52
45	Mr. D. J. Poole, Cuttack, 3 January 1867	53
46	Mr. C. P. Crouch, Cuttack, 3 January 1867	54
47	Mr. D. J. McNeile, c.s., Cuttack, 3 January 1867	55
48	Suttyanund Surrungee and 22 others, Cuttack, 3 January 1867	58
49	Mr. T. M. Kirkwood, c.s., Cuttack, 3 January 1867	58
50	Mr. J. MacMillan, Cuttack, 3 January 1867	60
51	Mr. G. W. Boothby, Cuttack, 4 January 1867	60
52	Colonel F. H. Rundall, Cuttack, 4 January 1867	63
53	Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, c.s., Cuttack, 5 and 7 January 1867	65
54	Noor Mahomed and 22 others, Cuttack, 7 January 1867	75
55	Grish Chunder Roy, Cuttack, 7 January 1867	75
56	Baboo Juggomohun Lall, Cuttack, 9 January 1867	75
57	Mr. J. S. Armstrong, c.s., Cuttack, 9 January 1867	75
58	Baboo Radasham Nurinder, Cuttack, 9 January 1867	77
59	Baboo Mookund Pershad Roy Bahadoor, Cuttack, 9 January 1867	78
60	Baboo Puddum Churn Chowdhry, Cuttack, 9 January 1867	79
61	Baboo Sreemunt Mohapatur, Cuttack, 9 January 1867	80
62	Chowdhry Pekladhan Mohapatur, Cuttack, 10 January 1867	81
63	Mohunt Puddum Churn Dass, Cuttack, 10 January 1867	81
64	Baboo Rungolall Bannerjee, Cuttack, 10 January 1867	81
65	Baboo Rughoo Nath Santara Mohapatur, Cuttack, 10 January 1867	82
66	Baboo Radhanath Sen and others, Cuttack, 11 January 1867	83
67	Bagwan Dass and Golab Ram, Cuttack, 11 January 1867	83

No.		PAGE
68	Lalla Parasam Roy, Cuttack, 11 January 1867	83
69	Baboo Hem Chunder Kur, Cuttack, 11 January 1867	83
70	Baboo Gouree Sunkur Roy, Cuttack, 11 January 1867	86
71	Baboos Jonardun Sen and Bechetranund Doss, Cuttack, 5 and 11 January 1867	87
72	Mr. De la Gatinais, 12 January 1867	89
73	Mr. S. Wauchope, C.B., Cuttack, 12 January 1867	89
74	Dr. N. Jackson, Cuttack, 12 January 1867	91
75	Mr. H. Muspratt, Balasore, 18 January 1867	93
76	Mr. J. A. Windle, Balasore, 18 January 1867	99
77	Baboo Nitoy Churn Doss, Balasore, 20 January 1867	101
78	Baboo Muddun Mohun Doss, Balasore, 20 January 1867	101
79	Baboo Puddolochun Mundle, Balasore, 21 January 1867	102
80	Baboo Muthoora Mohun Parbee, Balasore, 21 January 1867	102
81	Baboo Shamanund Dey, Balasore, 21 January 1867	103
82	Baboo Rash Beharee Kur, Balasore, 1 January 1867	103
83	Abdool Ghunnee, Balasore, 22 January 1867	104
84	Mr. R. B. Smalley, Balasore, 22 January 1867	104
85	Mr. R. F. Rampini, C.S., Balasore, 22 January 1867	105
86	Mr. A. Manson, C.S., Balasore, 22 January 1867	106
87	Reverend A. Miller, Balasore, 22 January 1867	107
88	Bengalee Rahmatoollah Khan, Balasore, 22 January 1867	109
89	Reverend J. Phillips, Jellasore, 24 January 1867	110
90	Mr. W. J. Herschell, C.S., Midnapore, 25 January 1867	111
91	Major J. D. Swayne, Midnapore, 26 January 1867	115
92	Juggunnauth Doss, Paharaj, Midnapore, 28 January 1867	116
93	Baboo Nobeen Chunder Nag, Midnapore, 26 January 1867	117
94	Mr. F. Adams, Midnapore, 26 January 1867	117
95	Reverend O. R. Batchelor, Midnapore, 22 January 1867	118
96	Mr. W. Terry, of Messrs. R. Watson & Company, Midnapore, 26 January 1867	119
97	Captain G. B. Fisher, Calcutta, 2 February 1867	121
98	Mr. H. Leonard, C.E., Calcutta, 22 February 1867	122
99	Mr. T. Geary, Calcutta, 2 February 1867	123
100	Mr. R. B. Chapman, Calcutta, 4 and 5 February 1867	124
101	Captain Howe, Calcutta, 6 February 1867	139
102	Mr. H. A. Harris, Calcutta, 6 February 1867	146
103	Lieut. F. Duncan, R.N.R., Calcutta, 7 February 1867	149
104	Mr. E. G. Wells, February 1867	149
105	Mr. E. T. Shuttleworth, Calcutta, 7 February 1867	150
106	Moulvie Mahomed Abdoolla, Calcutta, 7 and 8 February 1867	152
107	Mr. H. S. Thomas, Calcutta, 7 February 1867	154
108	Mr. R. S. Evans, Calcutta, 8 February 1867	155
109	Captain A. Bond, Calcutta, 8 February 1867	155
110	Mr. E. H. Palmer, Calcutta, 8 February 1867	156
111	Mr. J. H. Reiley, Calcutta, 8 February 1867	157
112	Mr. A. Grote, Calcutta, 11 February 1867	157
113	Mr. V. H. Schalch, Calcutta, 11 February 1867	163
114	Colonel J. R. Pughe, Calcutta, 12 February 1867	169
115	Major W. R. Gordon, Calcutta, 12 February 1867	173
116	Mr. W. C. Spain, Calcutta, 12 February 1867	174
117	Mr. G. S. Sykes, of Messrs. Sykes & Company, Calcutta, 12 February 1867	175
118	Baboo Digumber Mitter, Calcutta, 12 February 1867	176
119	Colonel J. E. D. Nicolls, Calcutta, 12 February 1867	178
120	Mr. J. A. Charriol, of Messrs. Robert Charriol & Company, Calcutta, 12 February 1867.	180
121	Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff, Calcutta, 16 February 1867	182
122	Mr. F. Schiller, of Messrs. Borradaile, Schiller & Company, Calcutta, 16 February 1867.	187
123	The Honourable Sir C. Beadon, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Calcutta, 5 March 1867.	191
124	Lord H. Ulick Browne, Calcutta, 18 February 1867	197
125	Mr. C. F. Montresor, Calcutta, 21 February 1867	205
126	Mr. W. T. Tucker, Calcutta, 6 March 1867	210
127	Mr. H. M. Wetherall, Calcutta, 6 March 1867	213
128	Mr. S. S. Hogg, Calcutta, 1 April 1867	214
129	Mr. W. P. Davis, Calcutta, 1 April 1867	217
130	Dr. C. F. Tonnere, Calcutta, 1 April 1867	219

PAPERS and CORRESPONDENCE relative to the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa*, including the REPORT of the FAMINE COMMISSION and the MINUTES of the Lieutenant Governor of *Bengal* and Governor General of *India*.

STATEMENTS recorded by the COMMISSIONERS for inquiring into the FAMINE in *Bengal* and *Orissa* in 1866.

No. 1.—BABOO DOORJODHUN DASS, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 18th December 1866.]

Baboo Doorjodhun Dass.

18 Dec. 1866.

I have been deputy collector, in charge of Kendraparah, Zillah Cuttack, for seven years, and was there during the famine. I have been here three or four months. I am an inhabitant of Orissa, and have been in it all my life, and 35 years in Government service. I remember a scarcity in 1841, also in 1829. In one of those years the zemindars were allowed to pay their rents in kists extending over three years, but there was not actual famine such as there has been lately. In the Hindu year 1200, so far as I can judge from tradition, the distress was as great as it has been lately. Cannibalism is reported to have existed. Distress has been common from inundation, but has never reached in intensity that produced by want of rain; it has always been comparatively local.

In Kendraparah the crop of 1865 was about a quarter crop. By crop I mean both the sarud and the beallee; the latter, however, only amounts usually to one-fifth of the former. The beallee suffered from want of rain, and its out-turn amounted to a three-quarter crop, and the sarud crop was less than a fifth of an average yield. The dalo, which is a rice crop grown in the spring, and very small, also failed, because the rain in the previous year had failed. In one part of Kendraparah there is some rubbee; there may be a thirtieth of the whole out-turn in the subdivision. There was about a half crop of rubbee.

In my opinion the whole out-turn of the season 1865-66 may be rated as a quarter crop. Deaths from starvation commenced about March 1866 in Kendraparah; but the people were in great straits in December 1865 and January 1866. In April deaths were more frequent, but no cholera or epidemic raged; in July cholera began; mortality increased in May; grew worse in June, and in July deaths were augmented by cholera. In August the rain checked the cholera, but the deaths from starvation were as frequent. The cholera I attribute mainly to the people eating the fruit of the bhur, which ripened in June and July.

In September things began to amend, chiefly owing to the beallee crop. In October the Assina crop came to hand, and since then a steady improvement set in. Before I left Kendraparah in August the inundations had commenced. Half the beallee crop was swept away, and I fancy nearly three-fourths of the sarud, that is to say, in Kendraparah.

The Government relief came to Kendraparah *viâ* Taldunda; to Taldunda *viâ* False Point, in May or June. Before the Government importation began, some 200 rupees and 40 or 50 maunds of rice were received from Cuttack, and given in gratuitous relief. The Government rice came from Taldunda to Kendraparah by the rivers.

In July a story of cannibalism was reported to me by my chuprassees and burkundazes as having taken place in Kendraparah, in the north division of the town. The story was that a Hindu of low caste had seized the corpse of a child which was floating in the Gobree, cooked and devoured it. Low caste Hindus also ate cows commonly, sometimes raw.

In Kendraparah I believe 25 per cent. of the population have died. Kendraparah was one of the districts which has suffered most, but not the very worst. Ullabar was as bad; Jajpoor not so bad, owing to its proximity to the Balosore district. Pattamoondee was better off as far as the crop of 1865 went, as the crops along the river bank were mostly saved; but in 1866, owing to the inundation, the loss has been very severe. Juggut Singpoor was much about the same as Kendraparah; Salipoor, a little better off, and so was Dhurmsala. Cuttack Thannah was worse, as far as I can gather, than Kendraparah, and suffered more severely than any division in the district, but not so severely as the Tributary Mehals, Dhenkanul, Altighur, and Bankee, where the want of water was more acutely felt.

The reports on the subject of deaths went through me; they were sent by the police. There was a committee of relief at Kendraparah, which was set on foot in May 1866. A few local subscriptions (150 rupees in all) were collected. Radha Sham Nurendra, a large zimindar, who lives in Kendraparah, gave 25 rupees. He also supplied the gaol prisoners with rice for some three or four months, first at 12 Cuttack seers, then at 9, then at 6. He was selling (that is to Government) at a lower rate than the Cuttack market rate. This was for the reputation of the thing. He also opened an unnochatro, and gave uncooked

Baboo Doorjodhun Dass.

18 Dec. 1866.

uncooked rice, at first 25 seers a day, and eventually 50 seers, but never more. About 100 men may have been fed daily. Ghosain Jenna, his younger brother, also gave a little cooked rice. Nobody else came forward. The mahajuns are chiefly ryots of substance. There are no regular bunniahs, or people who subsist entirely by trade, in Kendraparah, but there are sonars. They, however, merely work in gold and silver, and have nothing to do with lending rice. The entire business of rice advances is in the hands of the agricultural community. The zemindars also are mahajuns. Almost every caste, except the tantees, are agriculturists as well. In Cuttack itself there are a few bunniahs (traders) who came from the west (North Western Provinces). In Pooree there are koomtees, who come from Madras and Ganjam. One quarter in the seer is the rate of interest on the Dhan advanced. Everybody was saying that the great mahajuns were keeping back their stores; but there was no such great mahajun in Kendraparah, to my knowledge, and I never said so. I reported coming distress in March and April. At that time the mahajuns were holding back in hopes of higher prices. When prices got to their height in June and July the mahajuns sold. Their stores were small, and it is my opinion that if the merchants, instead of holding back, had gone on selling, their stocks would not have lasted more than two or three months from March. The stocks in the whole district, under no circumstances, could have lasted till the beallee crop. In the Madras territory the high castes and the middling castes had more share in, and benefited more by, the Government relief. In Cuttack and the town these castes may have been relieved, but in the isolated villages they stayed at home and died, because the centres of relief were in the towns. It was not ordered that relief should be sent into the villages; we only had orders to open unnochratros and to sell rice. Later on, in July, seven centres of relief were established, but the above remark about the castes applies even here. Government was selling grain then at five seers a rupee at the time the distress was severest. When I left it was so selling, but it was sold cheaper afterwards. I believe these unnochratros should have been opened at several centres in February; many lives would then have been saved; but we had at that date no idea that Government would give us relief, and so we did not apply for it. In former famines no such course was ever adopted. Mr. Fressanges did not export any rice after October 1865. He did not search for it; why should he? Everyone knew there was none to be got. Since I came to Pooree I have been out in the district twice. The second time I went out to give seed for the rubbee crop. From what I saw I believe the famine to have been severer in Pooree than in Cuttack. More damage was done by the drought of 1865 than by the floods of 1866. In Pooree the beallee crop is about one-fourth of the sarud. About one-half of the beallee crop of 1866, certainly not more, has been swept away, and about (perhaps less) 40 per cent. of the sarud. What has escaped, however, is extremely good, owing partly to the fertility of the ground being increased by its having produced little or nothing during the preceding year, and partly to the abundance of rain that fell in 1866. In Pooree the district that has suffered least throughout the famine is Kotdes. Khoorda has suffered more than Kotdes, but less than Chowbeescood.

The rivers from which the country suffered most in Kendraparah are, 1st, the Brahminee; 2nd, the Noon; 3rd, the Mahanudy. In Pooree, 1st, the Katjoree; 2nd, the Dia.

In the year 1864 the crops suffered from floods, but otherwise the out-turn was a full one. In February, if I had received *carte blanche*, I should have given rupees, food, and clothing from house to house, and I should have imported grain from Calcutta, as the Government did afterwards.

The ryots of this part of the country are not usually very deeply in debt, but they seldom go through the year without debt. They generally manage to go on with the produce of their crops till, say, July; for the remaining months they get advances from the mahajuns, that is to say the people whom I have described as doing mahajunee business.

No. 2.—Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 18th and 21st December 1866.]

Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee.

18 & 21 Dec. 1866.

My home is in Burdwan, but I have been in Pooree three or four years. I was appointed deputy magistrate in 1861. I am conversant with agricultural matters.

I was at Pooree at the time of the failure of the crop of 1865, and have been there since throughout the famine. The first alarm about the crop and the shortness of the grain-stocks was at the end of September 1865. On the 26th October the mahajuns and shopkeepers suddenly stopped their sales. I reported this to the magistrate, who was then holding his office at Cuttack, according to the usage by which the Pooree office is transferred to Cuttack from July to October. The magistrate returned at the end of October. In the meantime many people had come into Pooree from the interior owing to the want of grain. I got a list of people said to have stores of grain, and I induced some of the richer merchants to sell at 30 Cuttack seers of unhusked rice to the rupee. Mr. Barlow, on his return, went out to visit the most distressed parts, *i. e.*, Parricood and Malood. Many orphans came in from that quarter. I managed to raise something from the dhurmsala, and afterwards, when the number became too large, I distributed them amongst the mohunts of the muths. In the meantime the sarud crop came into the market, and for nearly two months there was an amendment. There were no cases of starvation in the town; but reports of deaths from

Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee.

18 & 21 Dec. 1866.

from starvation, and the people having to feed on roots, came in from the mofussil. Famine began to be felt in the town in the beginning of February, just after the Lieutenant Governor came. He came on the 13th and stayed one day. After he passed through, things got worse. Mr. Barlow tried to raise subscriptions, and raised 5,000 rupees. When Mr. Barlow returned from the mofussil, a meeting was called on the 25th February, and it was resolved, but I can't say whether it was taken down in writing, that the local subscriptions were inadequate, and that an appeal should be made to the public. The European members agreed to write to the English papers, but afterwards changed their minds, thinking that the distress was not such as to necessitate the measure. I was requested to write to the native papers, and I wrote this letter* to the "Hindoo Patriot" the same day. I don't know if others wrote to the Bengalee papers.

The meaning of the term "house relief system," which occurs in that letter, is that each family in each village should be relieved by a monthly money payment at their own houses. The result of my letter was that we got something from the "Patriot" and something from Lahore.

In March there was a considerable immigration of women and orphans; now and then a case of actual death from starvation occurred; and in April deaths became more frequent. Cases of shop-looting and of people being robbed as they were bringing muhaprosad from the temple in broad daylight were common in March and April. I personally made no more appeals. Mr. Barlow had obtained some grants from local funds in the mean time. In May, with the grant of 10,000 rupees obtained by the collector, an unnochatro was opened in Pooree and several centres in the interior. Things were getting worse day by day; but it wasn't till the end of May that the extreme point of famine was touched. In consequence of Mr. Chapman's letter, announcing that no more subscriptions were wanted, I wrote a second letter to the "Hindoo Patriot," asking directly for subscriptions. I know Mr. Barlow reported the state things were in, but I can't say whether he telegraphed. There is no telegraph from here to Cuttack. At the mofussil centres relief was given in uncooked rice and here in cooked rice. We got some rice† from Gopalpoor through Udhee Narain—a rich koomtee mahajun at Ganjam, and some we bought here. In June the famine was very bad. Since then I have been in charge of the unnochatro here. The first batch of rice (Government rice) came from Coconada. It came, I think, in June. The famine was severest, in my opinion, in June, July, and August. In September and October the mortality decreased. Cholera began in February, and lasted till May, when it abated; but in the rains there were many deaths from exposure, want of clothing, and small-pox. In July especially there was a three days' fall of rain, and many paupers died.

In September, as far as Pooree went, the mortality was diminished one-half, I believe, by the famine relief operations. After July no want of supplies of Government rice was felt in Pooree. From the beginning of October, mortality from starvation ceased in Pooree itself; but I have heard that in November numerous deaths occurred in the interior from disease consequent on want.

STATEMENT showing the Mortality in Pooree District, exclusive of Khoorda, compiled by the Police up to October 1866, put in by Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee, Deputy Collector.

Name of Pergunnah.	Number of Inhabitants in 1,271 B. S.	Number of Inhabitants in 1,273 B. S.	Number of Persons Died.
Malood - - - -	3,329	1,812	1,517
Budgercote - - -	3,843	1,947	1,896
Pergh. Parricood - -	10,235	4,433	5,802
,, Manikpotona - -	6,104	1,627	4,477
,, Chowbeescood -	28,654	9,727	18,927
,, Seeraee - - -	11,384	3,966	7,418
,, Rahan - - -	48,182	20,663	27,519
,, Limbhai - -	41,896	37,896	4,000
,, Kotrahang - -	30,889	27,889	3,000
,, Puschimdoaee -	18,326	16,828	1,498
,, Poorboodoaee -	13,829	8,395	5,434
,, Kotdes - - -	93,424	53,603	39,821
,, Banchas - -	10,067	5,781	4,286
,, Uttuis - - -	13,447	7,561	5,886
,, Antorodh - -	20,683	10,663	10,020
,, Asturung - -	2,293	745	1,548
,, Kurlo - - -	10,920	5,233	5,687
,, Kodhar - -	14,102	6,622	7,480
,, Murichpoor - -	7,449	3,222	4,227
Domarkhand - - -	12,445	5,532	6,913
TOTAL - - -	4,01,501	2,34,145	1,67,356

I have

* Produces a note of Mr. Barlow to show that he approved of the witness writing to the "Hindoo Patriot."

† The rice from Gopalpoor came *vid* the Chilka Lake, not by sea.

Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee.

18 & 21 Dec. 1866.

I have drawn up this statement (put in), which I prepared from tables sent in by the police; it includes deaths up to the 1st October, and not after. I think that special application was not made to Government earlier, because there was a difference of opinion as to the severity of the crisis, and also because there was an idea, which was held by nearly all the officials, that there were large stores held back by the mahajuns. I did not hold this opinion for the following reason: I had got a list of the stores said to have been kept by rich persons of this place. In October 1865 they gave me their keys, and I examined their stores, and satisfied myself that they had not stores in any large quantities. I expressed my opinion in committee, but I was in a minority. The majority held the other opinion. At that time there were only three native members, myself, the moonsiff, and the secretary. There were stocks; but subsequently all became convinced that they would not suffice when stores began to be burned and looted. No one now maintains that there were large stores in this district. There was, I am confident, a short crop in 1864 owing to drought, but there was a large exportation; because the Ganjam mahajuns had made advances on the crop, and therefore the cultivators were obliged to fulfil their obligations.

I am of opinion that this year the beallee crop, even if a full crop, would not have sufficed to feed the people without relief till the sarud crop was cut, because the area of the beallee crop is limited in average years, and this year especially limited, owing partly to the want of seed, and partly to the amount of sickness and mortality among the cultivators. I attribute the outbreak of cholera in February to starvation and to eating unwholesome food. Cholera generally breaks out here in March, after the departure of pilgrims. I think that the famine, as regards scarcity of food, was as great in March and April as in June and July; but the mortality was not so great in March, April, and May as in June, July, and August. The excess mortality was occasioned (notwithstanding the decrease of cholera) by the want of proper clothing, and exposure. At first, in the interior, uncooked rice was given at the relief centres; but it was afterwards resolved to change the system, as the people looted the uncooked rice, and also as the prejudice against taking cooked rice gradually decreased. The house relief system was abandoned when the two funds (Government and local) were amalgamated.

At first we only employed Brahmin cooks, but afterwards, with the consent of all, we employed persons of other caste.

We also sold rice. The collector sold at market rates. The Relief Committee afterwards sold at two rates, one at 16 seers a rupee, and one at eight to ticket-holders, and there were gratis tickets for persons unable to purchase. Our test was this—people totally unable to work got gratis tickets; those who worked a little, at eight seers, and so on. The system of sales was therefore a double one. The cheap sales through the Relief Committees began about the end of June or beginning of July. There were two godowns. The collector sold up to the time of the Relief Committee sales at the market rates, which were then about six seers. At the first there were eight centres, excluding Khoorda, afterwards 14.

I think the ryots here are generally less indebted than the Burdwan ryots.

This prosperity is chiefly owing, I think, to the old salt manufacture.

Dated 18th December 1866.

With reference to my letter of the 25th October 1865, No. 68, reporting that muthwalla and zemindars had stores sufficient to last two years, I explain that this statement was made on the authority of the persons, mooktears and other respectable inhabitants of the town, who gave me a list of persons who had grain. I at first believed their statements, but afterwards I saw reason to distrust them. A week after Mr. Barlow returned, and I told him that I had examined the stores myself, and that the supposed stores did not exist; but I made no official report in writing.

Dated 21 December 1866.

No. 3.—Baboo Oodoy Churn Dutt, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 18th and 20th December 1866.]

Baboo Oodoy Churn Dutt.

18 & 20 Dec. 1866.

I took charge in May last, on the 13th. I came from Bhaugulpoor. When I arrived there were unmistakeable marks of famine. People were dying about the station. There was some cholera, not much. Cholera broke out badly in August in one part of the town where the unnochatro was, owing to the numbers and the filth. It wasn't bad in the gaol or the other quarters. Cholera, I believe, prevails in this place every year. The outbreak in August didn't last long. The rains washed it out. Dysentery, diarrhœa, and bowel complaints also prevailed, owing, doubtless, to want and unwholesome food. Sickness abated in September. Mortality was greatest in July and August; it was attributable chiefly to the state of debility the paupers were in, and to the climate and the rains. Amongst the paupers in the unnachatro mortality is still rife; out of 1,500 people about six die daily.

Half a Cuttack seer of rice was given daily to each pauper, and besides rice, dhal and fish in the same quantities as to labouring prisoners. I think that was the minimum which it was safe to give. I think that there were people who died because they would not come to the unnachatros. Out-door relief was not given except in the form of tickets. This was stopped by Mr. McNeile when he came last, on the ground that people improperly obtained

obtained relief in this way. Out-door relief was chiefly given to women and children, also to males who were unable to work.

Baboo Oodoy Churn Dutt.

Dated 18 December 1866.

18 & 20 Dec. 1866.

The starving people were not brought to the hospital, and were not admitted till May. We are allowed by the Government grants 16 in-door patients. When the distress began to increase, I in May applied to the collector for extension. Before May there are no hospital books or other records showing the entire mortality of the town. There is a register of rain-fall kept up by the medical officer. It was kept last year.

Dated 20 December 1866.

No. 4.—Mr. J. J. Livesay, c.s., Assistant Magistrate and Collector, *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 19th December 1866.]

I have been in this district as assistant magistrate nearly four years. I had the powers of a subordinate magistrate, 1st class, at the beginning of the famine, and was in June last invested specially with full powers. I am the only European officer at Pooree (except Mr. Lacey, junior, and Mr. Crane, public works overseer, and Mr. McCullock) who has been here throughout the famine. I made a tour through the pergunnahs of Chowbeescood and Rahan in November and December 1865. As soon as the Relief Committee was started, I became a member. I returned to the station for three days in the Christmas week, and thence went to Satparah on the 27th December. I returned to Pooree on the 4th January, and left again on the 8th, and went towards Gope, through Rahan, to the north-east. I returned finally on the 7th February, and did not go out again till May or June. From Chowbeescood I sent some English and vernacular reports. According to my observation, the state of the crops in Chowbeescood and Rahan was decidedly a failure; considerably more than a half crop had failed. The crops in Rahan were better than in Chowbeescood; there was more than a quarter crop in the latter, about a quarter in the former. I saw signs of actual famine at that time, and reported them. In a general sense, I should say that the country was in a distressed state. Deaths were chiefly amongst the lowest classes, labourers, and in some few places the ryots also were dying. When I went to Satparah, the crops had been cut in a great many places; people said there was only straw. I came to the conclusion that there was some little grain, but that the crop had been a very bad one. Any person who applied for work was immediately taken on to the works, and consequently the famine there did not appear to me then so severe as at Harridass, in Chowbeescood. I believe there were no relief works going on at Harridass at the time I visited Satparah. The relief measures at Satparah appeared to work satisfactorily. When I went to Gope in January, the principal feature was cholera. I went to inquire into the crops. I should guess it to have been a quarter crop, between that and a third. Great distress prevailed for want of food. People had probably taken to eating food which may have aggravated the cholera; but though there may have been a few deaths from downright starvation, specially in one village, I don't think they were common. I wrote vernacular reports, only one touching the cholera.

Mr. J. J. Livesay, c.s.

19 Dec. 1866.

When I returned, I told Mr. Barlow in a general way the state of the country. The state of things in Pooree in February was this: there was a difficulty in buying rice, and high prices prevailed; people were not then dying about the town, as far as I know. I remember the meeting on the 25th February 1866. I remember Mr. Barlow's saying then, or shortly afterwards, that he did not think it necessary to write to the English papers; that matters had not got so bad as that; that it might create a panic if we wrote to the "Englishman"; that that was a *dernier resort;* but that he thought it desirable that the native papers should be written to. I remember it being resolved or talked about to write to both English and native papers in the committee meeting; but a good many things thus discussed were not recorded, and this seems to have been one of them. The first signs of actual starvation were when a quantity of paupers flocked into the town about the middle of April. It was when I returned from Cuttack after the examination. I don't think many died from hunger, but a good many died from disease induced by hunger. During April and May the influx increased, and with it the mortality. A place to feed the paupers in was formed, I think, in May. In my opinion, throughout the famine, few people in Pooree itself have died from actual starvation, but many have died from disease induced by want of food. Judging from the appearance of the paupers who came in from the mofussil, and whom I saw in April, I should say they evidently had been much reduced from a long course of suffering. In May they got more numerous, and in June the numbers increased, though the appearance of those who came in from the mofussil was much the same in June as in April. July and August were the worst months as regards the number of paupers, and also as regards mortality. The first sheds were built in June. The paupers were fed on the sands before that, but they might have gone to the dhurmsala. At the beginning of the rains the people were no doubt a good deal exposed. I remember during the rains a heavy storm, after which a number of deaths were reported. We thought there was not sufficient shelter and we were greatly horrified, and the collector took immediate measures to provide additional shelter by putting mats up in the dhurmsala. The dhurmsala couldn't hold them all, but many slept under verandahs, &c., in the town. The camp on the sands was not established till later; I think in August. I

Mr. J. J. Livesay, C.S. 19 Dec. 1867.

was here when the Lieutenant Governor arrived. He stayed the day he arrived, and left next day. I don't remember any formal meeting regarding the famine. I wasn't formally called into any discussion; but I had some conversation with the Lieutenant Governor, or somebody near the Lieutenant Governor, and some remarks were made about the cholera at Gope; but I can't say whether the conversation was with the Lieutenant Governor or one of his staff. There was general talk, but no regular investigation. Several native gentlemen went by invitation to see the Lieutenant Governor, and it was given out that any petitions which people wished to present could be presented. I was actively engaged in unloading the rice supplies. I think the "Arracan" came in June. Landing the rice was difficult, owing to the surf, which was heavy. I think we landed the rice in four or five days. The day the "Arracan's" cargo was finished the "Gibb" arrived. There was a good deal of delay in landing her cargo owing to the roughness of the sea. Many boats were lost and two lives. There was a want of rice supplies even after this. It was felt so late as October. This I know personally, that in October, sales in the mofussil shops were checked; but so far as I am aware, the distribution of rice in the unnochatros was never stopped for want of rice. However, I wasn't in charge, and can't say for certain. I don't believe the Relief Committees were ever straitened for rice. In June, July, and August, had we had more rice, I think we might with our arrangements have sent more into the mofussil. Supplies were sent into the interior both by carts and boats. I believe the floods in August impeded operations; but I desire to add that I was never in charge, and can only give my opinion. Last cold weather there was a good deal of talk about the rice stocks; but as far as I know, there was no formal discussion in committee, or investigation into the state of the stocks in the country, as to whether they were sufficient to feed the people till the cutting of the next crop. I know the collector recommended an importation of rice for the department of Public Works for the coolies, and hence I infer he thought there was not sufficient rice in the country. I am inclined to think that the collector's opinion throughout was that rice ought to be imported; but I won't be certain. In consultation with the Executive Engineer, Mr. Nolan, I remember hearing Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee say that he thought there was not much rice, as he had himself examined the mohunts' stores. I don't recollect anybody by name holding a strong opinion on the other side; but a native, whose name I don't remember, stated that Raghunath Chowdhry had large stores. The prosperity of the salt districts all round the Chilka Lake was much affected, no doubt, by the stoppage of the salt manufacture. Towards the north coast a slight falling off may have resulted from the same cause. The salt districts used not to grow their own supplies: they haven't much land in cultivation; but in an ordinarily good year they can support themselves. These districts, however, are peculiarly liable to bad seasons, besides being naturally unproductive.

[Papers put in by Mr. Livesay—Resolution of the 25th July; Mr. Livesay's English reports and Vernacular roobocarees.]

No. 5.—Baboo Nursing Churn Dass, late a Deputy Magistrate.

[Examined at Pooree, 19th December 1866].

Baboo Nursing Churn Dass. 19 Dec. 1866.

I am an inhabitant of Cuttack, and have been in Government service since 1824. I was employed for three years continuously in Pooree, and took my pension last July. I remember a famine in 1837, but nothing like this; rice sold at eight Cuttack seers; it lasted only two months. In all my life I have never seen or heard of a famine such as this, in which men ate one another. This time I have heard from many sources that they have done so. I heard a man was going about Pooree eating the arm of a corpse raw; he may have been an idiot. Many have eaten grass. I have heard of a great famine in 1200. Last December I went on a tour in Khoorda Panchghur, Pergunnah Seraee, and remained out two months. I didn't go out after that. I saw that in some villages 100, 80, 60 per cent. of the crop, and so on, was lost; that great distress prevailed; and that people were living off a certain tree. Khoorda was the best off; perhaps only one-third of the crop was lost; in Panchghur about one-half; and in Seraee nearly two-thirds. The two pergunnahs first mentioned were, as far as I can judge, the best off in the zillah. The average crop in all Pooree was about one-third of a full crop; but in the salt districts things were much worse. I returned before the Lieutenant Governor arrived, and was here when he came. When I came in no one was dying in Pooree, but they had begun to die in the mofussil. When the Lieutenant Governor came, some of the mofussil poor had already come in. From March they began to die in Pooree, and from March the famine began to be severe. From October 1865 we said the crop would fail. In April the number of deaths increased; it was larger in May; and in June the famine reached its height, and remained bad till November. The worst months were August, September, and October 1866. When I came in from the interior, I became a member of the Relief Committee. I came to the conclusion that the people who had grain wouldn't sell, and that those who were poor would die; that if Government didn't help us, we shouldn't be saved. I told the collector and the Commissioner that Government aid was required, and reminded them that it had been given in 1837. I had an interview with the Lieutenant Governor when he came, and told him what I have now told the Committee; but I made no application for aid. Many zemindars made representations

Baboo Nursing Churn Dass.

19 Dec. 1866.

representations to the Lieutenant Governor; but it was chiefly to obtain remission of their revenue. The paupers cried out in Ooryah; but none of the higher people, that is, the zemindars, represented their case. The general impression was that the mahajuns had grain and wouldn't sell; but in point of fact there are no mahajuns that have so much as a year's stock in hand. They may have had supplies for 20 days or so. As the famine got worse, Ooryah newspapers at Cuttack used to publish accounts. The famine in Cuttack was, I think, less by one-eighth than in Pooree.

No. 6.—Baboo Rughoo Nath Chowdhry, Zemindar and Trader of Zillah *Cuttack* and *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 19th December 1866].

Baboo Rughoo Nath Chowdhry.

19 Dec. 1866.

I live chiefly in Cuttack. Most of my lands (zemindary) are in Cuttack. I have some lands in Pooree; also a house in Kotdes, and one in the town of Pooree. In the whole zillah of Pooree, the out-turn of 1865 was one-third; Khoorda was the division best off; and the famine was somewhat less severe in Cuttack than in Pooree. The total crop was smaller in Cuttack than in Pooree, because the Khoorda crop was comparatively good. The mortality in Cuttack was less than in Pooree. Some of the Khoorda grain was exported to the south, and Cuttack got some relief from Sumbulpoor. We knew there was going to be a famine in October 1865, and were still more sure from November 1865. Up till January people managed to get on; but from March deaths were frequent both in Pooree and Cuttack. In April people died very fast. In June famine reached its height. In Orissa there are no very large grain-holders; some have from 1,000 to 3,000 maunds. Previous to the failure in 1865, there was about the usual amount in hand; but after the crop was cut, the amount in store was much less than usual, as we didn't get back our ordinary advances. In 1270 (Ooryah year beginning in Badro) there was a good crop; in 1271, a smaller one; in 1272, a short one; and in 1273, almost total failure. In 1271 and 1272, a good deal of grain was exported from the districts near the sea, by sea, and from the interior a good deal went south by carts to the Chilka Lake from the parts which are approachable by carts from the Chilka. I had about 30 to 50 thousand maunds of unhusked rice in Falgoon and Chait (up to March). I sold some and advanced some up till July last, and I have kept enough of the rice of 1272 to last me through the next year. All this year's crop has been washed away. I have still 8,000 maunds (Cuttack) in store. I might have made more by selling that three months ago; but where should I have been if rice had not got cheaper and if supplies had failed. When the Lieutenant Governor came, everybody represented that people were likely to die, and that something must be done. The collector of Cuttack wouldn't even take our petitions. The collector of Pooree did what he could. I don't remember that any special suggestions were made to the Lieutenant Governor; only we said something must be done to save the lives of the people. Had there been no imports, and had everybody brought what he had into the market, the rice would never have sufficed till the beallee crops came in; independently of the question of floods, the people would have died. If Government had not imported grain, there would have been double the amount of deaths, and had Government importation taken place two months earlier, not one-fourth of the deaths would have occurred. From February we began ourselves to say that rice ought to be imported as it had been in 1837. Government imported rice, I believe, in 1837, but it's a long time ago. There was a subscription and an unnochatro in Cuttack, but not in the mofussil. Rice then was never sold lower than eight Cuttack seers a rupee. Then very few people died. The famine in 1200, I have heard, was very bad, but not so bad as this. This is the worst there has ever been. I have heard of cannibalism and Hindus eating cows, but I have never seen such cases. In my opinion not less than 44 per cent. of the population in Pooree have died, and 37 per cent. in Cuttack. The excess in Pooree was in the salt tracts. I ceased to give out grain when the floods commenced, because my crops were swept away, and I began to fear for myself. In Badro, my nephew went to sell grain and died, and since then I have sold nothing. Out of those who have died up to date, 75 per cent. would have died but for the floods: 25 per cent. of the deaths are attributable to the floods. This last mortality was owing—firstly, to the difficulty there was in getting at the sufferers, in the inundated tracts; and, secondly, to the failure of the bealee crop in those tracts.

I know little about the salt districts, and can't speak to the mortality there. I have never been in the habit of importing by sea, though I am in the habit of trading in rice, and I knew prices would be high.

No. 7.—Mr. J. W. Lacey.

[Examined at Pooree, 19th December 1866.]

Mr. J. W. Lacey.

19 Dec. 1866.

I have been in Pooree only a year. I came in November last. I wasn't then in an official capacity. I was with my brother, the District Superintendent, and was appointed to the relief operations in June. I accompanied my brother into the district about November last, and was out most of November, December, January, and February. We started from Cuttack, and went first through Khoorda, and thence along the Chilka. The state

Mr. J. W. Lacey.

19 Dec. 1866.

of the paddy near the Chilka I noticed was bad; but I didn't remark any deaths. Most of the time I was in a boat on the Chilka. Afterwards I saw some of the people looking as if they were starving. After Christmas we went into the Khoorda district, and up to the time I came back in February I don't remember seeing many signs of famine. The famine began to be felt in Pooree in January and February. It got really bad about April. I have been engaged in establishing centres and superintending them. We commenced with uncooked rice and afterwards gave cooked rice. We were very seldom short of rice. We drew our supplies from Pooree. Many died because they would not come to the mofussil centres for fear of losing their caste. Another reason was the distance of the centres from the villages; and a third, the state of debility in which the paupers who came were. Most of them in fact died, and only the more robust survived. The mortality continued till about the end of October. The worst months were July and August. The people died chiefly from starvation and diseases directly induced by starvation. A large number died from eating uncooked rice. They had the means of cooking, but were so ravenous that they wouldn't wait to cook it. Cholera and small-pox also contributed to the total of deaths. I believe that if the relief had been more lavish, fewer people would have died, and had centres been established in November, the famine would have been staved off. I even think that if the centres had been established in March or April, the famine would have been in a great measure staved off. I was connected with the operations from the beginning. I had instructions to open from six to twelve centres. Six were opened in June by me; afterwards six more were opened. Twenty-four were proposed. I don't know why the whole twenty-four were not opened. The distance was from ten to twelve miles from depôt to depôt in the districts in which they were established; but I think eight miles should have been the maximum distance. When we began with cooked rice, Brahmins were always employed to cook.

No. 8.—Baboo Khetter Mohun Bose, Head Clerk, Magistrate's Office, and Secretary, Relief Committee, *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 20th and 21st December 1866.]

Baboo Khetter Mohun Bose.

20 & 21 Dec. 1866.

Subscriptions were collected at the beginning of this year, and an informal meeting was held on the 15th January; but no resolutions were recorded. On the 25th February a formal meeting was held and proceedings recorded. There was first distress in October. In December and January, when the new crops had been cut, things were a little better. In February we heard of great distress in the district, and there was also great distress in the town. A few paupers, principally orphans or deserted children, began to come in from the interior in the end of January; in February more came in, and in March the influx became very large. It was in March that deaths from starvation were first to be seen in the town. There were many to be seen dying in March. At this time no provision was made for relief in the town; but out-door relief in money was afforded by the Committee to distressed families in the interior. The town was then omitted, because here there were many mohunts of the religious establishments, and they used to give alms. At this time, in March, I don't think people died in the town directly from being unable to get any particle of food; but they came in in so bad a state that they died because they could not get from the alms of mohunts and others sufficient food to recover them. In April the number of paupers and of deaths very much increased, and the Reverend Mr. Miller opened an alms-house and fed with cooked food the famishing people who were so reduced as to be unable to work. In May things got still worse. Mr. Miller made over to us 500 rupees from his fund; but it was expended by him under our directions. The Relief Committee did not give direct relief in Pooree till the 2nd June. [On referring to papers finds that Mr. Miller did not open a regular alms-house to distribute food till the 12th May.] He also wrote to the "Friend of India" and "Hindoo Patriot." He bought the rice in the bazaar. From the 2nd June we opened an unnochatro in Pooree, and bought rice and distributed it, at first uncooked, then cooked, because where it was uncooked people were hurt by the crush. From this time centres were also opened in the interior. Up to the 17th June five centres had been opened in the interior, and a sixth on the 24th June; they have continued throughout. In July the number was increased by two more, exclusive of Khoorda. The Committee had resolved to establish thirteen; but this was not carried out at first. In August the number was increased to twelve (exclusive of Khoorda), and in September to thirteen. I remember it being proposed in discussion in February that we should write to the English and native papers; but Mr. Barlow changed his mind and did not write. About this time the koomtee merchants settled in the town, who are south country men, and began to import rice from Ganjam and Gopalpoor in small quantities. The trade continued to June. When rice was the dearest it came in considerable quantities in this way by the route of the Chilka Lake. This trade continued till August. In June the Local Committee imported 1,050 bags from Gopalpoor, and distributed it partly gratuitously and partly at low rates, and this mode of distribution was the system followed throughout. The Government rice was available from the beginning of July. I managed the despatch of rice into the interior. From that time we had enough for the relief centres in the interior; they sometimes fell short from scarcity of carriage and delay in the supplies reaching, but not for want of rice. It would have been better if there had been more

centres

Baboo Khetter Mohun Bose.

20 & 21 Dec. 1866.

centres of relief, as the people were too weak to come five or 10 coss. I can't say why more were not established. There was rice enough, but carriage was short, especially from the commencement of the rains in June, because the country was inundated. From June to August it was very difficult to send supplies, and if we had established more centres, I doubt if we should have been able to forward the grain to them. If we had had grain in April and May before the rains, we could then have sent it, and we could then have fed many, if not all, the starving people. At that time it was impossible to buy any considerable quantity in the bazaar without enormously raising the rates. In September we were able to supply all the centres, though with difficulty. In October the collector's supply of rice became short; but we had enough to go on with, and we bought a small quantity in the bazaar. The relief operations were never stopped for want of rice. The collector's sales to the public may have been stopped, but not the relief of the indigent; that was not interfered with.

I remember the question of stocks being discussed. I remember a petition in October 1865, in which it was stated (to the Deputy Collector Ramakhoy Chatterjee) that people who had rice would not sell it. Baboo Ramakhoy personally investigated the matter. I can't say whether Mr. Barlow believed him or not. I heard that Brindabun Marwaree informed Mr. Ravenshaw that there was a large amount, two or more years' consumption, and asked him for a monopoly of all the rice that came into Cuttack town, saying he would supply rice at 12 seers all the time. The mahajuns closed in November and of October about six days, because they had a panic. I don't think it was wickedness; they didn't think it wise to give any "deri dhan." Advances are then given for food. It is called "deri dhan"=50 per cent., but only 20 per cent. is taken.

Dated, 20th December 1866.

The Relief Committee's resolutions of 25th February 1866 were drafted by Mr. Barlow, and then copied by me into the book. The resolutions of 16th May, 1st June, and others are in Mr. Barlow's own hand. I wish to add that I was sent out in June, and in the Pergunnahs of Chowbeescood, Malood, and Parric the state of things was as bad as possible. I estimate that up to that time more than half the people of those parts were dead. There were not then sufficient measures of relief. Relief measures were soon after adopted; but only the homeless and deserted were relieved: the people in their houses were not relieved. Larger measures were not taken, because more rice was not brought from other districts. If the Committee had had rice earlier, it would have been sent, and later in the rains, it might have been sent to Parricood by boat by way of the Chilka; but there was not even then rice enough to supply everyone. Later, there was rice enough; but it was never resolved to give outdoor relief at people's houses, and it has not been given. In the town, at first, the rules were very strict; only people reduced to skeletons were relieved. It was not till September that more general relief was given, when the mortality had become excessive. In answer to Baboo Ramakhoy's appeal to the "Hindoo Patriot," we got 78-8 rupees collected by the "Hindoo Patriot," and 250 rupees from Lahore, also from some other quarters [produces list].

Dated, 21st December 1866.

No. 9.—Mr. G. M. Currie, c.s., Assistant Collector of *Pooree*.

Mr. G. M. Currie, c.s.

20 & 21 Dec. 1866.

[Examined at Pooree, 20th and 21st December 1866].

I am Assistant Collector, in charge of the relief operations. I came on the 1st or 2nd July 1866. When I arrived, the famine was at its height. The "Arracan" sailed the morning I arrived, and the "Gibb" had arrived the day before. The unnochatros were at work. I was then employed in landing operations. I landed a good deal of the rice from the "Gibb." I and the other officers took the duty in turn by weeks. The weather was then very bad, and there was great difficulty. The work was stopped for ten days once, and afterwards for two or three days at a time. I think all was done that could be done, and we went almost so far, I may say, as manslaughter in having induced the boatmen to go out in such weather. Two lives were lost, and some men were sent to hospital injured. They behaved very well, never being accustomed to go out at that season. They did all they could. The number of boats, when I first came, was about seven or eight, and two or three new boats were made. Eventually, we sometimes started with as many as 10 after repairs; but that number was soon again reduced to three or four owing to the damages the boats received. During the time these stoppages in landing occurred, the Collector closed his sales, fearing that the relief operations might be stopped owing to rice running short. I believe the relief operations were never stopped for want of rice. We always managed to land enough to keep them going. We had a serious fear of running out altogether once when Mr. McNeile came down. It was found that the real balance was less than what the books showed. The reason was this—the nominal weight was two maunds per bag, and the real weight was much less, and the sales were according to actual weight. The cause of the discrepancy between the nominal and real weight was that the rice on the "Gibb" was packed in single gunny bags; a good deal may have leaked, a good deal was stolen,

Mr. G. M. Currie, c.s.

20 & 21 Dec. 1866.

stolen, and almost all the bags were wet and had to be turned out and re-filled. I heard this. I had nothing to do with the sales godown. (It was here pointed out to Mr. Currie that the balance in October and November 1866 was very small as shown by the sales stock book.) I remember that the "Arracan" was very much delayed, and so was the "Asia." When the camp was formed, I was put in charge. I began building it about the first week of September 1866, and we got the paupers in about the 24th, just before the Collector, Mr. Barlow, left. Mr. Livesay was then in charge for some three weeks. I was out in the Gope direction about the 17th November last for a week. I didn't remark any mortality from famine then. I remarked a few emaciated persons at the unnochatros, who had probably been suffering from dysentery owing to the setting in of the cold weather.

Dated 20th December 1866.

I WENT out to Kakutpoor in the latter part of November 1866. It is chiefly inhabited by Brahmins. It consists of 92 houses; of these 57 are occupied by Brahmins. I made inquiries at each house as to the mortality since the famine set in. Out of 309 persons, 92 had died. These deaths were attributable entirely to the famine, not to cholera or inundation. I made special inquiries on this point. Several men of the lower classes had deserted their families. Kakutpoor being a Brahmin village, and the zemindar supporting a muth there on which many subsist, I infer that the mortality there must have been much lower than in neighbouring villages which are not so favourably circumstanced. I made inquiries similarly in two other villages; but cannot remember particulars. I do remember, however, that they were not Brahmin villages, and that the death-rate per cent. had been very much higher than at Kakutpoor. I also visited a village near Manung, on the Chilka, about the 8th instant, and I found there that out of 28 houses, 2 people only remained alive. The mortality in that village and many others in that neighbourhood was owing to the villagers having been cut off by inundation from getting supplies.

Finding that at a place so favourably circumstanced as Kakutpoor, the mortality has been above 29 per cent., I conclude that the mortality in the district, including the town of Pooree, must have been at least 50 per cent. of the population.

Dated 21st December 1866.

Baboo Bagobat Moitee.

20 Dec. 1866.

No. 10.—BABOO BAGOBAT MOITEE, Tehseeldar of *Khoorda*.

[Examined at Pooree, 20th December 1866.]

THE famine commenced in November and December 1865. There were hopes of rain in October, but in November we gave up all hopes of more rain. December was better as far as prices went, and so was January owing to the dhan such as it was coming in. February was much the same here as in January, but things were worse in Malood and Parricood. March wasn't a very bad month here; but in April people began to die in Pooree. We knew that there was going to be a heavy famine in November when the crop failed, although prices were a little easy in January. I did not think the mahajuns could have had much grain. There are two or three large dealers who may have had some. I was here when the Lieutenant Governor came for one day. When he came people agreed to apply to him to do something for us; but I cannot say whether any application was made. I went away to Satparah with Mr. Barlow, and didn't return till May. A grant of 5,000 rupees had been made, and people there (only Satparah people were employed) were much benefited, but there were deaths. From the subscriptions, relief in money was sent to Parricood and to Malood. Works were only going on in Satparah. The Malood and Parricood people did not come to the works. The money sent was not enough to save all the people; only particular cases were selected. Satparah is a khas mehal, Malood is not. There were works in Barcool, Banpoor, to which the Malood and Parricood people went. This was the Executive Engineer's work. The piece system and day system both prevailed; people who went to get work got it; people who stayed at home must have died, but a hard working man may have supported his family. When I came in in May, things were very bad; I then left for Khoorda and became Tehseeldar. Khoorda was not so bad as this, but there too people were dying. When I was in Satparah, mahajuns from Gopalpoor were bringing rice there, and some of them were taking it on to Pooree. Rice began to come from Gopalpoor in February, and ceased about May or June. When the Government rice came, it ceased almost entirely, and the mahajuns made no more efforts to import. I heard there was a famine also in Ganjam. The rice was brought in ships to Gopalpoor. I understand that the landing at Gopalpoor is easier than here, and that ships can unload at all seasons. In Khoorda there were eight relief houses. The famine abated from September, and may be said to have almost ceased in November, but still there is great distress amongst the poor. There was a good crop in 1863; in 1864 a somewhat short one, and also in 1864–65. The usual supplies didn't come in from Sumbulpoor, because prices had risen in Sumbulpoor, and there had been a great deal of exportation to the south; for all these reasons, stocks were very short in 1865. The cause of the want of grain was not a combination on the part of the mahajuns, but simply short stocks. I can't say how or why the Commissioner imagined there was a large supply withheld. There is one killa, that is a permanently settled estate, Murichpoor. Malood is a jagheer. In Balbuodurpoor, there are 34 mouzahs which suffered from inundation. No considerable amount of Beallee is grown there. I estimate

estimate that out of the whole population, 6-16ths have died from the effects of the drought, 4-16ths from the effects of the inundation and the cholera which followed it, and that the rest are alive.

Baboo Bagobat Moitee.

20 Dec. 1866.

I am of opinion that 6-16ths of the whole population of the Government estate of Khoorda have died, and that if there had been no Government importation, one-eighth more would have died, and that if importation had commenced in February, the mortality would have been much less.

In the Khoordah estate, the inundations have damaged above 1-16th of the crop, chiefly to the south.

No. 11.—Mr. J. M'Cullock, Road Overseer.

Mr. J. M'Cullock.

[Examined at Pooree, 20 December 1866.]

20 Dec. 1866.

I have been in the district for four years, and more than two years Overseer of the roads. I have been a good deal in the district, but have not been employed in relief operations, except lately to look after the work of a gang. Last year the crops were pretty good about Piply; at other places I saw signs of famine about June or a little before. People may have been dying before that, but I did not see them. Towards the latter end of June, I saw a good many about Nealee and Gope, especially at Nealee. Mortality continued till October and even later. Nealee is 12 miles from Gope. I don't know why relief was not sent to Nealee; that did not come within the line of my duties. There was at first a report that the mahajuns at Cuttack had large stocks of grain, and would not sell; but afterwards that did not turn out to be so true as at first supposed. I cannot tell who originated the report; but at Cuttack most of the natives and the generality of the Europeans believed in it. Mr. Fressanges, French merchant, believed in it to a certain extent, though he discredited it afterwards. I heard Mr. Fressanges say so, but I can't give the exact date. It was in Mr. Money's time, for I know that Mr. Fressanges made a proposition to Mr. Money, offering to supply the market, provided he was granted a monopoly for at least two years, and the merchants who had kept back the grain were excluded. He said he would sell two seers cheaper than they would. I heard, but don't know, that Mr. Money reserved this proposal for a certain time, in order that if the merchants did not open their shops, he might accept it. After that they opened their shops again. In June and July people generally were satisfied that the supposed large stocks did not exist. I believe that Mr. Fressanges did no business, or nearly none, last season.

Rughnath Chowdhry was supposed to be the man who had the great quantities of grain. At last he produced a good deal that he had hoarded for several years, and it was so bad that it injured people. The other large zemindar, Bagwan Dass, who was supposed to have a great deal, turned out to have very little; his own people were dying. The Ferry Fund-road at Khoorda saved the population there to a great extent; the mortality, therefore, was comparatively less. I do not believe in the alleged cases of cannibalism, but husbands commonly deserted their wives.

No. 12.—Baboo Shoshee Bhoosun Mookerjee, of *Pooree*.

Baboo Shoshee Bhoosun Mookerjee.

[Examined at Pooree, 20 December 1866.]

20 Dec. 1866.

Last year the harvest in the Kote Rahan Pergunnah may have been about 3-16ths; in my estate there was nothing. This year there may have been one-third in the Pergunnah. All the rest was carried off by floods. In my zemindaree this year also, there is nothing. People began to die in January and February; in March and April they died in greater numbers; in May and June the famine became extreme, and continued so during July and August, the last two months it was less. The zemindars gave what they had to the ryots; two or three zemindars had a great deal, and have much still, but the small zemindars had not. I know two men who had much; Rughnath Chowdhry and Bagwan Pal of Kotdes. They always hoard from several years. Rughnath has sold much; I don't know of his giving away; I don't know if Bagwan Pal has sold. The mohunts of Pooree had grain, and they sold. The zemindars took counsel, and applied for remission of revenue, on the ground that we can't collect it from our ryots, and if they are let off, we must be let off too. They did not apply to Government to import rice.

No. 13.—Mr. W. R. Green, Assistant Superintendent of Police, *Pooree*.

Mr. W. R. Green.

[Examined at Pooree, 20 December 1866.]

20 Dec. 1866.

I am Assistant Superintendent of police at Pooree. I have been in the district a year, and came about 15th November 1865; when I arrived, there was an apprehension of famine. Things got rather worse in the course of the next two or three months. As far as I can judge, people were beginning actually to starve a month after I arrived. Last cold weather, I wasn't out in the district, and didn't go out till June. About the beginning of this

Mr. W. R. Green.

20 Dec. 1866.

this year, but I can't say in what month, deaths became frequent. I think there were a considerable number of deaths in the first three months of the year. About May or June, the famine reached its height. I was employed in landing rice, but was not regularly upon the Relief Committee. I think most certainly that as regards landing rice, all was done that could be done. There was a good deal of difficulty in finding carriage for sending rice into the interior, but I did not see much of it myself. With regard to the stocks, I merely understood last cold weather that, in consequence of the failure of the crops and owing to scarcity, the mahajuns were holding back their stores. I didn't hear of any combination then; but it has appeared since that there was a great deal of grain. In the later months, down to June and July, a great deal of grain was forthcoming. When I was in Khoorda in June and July, there was no rice for the prisoners; but eventually it was forthcoming in the bazaar. I can't form an opinion as to whether there was sufficient to feed the people without Government importation; but I think there was sufficient, if it had all been brought out, to prevent anything like an extensive mortality; there would have been deaths, but not many, till now. I don't know of any particular instances of merchants who possessed large stores. I used to dine with Mr. Barlow during last cold weather. I remember his talking of the necessity of forming a committee, and of collecting local subscriptions, and of writing to the papers. I don't remember hearing him say why he did not write to the papers; but he fancied, I think, that he would be able to collect a sufficiently large sum in the district. He promised a large sum himself, in the hope that others would subscribe a sum equally large. He did not collect the sum he expected; but I can't say why he didn't make a more extended appeal at an earlier date.

Baboo Kisheen Mohun Roy Chooramony.

20 Dec. 1866.

No. 14.—Baboo Kisheen Mohun Roy Chooramony, Treasurer, *Pooree*.

[Examined at Pooree, 20 December 1866.]

I am a Kaist; I am also a zemindar, and do a little mahajunee business. I am not a large dealer in grain. Only two or three persons in Pooree had large stores; Rughnath Dass had large stores; Mohunt Mohun Dass had large stores, and has sold them. In fact there was not in the district enough rice to feed the people. There was a common report that there was a great deal of grain, but that the holders would not sell their stores. This report was spread chiefly by the lower classes, who were in difficulties. In 1864 the crop was short, and there was some exportation, though less than usual that year. People had no good reason for saying there were large quantities of grain. I heard that the Commissioner was told at the end of 1865 of good crops and a great deal of grain in Horrispoor Killa. I remember the shops all closing in October, and Ramakhoy Baboo went round and prevailed on the principal holders to make some sales; I do not know that the Collector accused the holders of keeping back the grain. The people began to die in February, and still more in March, especially in the interior. People did not come in in great numbers till the *unnochatro* was established in Pooree. I took three months' leave at the end of February soon after the Lieutenant Governor came, that is, one week after. I went to my own house in Gope. People were there dying mostly from hunger, some from cholera; as I went I saw many bodies on the sides of the road. When the Lieutenant Governor came, the starving people came and showed him the roots, &c., on which they were feeding. Mr. Cockburn was with the Lieutenant Governor, and showed the Lieutenant Governor the things which the people said they were feeding on. The Lieutenant Governor looked over the offices and saw the school. We talked of our state to Mr. Cockburn, and he told us we had wasted our money on marriage ceremonies. The zemindars applied for remissions, as did the ryots of khas mahals, but were refused. At that time people were not lying dead on the roads; they had just begun to die. In Cuttack I heard that great numbers applied for aid. Nobody suggested, when the Lieutenant Governor came, that importation in ships was necessary. In April, May, and June the mortality was greatest in Pooree. When the grain came in July or August the mortality in Pooree decreased, as did the mortality in the mofussil. The rains caused difficulty in transporting the rice; no district officer (*hâkim*) went to make arrangements in Gope. In February Mr. Livesay went to inquire into the state of the crops; since then till now no officer has been to Gope; Two *unnochatros* were opened in Gope division by Mr. Lacey, who was appointed to look after the centres; and Mr. Currie went a month ago. The arrangements in the *unnochatros* were good, but certain castes would not go to them. Sometimes when all the rest of a family were dead, the last survivor would go, and the low castes went. In my opinion, if a good officer had gone, he might have made better arrangements; *ex. gr.*, he might have given people grain at their houses if he had seen their state. I have heard that in the Madras (Ganjam district) officers went about from village to village giving grain. If the grain in Pooree had run short, more might have been sent for; but the season was very unfavorable for importation. If rice had been imported earlier in February and March, half of the people who died would have been saved. There would have been deaths no doubt. A great deal of grain came into the districts from Gopalpoor; it came to Gopalpoor by sea, and the trade is still going on. It commenced in January or February; most of it came in June, July, August, September and October. There was no cessation of this importation owing to the Government importation. In my opinion, the operations should have commenced when the Lieutenant Governor came; but they were delayed for three months, and the most disastrous consequences, arson, dacoities, &c., ensued.

In 1863 the crop was good.

No. 15.—Baboo Poorosotum Patnaik, *Sherishtadar, Collectorate, Pooree.*

Baboo Poorosotum Patnaik.

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866.]

21 Dec. 1866.

I am an inhabitant of Khoorda, in Pooree zillah, and have been for 28 years Sheristadar of Pooree. I have never known such a famine. Once there was scarcity, but people didn't then die from want. I believe there was an unnochatro in Cuttack, but in this zillah there was no Government aid then. I know nothing of what happened then in Cuttack. I never heard of the famine of 1200. The crops of 1865 failed almost entirely (loss = three-fourths) owing to drought. At that time there were not large stocks, but here and there some few people had large stores. There were not enough stores to feed the people. It wasn't believed that more than two or three persons had large stocks. Mr. Barlow sent out Mr. Livesay, Assistant Collector, and the Deputy Collector to inquire into the losses in the khas mehals, but not in the whole district. There was no investigation into the state of the produce of the whole zillah, only into that of the khas mehals. No order came from the Board to inquire into the general state of the crops; on the contrary, an order came forbidding us to make such inquiry. We were only told to inquire into the state of khas mehals in the actual possession of Government. We were forbidden to inquire into the state of khas mehals in which zemindars had refused kaboolyats, and which were settled with surbrakars, as well as into the state of zemindaree estates. This inquiry was forbidden, because the Board decided that the malgoozars had no claim to remission. There was no inquiry with a view to ascertain whether there was enough rice for the population. In the khas mehals works were opened to give employment to their inhabitants. From November we thought people would die. In January prices got a little easier on account of the grain coming into the market, but then we didn't think people would escape. In March and April people began to die fast. In February also some died, towards Gope, from starvation and also from cholera. In Chowbeescood and Rahan they also were dying in February; but not in Pooree city itself, at least not more than one or two. In October we all made a representation to the Deputy Collector Ramakhoy. The Collector then was in Cuttack. When he came we told him. In the months immediately following we made no special representations; but the officers were then alive to the state of the country, and Mr. Barlow made a report. I don't remember the exact date. When the Lieutenant Governor came, there was no regular inquiry into the state of things here. Some people had interviews; amongst them, I. Mr. Cockburn was standing in the verandah of the cutcherry, knew me, and called me. The poor from Chowbeescood also raised a cry, and showed the roots, &c., they were living on. Mr. Cockburn took the roots and showed them to the Lieutenant Governor. The Lieutenant Governor talked to me of the former and present state of the district. I told him that we had never had such a famine. I said the people were now dying. I did not specially say what proportion of the crop had failed. I merely stated generally that there had been a failure of the crop, and that people were dying. I didn't talk about the stocks, whether they were large or not. I don't know of any suggestion having been made to import grain. I made no such suggestion, nor did any one, as far as I heard, assure the Lieutenant Governor that there were large stocks. The Lieutenant Governor only remained here one day, and there was no special investigation into the question of scarcity. A subscription was after that got up by the Collector. That was in February.

(Being asked if he could suggest why it was that the Collector, in the relief committee of the 25th February, represented the distress as of great magnitude, and the funds as small and not enough to meet the same, but on the 5th March following reported that no further aid on the part of Government was necessary, says:) The Collector did not explain this to me. The only reason which occurs to me is, that there was some importation of grain from Ganjam at that time. I am unable to explain why it was that the Collector was excessively hot about relief measures, and sent emergent telegrams in November, but did not do so later in the season when matters were getting worse. I don't know whether Mr. Barlow sent any emergent telegrams or letters in March or April: but I have heard that afterwards he wrote to the papers. The worst of the famine was in May and June, in the hot weather. The subsequent mortality was less than in the two previous months. In the rains, some jungle fruits and such like were produced; some people, doubtless, suffered from eating them, but others managed to survive on them. In the Khoorda district, people managed to survive for three or four months on jungle produce. The Government rice had also then arrived. When the Government rice arrived, it was sent into the interior promptly, and the mortality abated in consequence, but did not cease altogether. The arrangements were not such as that everybody could benefit by the relief. Some of the people were distant from the centres, and there was great trouble owing to the breaking down of the carts. There were, comparatively, few places which boats could reach, and carts were difficult to get in sufficient quantities, and to get them along was difficult, owing to the state of the roads and the rains. Later, when godowns were well established, more relief was given. Things got better, and deaths abated somewhat in September; in October and September some grain of the Beallee and Sarud (chota dhan) came into the market. I never knew of any want of Government rice being felt from the time when the first ships came, except for about 15 or 20 days on one occasion. There are only two large zemindars in the district, and the rest are small. There is no permanent settlement except in one estate (Murichpoor). The ryots are good and hard-working; the zemindars, with the exception of two or three persons, generally spend what they have got; they don't save much. Before the famine the ryots

Baboo Poorosotum Patnaik.

21 Dec. 1866.

generally were not much in debt. They, generally, only got advances for the year, and paid them off at the end of the year, and a few, perhaps two out of sixteen, had something saved. It wasn't possible, from the difficulty of carriage, which I have explained, to make better arrangements for bringing the relief to the people than were made. I have heard that the Governor of Madras went about, and wherever he found four paupers in a house, he estimated what they wanted for a month, and ordered it to be given them, and gave them charpoys; he went from house to house. I have heard of this from people who came from that quarter, and from the mookhtear of the Ranee of Goomsar. In this district there is very little beallee, but much sarud crops. I estimate that five-eighths of the beallee of the present year was lost by floods, and three-eighths of the sarud. I conjecture that half of the people of the district have died (*produces a police estimate, exclusive of hospital deaths*). Many people died late in the season from injury to their stomachs when they got grain. If there had been no inundation, perhaps, one in sixteen of those who have died would have been saved. The mortality from cholera I reckon to have been double that from the same cause in an ordinary year. The better castes of people who were fed at the unnochatros will not be re-admitted to the privileges of caste; but those belonging to lower castes will be able to get theirs back again by giving feasts.

Mr. Thompson.

21 Dec. 1866.

No. 16.—Mr. Thompson, District Superintendent of Police, *Pooree.*

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866.]

I have been here since October last [produces the diaries kept by Mr. Lacey, the former District Superintendent.] I wasn't out into the district on the 18th November. The famine had then, it seemed to me, ceased. The people were crowding to some of the unnochatros, and others were closing. The country appeared to me very much depopulated. In some places I remarked scarcely 20 out of 100 houses standing. The worst place seemed to be the shores of the Chilka. There, however, some of the population have survived; taking the whole district, so far as I have seen, three-fourths of the whole population have gone, but I have only seen the parts to the west. There, however, they have had a good harvest this year; but still many fields appeared to be untilled, I suppose from want of population and want of seed.

Mr. H. C. B. C. Raban, c.s.

21 Dec. 1866.

No. 17.—Mr. H. C. B. C. Raban, c.s., officiating Magistrate and Collector, *Pooree.*

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866].

I am Magistrate and Collector (Officiating) of Pooree. To the best of my recollection I landed on the 6th October.

The famine operations were actively being prosecuted. The system had slightly suffered from Mr. Barlow's absence, as the control of them had almost entirely been concentrated in his hands. The department of accounts was in some confusion, and there was some giving of relief to improper objects in the town; but there was no diminution of actual relief as far as the mass of the people was concerned. When I arrived there was an apprehension of the stores of rice in hand falling short, but our relief operations were never checked generally. The only thing that was checked was the Government sales. At one or two relief centres a temporary difficulty was felt, owing to the carelessness of mohurrirs in not giving timely notice of requirements, and the difficulties of transport and communication. There was heavy rain about the 23rd October. I have been to Cuttack and to Khoorda, and up to the boundary of the district on the sea-coast on the Cuttack side. When I arrived there was actual starvation amongst the people coming in, and when I returned from Cuttack, on the 28th October, I saw three cases of persons by the road-side who would have died had they not been helped. I also heard reports of deaths.

From what I have seen I should say that the relief operations in this district have been very successful, and have saved numbers of lives. Besides the unnochatros, Government grain shops were established at several places in the interior; and I am satisfied, from what I heard in every village, that this measure was productive of the best consequences by enabling persons, who had money, to buy. On the east side of the district, near the sea, I noticed great signs of depopulation. I have been informed by Mr. Currie that about Gope there are many signs of depopulation, but I myself have not struck so far inland. In a small tract in the eastern corner of the Gope Thannah, which I examined, I estimated the deaths at one-half of the population, but that was a bad case. It had suffered severely both from drought and flood. I should say that, taking the whole district, 25 per cent. have perished. I can only speak confidently as regards the tract I myself visited. The information, on the whole, is very imperfect. In those villages which had been affected by the flood, I was informed that the greatest positive mortality occurred previous to the flood, but that the most rapid rate of mortality was during and immediately subsequent to the floods.

I cannot form an estimate as to the exact proportion of deaths due respectively to the droughts and floods.

No. 18.—Baboo Rambuggun Ram, of *Pooree.*

Baboo Rambuggun Ram.

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866].

21 Dec. 1866.

I am a Marwaree merchant. I have been 25 years in Pooree. I deal in cloths and rice only. I have dealt in rice this year only since April. Finding rice very scarce in Pooree, I went in April to Gopalpoor, which is a large rice mart, and bought 100 two-maund bags of coarse Arwa rice (Calcutta weight), at 8 rupees a bag. I brought it by cart from Gopalpoor to Rambah on the Chilka Lake; from Rambah to Nursingpatna in a boat, and thence to Pooree in carts. I sold it in bags and in small quantities at 9 rupees and *Rs.* 9. 4. a bag (*Rs.* 4. 8. or *Rs.* 4. 10. per Calcutta maund). It was all sold the very day I arrived in Pooree.

In May I went to Gopalpoor again, and brought 100 bags at 9 rupees and *Rs.* 9. 9. a bag. I sold them at 10 rupees a bag in Pooree. I had no capital with which to buy more at a time, otherwise I should have done so. This was also sold immediately. There was no rice in the bazaar. I did not go to Gopalpoor again till August, when I bought 100 bags at 10 rupees a bag; some of this was wet in transit, and some stolen. On that investment, I lost 50 per cent., so I did not import any more. The new rice of the early crop had come in, and prices were lower at Pooree. I know that many merchants lost in the same way when the new crop came in. Before this year, the merchants from the south used to carry off rice from this district; but this year in February they began to import it into Pooree. They went on importing regularly till September, when the new crop (beallee) came in. Mahajuns from Pooree used to import also in the same way from Gopalpoor. These imports saved the people from starvation. The imports made by Government in no way interfered with these imports. Both the Government rice and that imported by traders was eagerly consumed at once. There was no attempt to limit the rates at which merchants should sell. In Pooree, there was no considerable mortality from want till May. I cannot say whether the mohunts and other such people held any considerable quantity of grain; certainly they did not give it out in great quantities.

There is no rice of last year selling in the bazaar now. There has been none at all selling during the last month or six weeks. I believe there is none or scarcely any in the place.

No. 19.—Baboo Latchua Patur, of *Pooree.*

Baboo Latchua Patur.

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866.]

21 Dec. 1866.

I am a Koomtee by caste. My country is Ganjam; but I have been in Pooree 20 years. I import grain, &c., from Ganjam district. I have never imported till this year. This year I imported rice from March till April. In March and April I bought rice in Ganjam at 8 rupees per bag of two maunds, and sold it at the rate of *Rs.* 8. 8. and *Rs.* 9. 8. a bag. The price rose gradually up to 11 rupees in September. I lost considerably by the last investment, because the new rice had come into the bazaar. Government rice had also come into the town. I lost about 100 rupees in an investment of 1,000 rupees. From March to September, there was a considerable import from Ganjam, both by Ganjam and Pooree merchants. Till September, the rice I brought was immediately sold; there was a rush for it. I heard that mohunts and rich people in town had some rice, but cannot say how much. There was no attempt made to interfere with the rates at which I sold. The Government importation did not check our imports. In Assin (September 1866), the only rice of 1865 to be got in the bazaar was that which had been imported in the course of the year from Ganjam. There was no local rice to be got. At the end of Kartick (October, November,) the new rice crop having come into the market, a small quantity of Pooree district rice of the crop of 1865 was also brought into the market; but no great quantity. I do not know what it was in the second half of November; but I know that there is very little old rice of the district to be got in the market now. In December, after the new crop came in, some of the old rice which had been imported from Ganjam was taken back to Ganjam.

No. 20.—Baboo Goopee Pundah Brahmin, of *Pooree.*

Baboo Goopee Pundah Brahmin.

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866.]

21 Dec. 1866.

I have been ten years in Pooree, and trade in cloth. This year I have imported rice from Ganjam. I bought it at first at 8 rupees a bag, and imported 4,000 bags (about), and sold the rice readily. In September the only old rice in the bazaar was Ganjam rice. I do not know whether any old rice of the Pooree district has since come into the market, nor whether there is any to be got in the market now, as I have given up the rice trade. There was no attempt at any time to interfere with my rates of sales.

Baboo Khetribur Bhugwan Rat Sing.

21 Dec. 1866.

No. 21.—Baboo Khetribur Bhugwan Rat Sing, Zemindar of *Kotdes*.

[Examined at Pooree, 21st December 1866.]

I pay a revenue of 81,000 rupees per annum. My estate contains 71,000 acres of cultivated land. It has 699 villages. In September 1865, they contained 103,500 men, women, and children. This has been ascertained by census in September 1866. Out of this number, 30,500 had died up to September 1866, and 73,000 remained, The ryots began to die in March; they are still dying in small numbers now (in December). Mortality was greatest in June and July. Inundations took place in August. About three-fourths of the entire mortality had taken place before the inundations. If there had been no inundation, I believe nearly one-fourth of the deaths would not have occurred. In 1863 the crop was good. In 1864 about sixteenths of the crops were lost through want of rain. In 1865 three-fourths of the beallee crop were lost through drought; and the same proportion of the sarud crop was lost all over my estate. There was no cold weather crop at all in 1865–66; it was not even sown on account of want of rain; for the beallee crop of 1866 only half the usual breadth of land was sown for want of seed and of men. Of the quantity sown, about half was ruined by the inundations. For the sarud crop of 1866 only three-fourths of the breadth of land was sown for the same reasons. Out of the crops sown much was lost by inundations. The crop has been about half of an average crop. Antorodh suffered more than Kotdes from drought. The people who died from cholera were not more than in an ordinary year. There was not much rice stored about my estate by anyone.

In consequence of the short crop in 1864, I had less rice in my stores just before the sarud crop of 1865 was cut than I usually have at that time of the year,—about one-fourth the usual quantity,—because the ryots to whom I had advanced rice were not able to repay me out of the crop of 1864. In April, May, and June 1866, I gave some for seed to be repaid without interest, some I gave to be repaid at 25 per cent. interest out of the sarud crop, and some I sold to pay my revenue. I gave a little in charity to the paupers. My rice lasted about three months, and then I was obliged to stop issues, as I had no more left than enough for my own requirements.

The Government rice saved lives, but it came too late. I am of opinion that five-eighths of the whole mortality had taken place before the Government rice arrived in the district. In my estate nothing was done till August; then a centre of relief was established at Roir Bazaar. About 100 paupers only went there for food. Before that, the rest had died or migrated to Gope, Cuttack, and other centres. These were people of the lower castes and classes; the more respectable, who would not seek food at the centres, died in their houses. The centre at Roir Bazaar should have been opened in April or May; then 600 or 700 would have attended it. In September, about 200 maunds of rice were sent for sale to Neemapana. Besides this, nothing was done in my estate, which is 24 miles in length and 20 in breadth. More should have been done in the way of relief centres and sales. The census was made by my farmers, holders of under-tenures, &c. They did not give in lists of names, but each returned the population and deaths of each village.

The mortality in Thannah Gope, in the north-east corner of the Pooree district, was, I hear, much greater than in my estate. I understand that about half the population there have died. Paupers from that quarter came wandering into my estate, about March and April. Next to Malood and Parricood, the greatest distress was in Gope.

West of my estates, in Khoorda, things were better than in my estates.

I caused the enumeration of deaths and population to be made for the purpose of giving an account of the state of things in a petition to the Collector in connection with remission of revenue.

Baboo Shib Persaud Sing.

26 Dec. 1866.

No. 22.—Baboo Shib Persaud Sing, Moonsiff, *Kendraparah*.

[Examined at Cuttack, 26th December 1866.]

I am an inhabitant of Balasore district, and have been a Moonsiff 19 years, principally employed in Orissa. I was appointed to Pooree in 1862, and remained there till April 1866. From 22nd October to 22nd November, I was on leave at my home in Pergunnah Katyah, in the subdivision of Jajpoor. I knew that the crops had failed before I left Pooree, but heard no serious apprehensions of a famine either at Pooree nor while on leave at Jajpoor. The state of things which has occurred was not then anticipated in either district. On my return to Pooree, I heard of the scarcity in Malood and Parricood, and that people were beginning to die there for want of food. The Collector, Mr. Barlow, was at that time raising a subscription for relief purposes. I told the Collector my opinion that such a subscription would be totally insufficient for the requirements, and suggested that measures, such as were taken by Mr. Ricketts, in Balasore, in 1239 and 1240, should be adopted, viz., that works should be undertaken on a large scale, centres for gratuitous relief opened, and rice imported from Calcutta for sale. I was in Balasore in 1239–40, and witnessed these measures. Tuccavee advances were then also given to the zemindars for the benefit of their estates, and recovered by instalments. The scarcity of 1240 was caused by inundation. I also recommended that labour should be paid for in grain rather than in cash. The Collector made recommendations to Government in accordance with these suggestions. The Government ordered the Public Works Department to take in hand the metalling of the Khoorda

Khoorda and Ganjam Road, and tanks were also commenced in the Satparah Government estate, which is about four miles from Malood and Parricood. These were undertaken towards the close of February. The people began to leave Malood and Parricood late in November, and flocked into Pooree. There were a few deaths before February; but the great mortality began in that month. The mortality in Satparah did not begin till late in March. The people there found employment and support in loading and weighing salt, which was then being purchased in quantities by dealers from Cuttack, in which district the stores of Government salt have been used up.

Baboo Shib Persaud Sing.

26 Dec. 1866.

The mortality in Chowbeescood, Seraee, Limbhai, and other pergunnahs in the south of Pooree district, cannot be said to have set in till late in March or beginning of April. In those pergunnahs the Beeree (Kelaie) and Dalo rice crops had done something to support the people; but in Malood and Parricood no crop but the cold weather rice is grown, and that had been entirely destroyed by the drought. In parts of the north-east of the district (Thannah Gope), the mortality began about the same time as in Chowbeescood; but the famine was never so severe there as in Malood and Parricood. The money collected by subscriptions was dealt out to the families who were reported deserving of relief by the canongoes and zemindars.

The people who had flocked into Pooree began to die at the same time; but there had been no great mortality before I left in April. The re-digging of the Nurendree tank had been undertaken in the town by popular subscription in order to give employment.

Up to the time when I left, no relief houses had been opened, the subscription money only was distributed to families. The mohunts also fed paupers on mohapershad. Some of the mohunts had considerable stores of rice, and I believe have them still; but I do not believe that all the grain in the Pooree district would have supported the whole population till the early crop was cut. There was still more rice stored in the Cuttack and Balasore districts, and I believe if that had all been made available it would have sufficed to support the population not only for one year, but for two. I can point out persons even now who have large stores of old rice—Roghnath Dass, of Cuttack and Kotdes; Mohunt Mohun Dass, of Pooree; Mohunt, Chuckerbutty Dass, and Gowresham Jena, of Kendraparah. Gowresham Jena and his brother Radhasham Narindra used to give grain out to their tenants all through on loan. Roghnath Dass sold a little; so did Mohunt Mohun Dass. I never had any conversation with the Commissioner of Cuttack on the subject of the stores of rice till about a month ago when he visited Kendraparah. The cause of the scarcity was that the ryots had sold so much of the crop of previous years to exporters; those near the sea coast particularly had drained themselves. The crop of 1865 being so short but little was exported; very little more than what was due to the exporters on advances which had been made before. I believe that the zemindars who held their rice did so *bonâ fide* in the apprehension that their supplies might run short for their own requirements and those of their tenants and dependents. When I reached Kendraparah in the Cuttack district on the 30th April, I found matters worse there than I had left them. In Pooree Koojung and Atkhuntah pergunnahs were, in my opinion, as badly off as Malood, or very nearly. The portions near the sea had produced no crop at all. Many of the people were migrating to Killa Dhankanul, where there had been good crops, and where the Rajah was trying to attract settlers. Many people from the interior had also flocked into Kendraparah, which is a considerable bazar, and where several rich people reside. In the interior people began to die in May, chiefly in consequence of feeding on unwholesome leaves and weeds. In Kendraparah itself they did not begin to die till June. In July and August there was great mortality in Kendraparah. I did not hear of much mortality in the Mofussil. The population of the parts which were worst off had migrated to Calcutta and elsewhere. Till June nothing was done for the Kendraparah sub-division. No labour was provided either by Government or by private individuals. The Zemindars, Deputy Collector, Moonsiff, and others were feeding the poor on cooked rice; but there was no organised relief. In my opinion 400 or 500 people had died at Kendraparah town before the end of June. There was cholera; but it was confined almost entirely (though not quite) to the destitute, who were living on unwholesome food.

Just at the end of May about 30 carts of rice were sent to Kendraparah from Cuttack, and a relief committee was organised in the town. Cooked rice was distributed, perhaps, to 500 or 600 people. We could only give them very little each, as we had not enough rice. About the middle of June we received a supply of rice from False Point; some little for sale at 5 seers per rupee, and a good deal for relief operations. We opened no other centre till August, when Mr. Kirkwood came out and selected six other places within eight miles of one another, at which centres were then opened.

It would been more convenient for the people if these centres had been opened earlier; but I cannot say that the want of them caused any loss of life. Those who were really destitute could always come, and I believe they did come to Kendraparah. As the season progressed, the number of persons who had parted with their all, and become paupers, increased. Hence there was greater necessity for a number of centres scattered about the interior. Notwithstanding that the people were fed better than was their wont at the centres, deaths were numerous, and, even now, are going on in spite of all that is being done in the way of medical care, &c. The reason is that Ooryahs cling so closely to caste and respectability, they would not come to the centres for public charity until they were in the last stage of debility, so far gone that they could not be recovered. Many people of other than the lowest castes, and even many women of the lowest castes, died in their houses rather than come out for relief. For the future welfare of the tracts which suffered most in Pooree and Cuttack, there is absolutely no expedient except the revival of the salt

Baboo Shib Persaud Sing.

26 Dec. 1866.

manufacture by Government. Nothing was done, or could be done, in the Kendraparah district, till the end of the rains to give employment to the people, the country being under water. A month ago the Commissioners went out and started many relief works.

Kendraparah is under water every year; but this year it was much worse than usual. The Aul Rajah does not keep up his embankments properly, hence the country was flooded this year. Some of the Executive Engineers' embankments also broke. In Koojung, Atkhuntah, and Teekan, I am of opinion that three-fourths both of the Beallee and Sarud crop of 1866 have been ruined by the inundation. In the rest of Kendraparah sub-division not more than one-fourth has been injured. If there had been no inundation this year, perhaps one-sixteenth of the people who have died would have escaped. I was in Pooree to April 14th, but did not go out towards the Chilka. My knowledge of Chowbescood, Limbhai, and Seraee is derived from what I heard from the Deputy Collector in charge of the Government estate, and others. More of the lower classes died than of the higher, because, when driven to support themselves on roots and unwholesome things, the more respectable people ate sparingly, but the lower classes ate plentifully, and died in consequence.

Mr. W. C. Lacey.

26 Dec. 1866.

No. 23.—Mr. W. C. Lacey, District Superintendent of Police, *Cuttack*.

[Examined at Cuttack, 26 December 1866.]

I was in Pooree as District Superintendent from 1863 till October 1866. I am thoroughly acquainted with the country and language of Orissa. I was in Cuttack on duty in the first part of October 1865, and commenced my cold weather tour in the Pooree district in November. I went *viâ* Khoorda to Tanghy and into Banpoor, and thence round by Malood and Parricood, and so into Pooree, which I reached about the 25th November. I remained in the station all December, and went out again early in January to the north-east of the District Gope, &c. Was out about 20 days, and then returned to Pooree, and accompanied the Lieutenant Governor to Cuttack about the middle of February. Remained there about 10 days, returned to Pooree, and towards the end of March, or early in April, went out towards Khoorda on police duty, and was out a week. During my first tour in November, I did not find the crops about Khoorda so bad as I saw them in other places, nor was so much distress apparent. In Malood and Parricood there had been total destruction of crops. The people were starving; but up to that time there had been but little mortality. From Parricood I came into Pooree along the sands, and did not see the crops. I sent in bi-weekly reports to the magistrate. I sent these to the magistrate of my own motion during my first tour, and my impression is that I sent some during subsequent tours; but I am not certain. I also recorded what I saw in my police diaries, which are submitted to the Deputy Inspector General. The Deputy Inspector General sends any extracts which he thinks proper for the information of the Inspector General, and returns the originals to the District Superintendent with his remarks. Major Gordon is Deputy Inspector General of this circle, which comprises all Orissa, and also several districts in Bengal. He succeeded Major Paterson towards the end of 1865. My impression is that the Deputy Inspector General visited Orissa in 1865, or in the early part of 1866; it was after the tightness in prices had set in. I do not know for certain where the Inspector General was during the hot weather, but I believe in the hills. When I returned to Pooree in December, paupers in small numbers were dropping in. All through December I received bad accounts from Malood, Parricood, and other pergunnahs on the Chilka Lake. Distress was also beginning to be felt in other parts; dacoities, as a general rule, do not occur in the Pooree district, but they began in November. They went on continually from that time, and did not cease in December and January. I do not remember how prices were in those months; but the police made special periodical returns of prices at certain marts to the magistrate. When I went out in January towards Thannah Gope, distress was beginning to be felt, as also in Kotdes. I did not go through the worst part of Gope. They had some crops in the part which I visited; but I could not then judge how much Kotdes was better off than Gope.

I do not remember to what particular quarter of the district my report of the 24th January regarding distress and starvation refers. I cannot explain how it happens that on the 24th January I reported rice to be selling at 6¼ Cuttack seers, while the Board returns for the week ending 27th January give 10¼ Calcutta seers, but I believe my own figures to be correct. At that time the feeling of the people in the country, as far as they expressed it to me, was that a famine was certain. The allusion to "famine and pestilence decimating that part of the country" in my diary, dated Tuesday the 30th January, relates to the Gope division. The following passage in the diary of the 31st January—"The town is full of wandering beggars coming from the Mofussil to beg or steal as may be; lots of children in the same condition"—relates to people driven in by famine. Many cases of arson occurred about that time in Khoorda and Banpoor, actuated, according to my impression, by malice against the holders who refused to advance or sell rice. When in my diary, 2nd February 1866, I used the words, "Rice 7 seers per rupee; I fear it will be 3 or 4 seers before we have got through the next six months; a terrible famine is now certain"—it was based on my opinion, formed from what I had heard and seen. I think that opinion was shared by the native community to a very large extent, but not universally. Some of them talked as

if

if they thought there were large stores of grain. Those who talked in this way were the poorer classes anxious to buy grain, and who could not get it.

I do not think the other European officers took so serious a view as I did. I think the general impression among them was that there was grain in the country. In February things were going on from bad to worse. In the Lake pergunnahs they were very bad. In Gope not so much so, but still very bad. In my diary, 27th February, I record great mortality. There were many deaths in Pooree which were put down to cholera. I have no doubt that starvation accelerated that disease. I went to meet the Lieutenant Governor when he arrived at Pooree in February. I did not report personally to his honor the state of the district. I was not asked any questions about it by him.

Q. Did you not think it your duty, holding so strong an opinion as you did regarding the famine, present and impending, to bring that opinion to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor?—*A.* I was in constant communication with Mr. Barlow, and he was fully in possession of my views. I had also some conversation on the subject with Mr. Cockburn. I cannot, however, say that I expressed my opinion to Mr. Cockburn in the precise terms used in my diary; but I am quite sure that I had not altered that opinion. The general tenor of my remarks must have been in accordance with those expressed in my diary of 2nd February. As far as I could gather, Mr. Cockburn's impression was that my opinion was too strong, and that there were stores of grain in the country.

I do not know that Mr. Barlow gave any opinion contrary to mine; I did not hear him express any decided opinion at that time.

I was a member of the relief committee. I did not recollect any special discussion or resolution regarding the existence, or otherwise, of large stores in the country.

I have no means of estimating with any approach to accuracy the yield of the crops of 1865; but, in my opinion, a yield of one-third may be taken as the maximum; the Khoorda crop being tolerably good; but in other parts of the district the crop was very much worse. I recollect a discussion in the relief committee regarding the necessity of appealing to the public for aid. So far as I remember, it was settled that Mr. Barlow was to write to the English papers, but he did not do so for some time. I cannot account for the delay; my impression is that it was due to an oversight.

In March things became worse than in February; but the transition from scarcity to famine was so gradual that I cannot undertake to fix the period at which the line was passed. When I went from Pooree to Khoorda at the end of March, I travelled by night. I do not recollect much about the country between those places. Beyond Khoorda I heard a good deal of the famine, but did not see many signs of it. Crime continued to spread in March and April.

Q. In the police diaries for March and April, which have been received by us from Pooree, as containing the allusions to the famine, we have found less frequent and decided references to the famine than in the months previous to the end of February; can you account for this?—*A.* The previous diaries were written when I was on a tour in the country, and personally aware of the state of things. In March and April I was not much out, and I had also much office work; but I was always in constant communication with the magistrate. My opinion certainly was that matters were then getting worse and worse.

Q. On the 30th April you made some very strong remarks in your diary, urging the absolute necessity of Government acting in the matter, recording the great mortality and great increase of dacoity by large gangs of starving men, expressing your opinion that a gloomy time was coming, and suggesting import of grain; was that record of your opinion carried to the magistrate of the district.—*A.* Not to the magistrate of the district, but direct to the Deputy Inspector General. I do not know where the Deputy Inspector General then was, nor where the Inspector General then was. Most certainly the substance of all I then wrote was then communicated to the magistrate. I cannot exactly say what the magistrate's view then was; the magistrate was then living next door to me. Having communicated to the magistrate and Deputy Inspector General, I did not think that any further special communication was necessary. I was not aware at the time that in March, Mr. Barlow had written to Government to say that no further remedial measures were necessary. I cannot say when the European officers became convinced that a serious famine was impending over the country. I think the worst period of famine was that before the Government stores of rice had arrived. I think the Government rice, to a very great extent, abated the famine; but I should say that it would be found, from first to last, that of those who received it as many died as were saved, in consequence of their previous exhausted state. From the time when the Government rice arrived, I do not think there was enough for the whole district; but there was sufficient for the operations then being carried on. Had there been more rice, the operations might have been largely extended. Had there been more rice, I should have extended the number of shops for the sale of rice, and I should have sold below market rates. I think the relief centres for the gratuitous distribution of food to the indigent were sufficient. I think that if there had been more shops for the sale of cheap rice, more people would have found means of purchasing. So far as I ever saw at the relief centres, food was always given to the really indigent who came for it; but I had nothing to do with the management of these centres, or with the arrangements for forwarding the rice. If there had been more rice, I think there might have been difficulty in forwarding it; possibly with great efforts it might have been overcome, but I cannot say for certain. I had a good deal to do with the landing of the rice. I think that all was done that could have been done. I don't know enough of the means

Mr. W. C. Lacey.

26 Dec. 1866.

used for forwarding the rice into the interior of the country, to give a general opinion whether the arrangements were efficient. I visited at different times the several relief centres. I consider that the arrangements connected with them were generally efficient. Some weeks before I left, the magistrate desired me to make inquiries regarding the mortality, and a rough census of the previous and present population was made by the police. Police officers were sent to ascertain, as well as they could by local inquiries, what the number of families was before and after the famine. I have no means of judging how far the returns were correct. When I came back to Cuttack, these returns had been sent in. I do not think these were so carefully prepared for that district as the Pooree ones.

If there had been more relief centres, the lives of some people, who could not reach the existing centres, might have been saved; but I think the disadvantages on the other side would have preponderated, owing to the difficulty of supply and management. But in the early days of the famine, I advocated out-door relief by an allowance of money to destitute families; and although I was in a minority, and ceased to urge that measure after it was stopped, I have throughout continued to be of opinion that that mode of relief might have been advantageously adopted. I think the distribution of money would have been much easier than the distribution of rice, and that the recipients might have bought from the Government shops. During the famine the greatest mortality has been among the lower classes, *i.e.*, the classes who are not themselves farmers but labour for others.

The mortality among the ryots has also been large, but not nearly in so great a proportion; the mortality among them occurred later in the season, as they had some stores of grain. In July, I think that most of the cultivators had not sufficient rice for their own use. Most of the ryots here are Thanee ryots. I can't say whether there was any distinction between these and the Pye ryots.

I think that the measures started early in the year for relief were efficient so far as they went. The Khoordah and Pipley Road afforded a great measure of relief to the people of that and the surrounding parts. At first there was nothing started in Grope, but afterwards a road was put in hand. Some of the lower classes—the Baoorees and such like—seem to me to be almost extinct in the Pooree district.

Q. Much of the mortality has been attributed to the prejudice of the better classes against leaving their homes for labour and against going to the unnochatros for food; it might thence have been supposed that the better castes would have suffered more than the lower, when labour in the early part of the season, and both labour and food in the latter part, were available to the classes not influenced by caste prejudices. How do you account for the excess of mortality in those last-mentioned classes?—*A.* The mortality among the lower classes commenced much earlier, and my opinion is, that among them a great deal of the evil had been done before efficient measures for relief had been organised. Even later in the day, great mortality continued among these classes; they came to the centres in large numbers, but still great many of them died.

I think that the ryots of this part of the country labour tolerably well, but that they are generally on the whole very improvident; but I have not had an opportunity of comparing them with the ryots of the other parts of the country. There is, however, a proportion of provident men among them. The general character of the zemindars is, in my opinion, very bad. I cannot compare them with the ryots, because they are very bad in a different way. They are very fond of squeezing every penny of rent out of the ryots at the earliest hour, and are guilty of a great many other exactions at the same time. They do not assist their ryots in any way. I should say the old Orissa zemindars, and the proprietors of what are called the Killa-jat, are, without exception, grossly improvident; many of them have been sold out. Among the new zemindars, that is to say, the purchasers, there are some who are rich; but most of them are also improvident and partake of the same character as the others.

The surburakars and mokuddums are also very fond of squeezing the ryots. In the famine, so far as has come to my knowledge, very little assistance has been given by the zemindars to the pauper population, or to their own ryots. The only exception to my personal knowledge, as far as I can recall, is the Rajah of Parricood. I was born at Pooree, and, with the exception of a few years in England, I have been in the Pooree and Cuttack districts all my life. The remarks in the latter part of my examination apply equally to both those districts. It would be very difficult to trace any improvement of their estates due to the zemindars during all the period that I have known these districts.

I don't think that if it had been possible to throw into the market and distribute all the rice of the Pooree district, it would have sufficed to carry the people through until the Beallee crop came to maturity, even if that crop had not been destroyed by the inundations. I am not aware that old rice has come into the market largely since the Sarud crop was cut. Comparing the ryots in the Killa-jat with those in the Moghul-bundee estates, I should say that those in the latter are, on an average, better off. The Killa-jats are the estates on a permanent quit-rent; Moghul-bundee estates are those temporarily settled. I attribute the inferior condition of the ryots in the Killa-jat estates to the greater license possessed by the zemindars and rajahs of those estates. These latter have no actual legal power; but there is an absence of law, there is no settlement, and they practically exercise much greater power in the matter of ousting tenants and in all matters. The Thanee ryots have not the same security in their own estates that these ryots have in the Moghul-bundee estates.

No. 24.—Reverend William Miller.

Rev. W. Miller.

[Examined at Cuttack, 26th December 1866.]

26 Dec. 1866.

I am a Missionary of the Orissa Baptist Mission, and have been a resident of Cuttack and Pooree districts for 20 years. I have been in Orissa during the whole of the famine.

In January 1866 I went out in the east of the Cuttack district; was out 14 days; was out again in the end of January and part of February in the tributary mehals, west of Cuttack. In March and April was at Cuttack, and visited Piply monthly; was at Pooree from 6th May to 7th of June.

About the end of October no rice was procurable in the Cuttack bazaar. On the 28th Mr. Buckley and I went to Jobra, about a mile out of the town, and found two boats half-loaded with rice; found a large crowd collected there trying to buy, but the mahajun was afraid to give it out, as the quantity was limited and the crowd disorderly. Mr. Buckley and I succeeded in inducing the mahajun to sell at eight Cuttack seers for the rupee to the people. Altogether there was a great want of rice in Cuttack all through November. In December, when the crops were cut, a little more came in; but in that month even and January the quantity available was very limited. I estimate the crop in the Cuttack district at about one-third of a full crop. There was no doubt among the natives that the crops of 1865 had failed. Up to a certain time the promise was very good (up to the end of September); after that they were ruined by the drought. Soon after the end of September, I remember hearing the people in a village say that two or three days would decide whether the crop would be a first-rate one, or a complete failure.

As to whether there was a large supply of old grain in the Cuttack district, the opinion of the natives was divided; but I think the belief that there was a large supply of grain preponderated, and that it was generally said that it would be forthcoming if the Government would put on a little pressure.

This opinion was not confined to the lowest orders; it was also held by respectable persons, such as the better members of our Christian community, on whose judgment I place reliance. It was not generally believed that the stocks in the Pooree district were as large as those in Cuttack. My own opinion was that there were considerable stocks of old grain in the district. Roghoo Nath Chowdhry, especially, was known to hold large stocks in different parts; but I never thought that the stocks would suffice to carry the people through till the next crop should come in. In January it was generally anticipated that matters would get worse in the spring, because rice ordinarily is at its lowest in January, and from the rate which ruled in that month we drew the conclusion. In January and February people felt the pressure of high prices severely; but there was no actual famine and no mortality from starvation, as far as I am aware, in Cuttack or about Piply, I did not observe any emaciation in those months. In March things were worse; and by the beginning of April deaths from starvation had begun about Piply, in the north-west of the Pooree district; but I do not recollect that any such deaths were brought to my notice as having occurred in the town of Cuttack up to the end of April. By the end of April I was shocked by the altered general appearance of the people about Piply. My opinion decidedly is that there was much active famine about Piply and the Pooree district during the month of April. In the Cuttack district even, when I was out in January, I believed that the existing state of things was very near a famine. I do not remember having any direct communication with the Commissioner on the subject up to April; possibly Mr. Buckley, the senior missionary, communicated with him. I believe that the first appeal to the public was made by Messrs. Sykes & Co., on information originally derived from Mr. Buckley and from Mr. Phillips of Jellasore. Looking back at circumstances as they occurred, I now believe that I and all others who thought seriously of the matter must have been impressed as early as the beginning of February, or even the end of January, with the idea that it would be necessary that rice should be imported by some agency to enable the people to exist until the next crop came in; but I do not remember any formal discussion being held among ourselves as to the necessity of moving the officials to act towards importing. We thought that they had full information on the subject, and that they were minding their own business. I was not aware up to May whether the officials were or were not taking steps to import rice. I do not remember ever urging on any of them the necessity of importing, nor do I remember any remarks being passed among ourselves as to their backwardness in making arrangements towards importation. I was not then aware that they were backward.

When I reached Pooree on the 6th May, I found things much worse than I had left them in Cuttack. There were in the town a large and increasing number of people who had come in from the district. I never saw such objects in my life. I saw many who were at death's door, and many deaths were occurring. These were paupers who had recently flocked into Pooree from the Mofussil. A day or two after my arrival, I communicated with Mr. Barlow. I think he was fully alive to the fact that a great famine was upon the country. I had just received 500 rupees from Messrs. Sykes' Fund, and discussed with Mr. Barlow and Mr. Lacey the best means of disposing of it. We determined to open an unnochatro at once. I am not aware whether Mr. Barlow adopted any special measures in the way of appealing direct to Government. I was, however, under the impression that he had done so. At that time, in consequence of the importation from Gopalpoor, rice was cheaper in Pooree than in Cuttack, although the number of starving people was much greater in Pooree. During the whole month that I was at Pooree, the state of things got

Rev. W. Miller.

26 Dec. 1866.

worse and worse. I took charge of the unnochatro while I was at Pooree. About 300 were being fed there daily. We ought to and should have fed a much larger number if we had had the means. In addition to distributing food at the unnochatro, I was relieving the poor by money.

From Pooree I went to Piply, where I established an unnochatro under the Pooree Relief Committee. Matters were quite as bad then at Piply as at Pooree in proportion to the population. The Baorees and Tantees were suffering principally. The ryots were not suffering so much, probably because they had a little rice which carried them on a little time. I stayed at Piply one day only, and returned to Cuttack about the 9th of June. Things were not as bad there as I had left them at Pooree; indeed I never saw such dreadful objects in Cuttack as I did at Pooree. The famine in Cuttack began later than in Pooree, and hence the relief measures in Cuttack were taken earlier in relation to the beginning of the famine, although in point of date they were undertaken later. In my opinion, when once operations commenced in Cuttack, all was done that could possibly have been effected by the existing official agency; but there was a great scarcity of public officers, and I do not know what we should have done without the aid of the Irrigation Company's officers. From the time that the importation commenced, I do not think that the supply of imported grain was sufficient for the wants of the district. More might have been done if there had been more grain and more officers; carriage might have been found on which to dispatch it to the interior. If there had been more grain, I should have advocated the opening out of a few more centres for gratuitous relief; but more especially the extension of places for sale of rice at cheap rates. I think that this would have diminished the number of paupers, and have enabled a number of people to remain in their houses and carry on their occupations instead of becoming absolutely destitute. If the sales had been more extensive, of course close supervision would have been necessary to prevent abuse. I visited some of the relief centres, and on the whole was of opinion that they were as efficiently managed as could be expected under the circumstances. I believe that the Government sales at market rates were more extensive than the sales made at lower rates by the Relief Committees. The whole amount sold was not large as compared with the requirements of the district.

On several occasions the supplies of rice in the relief shop which I superintended ran short, and I had to stop sales at rates below the market price, because I could not get any more rice, the grain in the Collector's store being insufficient. I am aware that other members of the committee were occasionally similarly stinted in the relief shops.

I am of opinion that the Government relief materially diminished the mortality; but that a large number of the people who came to the relief centres were so far gone that they eventually died. The cause of this was that the relief centres were opened too late. Even after the unnochatros were open, many people of their own free will kept away from the unnochatros out of fear of losing caste. The Relief Committee, however, took every precaution in this respect which was practicable, such as selecting Brahmin cooks. Of the works which were going on I only saw the Cuttack and Pooree-road in May. I was disappointed as to the number employed, and I ascertained the reason of the paucity to be that the people were paid by task-work, and that the payments were so low that none but an able-bodied man could obtain a subsistence. The people would not take the work. I heard at the time that people were better paid on other works, such as the Khoordha and Ganjam-road. Subsequently, at the end of May, the Pooree Relief Committee started works on which all applicants for relief were made to work in proportion to their powers, and were paid in rice. I mentioned to Mr. Barlow what was going on in the Pooree-road, and it is my impression that he wrote on the subject to the officers of the Public Works Department. I think the famine was at its worst in August and part of September, after which the cutting of the beallee and private importations from Sumbulpoor, as well as the Government importations, mitigated its severity. There was considerable private importation from Sumbulpoor. Although the Baorees and lower classes had less prejudice against applying at the centres for relief, and also had less objection to labour, yet the mortality among them was much greater than among the more respectable classes. I attribute this to the fact that the relief measures were adopted too late. Even the Baorees do not readily leave their houses for employment at any distance. Again, the Baorees live on daily wages from hand to mouth, whereas the ryots had their bullocks and brass vessels to sell before they were pauperised. I consider that the Ooryahs are tolerably industrious cultivators, but rather improvident. I think that where water is available, they would work night and day to save their crops by it. They manure their land to some extent. I consider that the zemindars are bad landlords, hopelessly bad; they take advantage of the ryots in every possible way. Most of them are improvident and in debt. I do not believe that they have made the slightest attempt to improve their estates in any way since I have been in Orissa. I instance the Kotdes zemindaree, of which the landlord is very much in debt, and the estates of Rughnauth Chowdhry, who is very rich and well off, as estates in which the ryots are treated with notable hardship, and in which nothing has been done for improvement. Rughnauth Chowdhry has even allowed the road which his father-in-law made to go to ruin.

I think that there is no hope of improvement until the rights of the ryots are secured and a permanent settlement made. By a permanent settlement I mean one under which the rights of the ryots are fixed as well as those of the zemindars. A permanent settlement which should fix nothing but the revenue payable to Government by the zemindar would not,

Rev. W. Miller.

26 Dec. 1866.

not, in my opinion, do the slightest good to the country. The ryots would be more at the mercy of the zemindars than ever.

I think that the main reason why the water of the Irrigation Company is not more freely taken is that the zemindars are using their influence to prevent the ryots taking it, under the impression that the assessment on their estates may be raised if the lands are irrigated. Were it not for this influence I believe that the cultivators would readily take water at reasonable rates. I have no knowledge as to the rates which are now demanded by the Irrigation Company, but 5 rupees an acre seems to me very high. I doubt whether the ryots would readily agree to take water for rice crops annually without reference to seasons. They would prefer waiting for the rains, which are ordinarly sufficient to mature the rice, but if they could get water for irrigation, from December to April, they would sow the Dalo rice, which is cut in April. With water available exactly when they require it, I am sure they would grow cotton, sugar-cane, and many other crops.

No. 25.—Mr. Henry Placid Crane.

Mr. H. P. Crane.

[Examined at Cuttack, 26th December 1866.]

26 Dec. 1866.

I was appointed to the Cuttack and Balasore-road, stationed at Bahmuny, in the Cuttack district, in January 1866. There was great scarcity, but not actual famine at that time. In February I was employed on the Pooree and Cuttack-road, in charge of the six miles immediately north of Pooree. When I took charge, the people were in a wretched state. They were emaciated, and looked as if they had already suffered; but I don't think there had been many deaths up to that time. After that matters continued to get worse. Before I went there the work was carried on by daily labour. At my suggestion, this was changed to task-work, the rate fixed being 1-8 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet. This was too low. I tried it, but found that the men in their emaciated condition could not earn more than four pice each a day. While daily labour was in operation, the labourers were obliged for a fixed payment to turn out a certain quantity of work, which only able-bodied men could do. I thought that task-work would be better if the rates were liberal. This I tried to obtain, suggesting 1-14 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet. The Executive Engineer at first objected to any increase, but ultimately raised it to 1-12 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet. This was at the latter end of March or beginning of April. The result was better; but I found this even too low. No further change was made till May, when it was raised to 3-8 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet. In March the country was in a very bad state; many deaths occurred. In April it grew worse, and continued to do so until June, when it reached its maximum. I have still charge of the above road; also of certain embankments in the Pooree district, to the east and west of Pooree. At Kurmulla things were very bad, the country being almost deserted. I was at Pooree when the Lieutenant Governor passed. The famine was then bad, but not at its worst. When the rate was increased to 3-8 rupees, it brought in a large number of workpeople; but I think the measure came too late. Those who came in, and were not too far gone, obtained some relief from the increased rate, and those who could not benefit by it were sent to the relief centres. On the six miles of road I had under me, I had as many as 700 men at work, but never more; but when I had a larger section of the road, I had as many as 2,000. I employed all who could work and were willing. As soon as the rates were increased, large numbers flocked to the works; but when the rains came, *i. e.*, when the embankments were breached, the great majority were dismissed, as we could employ them no longer. I imagine they went to the relief centres. They were not transferred anywhere else by us. About the latter end of October the works were re-opened; but then we couldn't get so many. A great many who had worked were dead or gone elsewhere, and those who had not worked were adverse to task-work. There is no metal nearer to that part of the Pooree and Cuttack-road than about 40 miles, to the best of my knowledge. It is nearer towards Cuttack. About Piply, it would be comparatively easy to procure metal.

No. 26.—Isan Chunder, Vakeel.

Isan Chunder.

[Examined at Cuttack, 26th December 1866.]

26 Dec. 1866.

I hold zemindary in different parts of Cuttack. I have one zemindary on the Irrigation Company's works at Chandwar on the Kendraparah Canal. No water was taken for the crop of 1865. I think, but am not sure, that the reason was that the water was not then ready. At any rate no arrangement had then been made as to the rates and details of taking it. In that state no Beallee is grown, only Sarud. The greatest injury from drought was in the north-east of the district. I estimate loss of crop of 1865 in one district at 50 per cent. The high prices in March and April last were much enhanced by the Dandeedars, who have the whole command of the market.

It is my impression that if all the grain in the district had been carefully made available, it would have supported the people till the harvesting of the Beallee crop; that is, it would have been enough to save their lives. In this estimate I include all the kalye, dhal, as well as the rice which was in the hands of mahajuns, zemindars, &c. I estimate that 20 or 25 per cent. of the population of my estate have died from all causes during the year.

Isan Chunder.

26 December 1866.

I do not think that any appreciable proportion of the mortality is due to inundation; many died from cholera. In the Mofussil cholera was much worse than in ordinary years. This was attributable to the greater heat, and to the people being driven to feed on unwholesome things. Mortality was greatest in June, July, and August. The cause of this was the cholera, on which of course the importations had no immediate effect. The importation of Government rice saved many lives. I heard that people were dying from starvation as well as cholera in the Mofussil before the rice arrived. I did not hear that any number of deaths had occurred from starvation in Cuttack before that time. The things which the people had to sell were supporting them to some extent in May and June. I can form no estimate of the proportion of the mortality which would have been avoided if Government rice had come two months sooner.

No. 27.—Russool Bux, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 26th December 1866.]

Russool Bux.

26 December 1866.

I was 14 years Darogah in the Cuttack district, and then Tehseeldar of Kengur. I am a resident of Burdwan. I have estates in Pergunnah Sonna, north-east of Cuttack town. Not more than two or three-sixteenths of the crop was saved in 1865. During the year 1,300 people died out of about 5,000. Cholera set in in March and continued to June; many died of it. People began to die of starvation in March. In May and June they were dying in great numbers; whole villages were cleared. The mortality diminished in Bhadro in August and September. I have stated the number of deaths in my estate from actual examination. Two relief centres were established in my estate. They saved many lives. Many men died at the unnochatros also from eating rice. It was said that the rice which was supplied by Government had been washed in lime-water, so as to preserve it from insects. I cannot vouch for it, but it was said that this was the cause of the dysentery which often ensued after eating the rice. Afterwards, the medical officer of Cuttack gave instructions that ghee and good vegetables should be given with the rice, and this had the effect of stopping the dysentery. In my estates no great damage was done by the inundation of 1866. I have myself seen about the close of the month of Jaith (June) that the Government rice, which was being sold at 5 seers per rupee (the bazaar price being about 3 or 4 seers) at the Lunatic Asylum, was partly damaged. Two fingers' breadth at the top of some of the bags had been wet on the journey; had rotted and dried again. This was mixed with the rest and sold to the applicants. I know that people used to pick out the damaged rice before eating. People complained of this; but I did not hear of any deaths from eating this rice. This dried rice did not come in the first ship. This rice had been a long time on the road from Taldunda. The Commissioner reprimanded the Collector for the Naib Nazir's delay in bringing it in. I do not consider that any fault could justly be found with Mr. Cornell, the Collector, for this. All that was possible was done. Carts were collected, from my estates among others. Of the 50 cartmen, 20 died on the way of cholera, and the remaining 30 returned to their homes, deserting their carts. The cartmen from other estates died or deserted their carts in the same way. The Naib Nazir died of cholera. No works were undertaken in my estates. If Government rice had arrived two months earlier, one-eighth or one-fourth of the whole mortality in the district would have been avoided. When the Lieutenant Governor came to Cuttack, and gave out that he would not interfere with the rates of selling rice, the dealers raised the price immediately. They had rice then, but not much. One zemindar had a good deal; three or four had large quantities. I am very decidedly of opinion that if all the rice in the Cuttack district had been made gradually available, it would not have sufficed to support the population of the district till the Beallee crop was in. As early as the end of January, we began to think and talk among ourselves that the rice in the district was insufficient to carry us through, and that it would be necessary to import. We then thought that, as a matter of course, the dealers from Sumbulpoor and other places would meet the requirements. No one then supposed that they would fail to do so when prices rose, and that the duty would fall on Government. The idea that Government would import, or should import, never entered the thoughts of any one with whom I had communication, until the Commissioner applied to Government for it. The Dandeedars have got the entire command of the market. They make enormous profits, and always keep the market high. The Sumbulpoor merchants arrived with rice at Cuttack about the same time as the Government rice came in. The Government rice, in which some paddy was mixed, began to be sold at 10 and even 12 seers for the rupee. This brought down the prices, and the Sumbulpoor merchants were disappointed in obtaining the prices they had expected. They sold what they had brought, and then went away. After that their imports were very trifling.

Great immigration has been taking place from Koojung, Aul, and Kunika estates, on the sea-side towards Dhenkanul and the tributary mehals, west of the district, where the people settle. The immigration is going on still.

No. 28.—Mr. W. Cornell, c.s., late Magistrate and Collector, *Cuttack*.

[Examined at Cuttack, 27th December 1866.]

Mr. W. Cornell, c.s.

27 December 1866.

I was officiating as magistrate and collector of Balasore from 1861 to 1863, and returned to Orissa as magistrate and collector of Cuttack, which appointment I joined on the 28th February 1866. In passing through Balasore I heard that cholera was rather bad there, and that grain dacoities were rife, and that there had been a failure of crops. My predecessor at Cuttack had been Mr. W. J. Money; but he had left Cuttack before I joined. I never saw him, and he left no memorandum for me as to the state of affairs in the district, and I ascertained that there was no diary of the tour which he had lately made in the interior. There was only a bill in which the places which he had visited were named. Mr. Webster, assistant magistrate, had accompanied him on the tour. When I joined there were two subdivisions in the district. Mr. Armstrong was in charge of Jajpoor; he is still there; and Baboo Doorjodhun Dass was in charge of Kendraparah; he is now at Pooree. At the Sudder station were three deputy magistrates; Mr. Mackenzie, deceased—Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose, and Baboo Rang Lall Banerjee; there were also two assistants: Mr. Webster, now at Kendraparah, and Mr. Ward, who is still here. Supnessur Dass was manager of the attached estate, Kanika, in the north-east of Cuttack, on the sea; he had the powers of a deputy collector, but no criminal powers. There was also a Tehseeldar in charge of Durpun, which was then under the Court of Wards. Supnessur Dass is still at Kanika. The Tehseeldar of Durpun is, I believe, now in Cuttack. Captain Fisher was district superintendent of police. He was transferred about the beginning of August. He had two assistants, Mr. Crouch and Mr. Poole, who are still here. Mr. Poole has been in charge of the Gurjats. I have no reason to believe that Captain Fisher was transferred for any reason other than his own wish. I believe he asked to be transferred, because he found the work becoming so heavy, in consequence of the increase of crime. I relieved Mr. Barton, who was in temporary charge of the office. I received from him no particular information as to the state of the crops or prospects of a famine. I do not remember asking for any such information.

Q. You had, as you say, heard of the failure of crops in the district; on taking charge of the district as magistrate and collector, did it occur to you that it was necessary to make particular inquiries from your predecessor as to the state of the district?—*A.* I understood that the Lieutenant Governor had lately visited Cuttack; that the whole question had been considered by him and the Board of Revenue; and that the necessary instructions had been issued by arrangements made.

Q. Did you find any such instructions recorded in your office?—*A.* I found a circular of the Board two or three months old, to the effect that no detailed inquiry into the failure of the crops was needed for the purpose of allowing remission of revenue, and that in the scarcity which was anticipated, the chief reliance must be placed on local charity. I found also some letters of the Commissioner regarding local charity and the operations of the Relief Committee. I found also a record of the speech of the Lieutenant Governor, and found no other record of the Lieutenant Governor's instructions, proceedings, or policy. No other communication of the policy of Government was made to me; nor am I yet aware that during his visit the Lieutenant Governor laid down any course to be followed, except that he rejected petitions praying that the price of grain be fixed. I only presumed that the Lieutenant Governor had fully considered the subject, and that he had confirmed the policy of the Board's circular to which I have alluded, and which he had formally approved before it was communicated to this district. I was in daily personal communication with the Commisioner, who was then in the station. Under those circumstances, I considered it rather my duty to act in accordance with his instructions than to originate any views of my own. He expressly drew my attention to the arrears of office work, which were considerable. The scarcity and possibility of a famine were not specially pressed upon me by the Commissioner as matters demanding my immediate attention.

Q. You say that the Board's letter prohibited inquiries with a view to remission; but was there any prohibition of such inquiries as might have been made as to the condition of the people in connection with the existing scarcity?—*A.* The crop was supposed to be one-third or a half of a full crop, and the idea of extreme distress was not contemplated. Such an idea did not occur to me, nor, as far as I am aware, had it occurred to any one else at that time; at least no one had brought it to my notice. I remained in the station till the beginning of May, when, under special instructions from the Commissioner, I went out to look into the state of the offices in Kendraparah and Kanika. I went out solely for that purpose.

Q. During the months of March and April did any one bring to your notice the probability of a famine?—No one did so specifically, nor did I see any indications of it in the town. I received no alarming report from the district. I did receive an application for cholera pills, which is an annual thing. There was also an increase in crime, especially in dacoities, about the end of March. The above remarks will not apply quite to the end of April. Till that time I made no special inquiry into the state of the interior of the district. The first serious mention which I heard of the probability of a famine was in a conversation with Colonel Rundall and Mr. Boothby, in which the Commissioner took part, and at which I was present. I cannot be certain whether this took place in April or in May, but my impression is that it was in April, just before the Commissioner left Cuttack for Balasore. Before this time I had heard, as a common subject of conversation among natives, that the

Mr. W. Cornell, C. S.

27 December 1866.

Brahmins predicted three years' scarcity. I was aware of a great rise in the price of grain in the town from the end of March to the end of April. I had no knowlege of the state of the country market. I was receiving weekly price reports from one or both subdivisions. I do not now recollect whether these showed rising prices; probably they did so. The police gave no information on the subject.

Q. From the Board's return of price-currents received by them, it appears that on the 22nd April rice in Cuttack had reached the price of 6½ Calcutta seers (about 5 Cuttack seers) per rupee; did not that tightness of price create very severe distress, and warn you that a famine had arrived, or was close at hand?—*A.* The gradual rise of the prices induced me to open some relief towards the end of April; but it did not lead me to make any special inquiries or reports, because the town prices are always exceptionally high on account of the interference of the Dandeedars, and the presence of troops. I had no particular knowledge at that time that grain was cheaper in the interior than in the town. I did not inquire; but grain always is cheaper in the interior. The Commissioner at this time was absent from Cuttack. Before he left Cuttack he told me that if it should happen that the bazars were closed, as it had been once in November, and that the commanding officer should apply to me for assistance in procuring grain for the troops in the bazars, I was to give no direct assistance in obtaining grain for them. These were verbal instructions given in reply to a question put by me. While the Commissioner was absent, communication with him in Mohurbhunj was so uncertain, and his stay was expected to be so short, that I avoided communicating with him more than was absolutely necessary. I wrote two or three demi-official letters, and I probably mentioned the state of the bazar and the scarcity.

Up to the end of April, I certainly had had no direct communication with the Government or with the Board on the subject of the scarcity. I am aware that a fund called Sykes' Fund was established in Calcutta for the relief of the distress. One or two funds had also been started by natives in the town of Cuttack. I think this was in April. I believe they distributed uncooked rice. Nemy Churn Newgee, head clerk of the magistrate's office, was one of the distributors. At that time I knew the Rev. Mr. Buckley slightly; he certainly did not bring the probability or existence of a famine to my notice in April. I cannot recollect that my attention was drawn to any statement in the public prints regarding famine in my district in the month of April. At the end of April, in consequence of a comparatively slight influx of paupers at the permanent unnochatro, and of the rise of prices, we opened a special unnochatro. The record of the proceedings of the committee in which this was resolved upon is dated the 27th of April.

About the 6th of May I went out by dawk to Kendraparah, where I stayed a day and a half inspecting the office, and on my return recommended that a more efficient officer be sent there. I then went to Kanika *viâ* Patamoondee. I think that journey was made in the day. I stayed a day and a half at Kanika, and returned to Cuttack about the 14th of May. During this tour I saw no signs of actual famine, nor did I receive any information of the existence of actual famine, although there was scarcity and cholera. On the contrary, I learned that there had been a better crop near the coast than in the interior. I met a large number of ryots at Kanika. They asked for remissions of rent; but I saw no particular signs of distress about them, nor did they ask for relief other than remission of rent. I should mention, however, that Radhasham Nurendra, a zemindar at Kendraparah, was feeding a few beggars. When I returned to Cuttack I found that grain had become dearer. It was difficult to get rice in the town. The sepoys found it specially difficult. Nothing which I saw during the first week after my return led me then to form the opinion that a great famine had come or was coming, although, after the experience which I have now had, I should recognise the signs which then occurred as indicating the approach of famine. Up to the time when the Commissioner returned, I had made no special communication to any authority. In May I received some subscribed money from Mr. Chapman, and in acknowledging it I gave him my opinion as to the probable demand for funds. I think I then under-estimated the requirements, and that I named 10,000 rupees as likely to carry the relief up to the harvesting of the Beallee crop, *i. e.*, in addition to the resources we already had. For a week before the Commissioner's return I was in daily expectation of his arrival.

I did not realise that a famine existed before the Commissioner returned to Cuttack; but did realise the necessity of providing special Government supplies for the troops and for the gaol, and made an application for those immediately the Commissioner returned. Up to that time the means at the disposal of the Relief Committee were between 2,000 and 3,000 rupees, collected in the district, and a little grain, and some subscriptions received from Mr. Chapman in Calcutta.

I believe that the Commissioner, having seen famine at Balasore, recognised it at Cuttack on his arrival. That was before I had realised it. Immediate measures were then taken to import grain for the troops and gaol; 3,000 bags were sent from Calcutta and arrived at False Point early in June. It was all brought to Taldunda, 42 miles from Cuttack, where it arrived about the 19th of June. By that time there was evidently a famine in the district; but it had certainly not reached an extreme point. From the time the grain began to arrive, there was a constant importation of rice up to about October. The transport to Cuttack was delayed occasionally by want of means, especially at first, as the whole arrangements for transport were then imperfect. Of the first instalment of grain received, part was made over for the use of the gaol and troops; some was made over to the Cuttack Relief Committee; some was sent from Taldunda to Kendraparah, and some was distributed at Taldunda. By the beginning of July the supplies began to be larger, but they were not abundant, and we began to establish other centres in the interior. By the end of July there was a tolerably

ably large supply of grain, but it was by no means adequate to the requirements. We continued increasing the number of centres up to September. By the end of July I suppose 20 centres had been established, and they were fairly, but not fully, supplied with grain. August was a bad month on account of the rain and floods, but we established about 10 more centres. The chief difficulty in August was in getting the rice from False Point into the interior. The whole country was then under water, and the boats had to come against the stream.

It was not till September that we got into good working order. The number relieved nearly doubled in September. The landing and despatching operations at False Point had been superintended, since the beginning of July, by Mr. Burgess, a servant of the Irrigation Company, who was lent for the purpose by Mr. Boothby. At Taldunda was Mr. Miller, of the Irrigation Company. Several other servants of the Irrigation Company were lent to us as inspectors and storekeepers. In July the famine was extremely bad all over the country, especially to the north, where supplies had not reached to the same extent. It was worst of all in August, and the mortality the heaviest. In September the mortality abated somewhat, but still remained heavy. Towards the end of October it had become a good deal less. In the first week of November I made over charge of the district. I think about one-third of the whole mortality was due to the effect of the floods. Up to the end of May no special works were undertaken to give relief to the poor in this district, but some were afterwards. The chief mortality was among the artizans and the low caste agricultural labourers not cultivating on their own account. I think that from one-fifth to a fourth of the whole population have died from famine and disease. Perhaps one-fourth of the whole mortality was directly caused by cholera. There is cholera every year in this district; and looking back, I now think that the excess of cholera in March, April, and May may be attributed to bad or deficient food. The people then did not complain, but no doubt suffered. I believe many died simply because they would not take help, or rather they did not make their state known. These are principally of the higher castes. Nevertheless, as I have said, the lower castes died most, because they had not private stores, nor funds, nor credit. I think that the mortality was less among those who had land of their own, and had a little rice in hand; that class always has a little rice. The class I allude to are Lakirajdars and Thanee ryots. I think they are more saving and frugal in proportion than the labourers. I think the Ooryah ryots are poorer than those of the eastern districts of Bengal, and more superstitious,—also more idle. The zemindars, on the whole, have behaved very badly during the famine, but I have heard of several who have sold or given rice to their tenants and others. Baboo Rughoonath Chowdhry sold largely, and has made much money. They are generally not frugal or provident, and not good landlords. Many of them are non-residents. The Killah estates, having a permanent government rent, were all more or less involved in debt when the famine began, and those on the sea-coast have suffered much from floods. Independently of the floods, I have not sufficient experience of the district to say whether the people in the Killah estates, as compared to those of other estates, suffered more or less.

I have now formed the opinion from what I have heard, that the early estimate of a third or half crop was an excess estimate, and that it certainly did not exceed a quarter crop. I have also formed the opinion that, though there were some stocks of grain, they were insufficient. I think the amount of grain hoarded has been exaggerated; the people, probably up to July and August, certainly up to May, had a belief that the zemindars and rice dealers could supply more than they did. When I came to the district it was the popular belief that they had enough to supply the district for a year or more. There was no official inquiry or consultation on this point; I believe the Commissioner derived his information on the point from popular opinion. The omlah and mooktears, and such like people, held that opinion, and the zemindars and merchants, when questioned, generally admitted having some grain, and said that others had more. Colonel Rundall, in the conversation already alluded to, expressed an opinion that there was not grain enough in the country to feed the people.

I wish to state that I think the police have been insufficient in number to cope with the crime and assist in famine matters; and after Captain Fisher's removal, his successor was not sent for two months. Captain Fisher was at first averse to giving me the assistance of the police in regard to transport and such matters. Up to the end of May, the police gave me no information regarding the impending famine, but grain dacoities were certainly reported. I think it a pity that rice was not sold cheaper about the end of June and beginning of July. Although the stock was not very large, what was sold dear might have been sold cheaper. I think that there was also a deficiency of officers under the magistrate, and that in consequence the supervision of relief operations was not so efficient as it might have been, especially towards the coast. I was unable to give it all the attention I could have wished; other work, and especially criminal work, weighed on me, and I had a large correspondence regarding importation. I had also not a sufficiency of clerical assistance. I postponed ordinary works for relief operations as far as I possibly could; but the examination of witnesses and such work could not be postponed, and I was unable to leave the station. I applied for extra officers, and so did the committee, but we did not get them, except one man, while another was removed. I think that the number of centres eventually established was sufficient. In October there was a break in the importation of rice, in consequence of which sales were contracted and relief operations somewhat impeded. Our means of transport were then in excess of the supply. In July the landing and transport means were (but not at all times) equal to receive the rice then in the ships. The operations

Mr. W. Cornell, C. S.

27 December 1866.

tions were also impeded by bad weather and by the distance of the ships from the shore. The rice received from Burmah was not thought by the doctors very wholesome, and there was much loss from deficient packing.

No. 29.—Mr. T. H. H. Shortt, C. S., Sub-Divisional Officer, *Bhudruk*.

[Examined at Cuttack, 27th December 1866.]

Mr. T. H. H. Shortt, C. S.

27 December 1866.

I was appointed assistant to the magistrate and collector of Balasore in March 1863, and took charge of the Bhudruk sub-division on the 17th February 1866. When I left Balasore there were indications of approaching famine. Prices were getting up a little in the bazaar; crime was increasing, and people were saying generally that a famine was impending. When I reached Bhudruk, I found the state of things much better than at Balasore. There had been a better crop there and less exportation, Bhudruk being more inland. I estimate the crop of 1865 over the Bhudruk sub-division at half an average crop. I was travelling about the Sudder sub-division of Balasore in December 1865, and from what I saw, I estimate the average of the crop over that sub-division at three-sixteenths of a full crop. I was out with the collector, but not for the special purpose of estimating the crops. We did, however, look very particularly at them. After joining Bhudruk, I did not go out of the station, except for a day or so, till May. Crime increased fearfully in March and April, principally grain dacoities and arson. I did not perceive any other signs of famine. Rice was becoming dearer gradually. In March I was directed by the collector to keep him informed if any signs of famine appeared. I discussed the subject with respectable and intelligent zemindars and others. Their opinions differed as to the prospects of a famine; very few, if any, thought there would be a great famine. This was the state of things up to the end of April—nothing but 12 hours' criminal work a day. In the course of my inquiries I came to the conclusion that the crime was caused by want. There could be no doubt on the subject; the magistrate knew this perfectly well; I was in constant communication with him. The dacoities were generally committed by low caste men, coolies and weavers. In May I had settlement work in Khas Mehal Nowanund. About the middle of May I went to two hauts on purpose to ascertain the state of things. There were only two or three bullock loads of rice to be seen, which were snapped up at once. I saw roots of plantains and jungle produce (which are not ordinarily sold) exposed for sale in the market. In consequence of this I at once returned to Bhudruk, and wrote off to the collector for assistance. I asked for money at once, and rice as soon as possible. From what I saw at the hauts, and what I heard there, I formed the conclusion that there was no sufficiency of rice in the country. Before that I had been watching the conduct of the mahajuns, and observing that, although prices were rising, these men, whose sole trade is in rice, made no attempt to import, I concluded that they had stores. All the zemindars whom I consulted were of the same opinion. I still believe that they had considerable stores, which have never even yet been thrown into the market. The merchants of the Bhudruk sub-division are of all castes. I received 100 rupees from the collector, by return of post, to my application, and at once called a local committee. At that time I had raised no private subscriptions. I failed to get the zemindars together for that purpose till the 23rd of June. On that date they assembled, and I got a subscription of about 600 rupees a month for four months.

The day I received the 100 rupees from the collector, on the 13th June, I opened a relief centre. We had 210 applicants the first day; in 10 days the number had risen to about 900. In the beginning of June the famine had become very severe; it continued getting worse till the end of September. In September about 40,000 were being relieved daily at different centres. In the end, the famine was worse at Bhudruk than in any other parts of the country of which I have information. I do not believe that the population of the Bhudruk sub-division have actually suffered more than others, and I am of opinion that there was less mortality among them than among the population of other parts of the country. I have said that matters were worse in my sub-division than elsewhere, because so large a number of starving paupers flocked into it from outside; they came from all directions, but principally from Jajpoor. The relief operations were not commenced in Jajpoor as soon as in Bhudruk. For a long time after I was feeding all applicants with rice, the Jajpoor sub-division was only issuing relief to a limited number. Jajpoor is the northern sub-subdivision of Cuttack. From the time when I began giving relief, I gave it either in pice or rice to all who applied. At first sometimes I had no rice, and had to give pice. Up to the 23rd June I had received about 2,000 rupees in cash; before that I had received 700 bags of rice from Balasore, which had been procured from Calcutta. This lasted to the 19th of July, when I went to the mouth of the Dhamrah to land rice. The "Guide" went ashore, as almost all the buoys had been sunk, but she was got off. We landed 2,500 bags, which I took to Bhudruk partly by land and partly by water; it was all at Bhudruk by the 10th of August. Up to that time no centre had been established except at Bhudruk; I had no rice before that wherewith to establish them. Then we rapidly opened centres; within a fortnight we had six established, and soon after we established four more. From that time I have been constantly supplied with rice *viâ* Dhamrah. The relief operations have never been checked. At first we gave cooked rice; when the numbers became too large for that, we gave it uncooked; eventually we reverted to cooked rice.

Mr. T. H. H. Shortt, C. S.

27 December 1866.

rice. I never sold any rice, with the exception of a few bags, because I never had more than I considered it absolutely necessary to keep for the safety of those whom I fed. A large proportion of those whom I fed were employed in light labour: the coolies were making roads, the tantees were employed in weaving, the carpenters were putting up sheds, &c. If I had had more rice, I could have sold it to the advantage of the people; I could even have sold it at a profit and done good; I would have sold it slightly below the market price so as to draw down the market rate; but the market rate was almost nominal, as there was scarcely any rice in the market. I got all the rice which came into the Dhamrah port, all, in fact, which was despatched to that port. The port was considered a very difficult one. It is naturally difficult, and the difficulty was then increased by the want of buoys. Buoys had been laid down eight years ago, but most of them had sunk. Since then Captain Harris and I have surveyed and buoyed the port, and now a vessel drawing 11 feet of water can come in.

I had ample means for landing and sending into the interiors very much more rice than I got. In fact, I applied for 25,000 bags in August; but up to the 6th November I had received 8,400 bags only. The subdivision had required four times the quantity, and I could have utilised that quantity. Most of the people who came to the Bhudruk centre came in a very emaciated condition; I believe many died on the way; but we saved most of those that arrived; we never had very heavy mortality; it was nothing in comparison with Balasore. The greatest mortality was from exposure to rain. We got up sheds for them, but they would never go into the sheds; they got up a story that we wanted to cut their throats. We found at one time that they used to sell the rice that they got from us, and after that used to die of starvation. We have found men dead of starvation with rupees about them; we have also found men dead of starvation with two or three seers of rice on them, which, it is supposed, they were hoarding for the purpose of sale. The cooly and weaver classes suffered most. Except where the inundations occurred, I do not believe any considerable number of ryots died. During the inundation, there was large mortality among those ryots who had remained in their homes and were cut off from supplies by the water. I consider the ryots to be improvident and lazy. If they had not neglected irrigation in the beginning of 1865, they might have done much to save their crops; they did not make use of the water afforded by the tanks and jheels until it was too late and the water began to fail. The zemindars of Bhudruk are superior to those of Balasore, and have behaved very well. They contributed fairly to the famine fund after a little persuasion on my part; some of them helped me in persuading others to subscribe. I am not inclined to think they did much for their ryots in other ways. Generally, the zemindars do not do much to improve their estates; but they are better than the Balasore men; one of them—Moonshee Abdool Ghunnee—has made a sluice, and has completed it with the assistance of some of the labourers, who were remunerated from the relief funds. There is one Killah zemindar in my jurisdiction, the Rajah of Dyanparah; he behaved well and did what he could, but he is not well off.

At one time I paid for all labour in rice; the labourers absolutely refused to accept money; now they will not accept rice.

Most of the sub-division is held by zemindars; part of it belongs to Government, and is managed by surburakars, who are removable at will by Government. Most of the zemindaree estates are let in farm. There are not very many Thanee ryots; most of them are tenants-at-will.

About one-ninth of the whole area of my subdivision to the south suffered from the inundations of the Brahminee and Byturnee, so as to destroy the crops. I attribute one-ninth of the deaths which have actually occurred during the year to the inundation. Altogether, I estimate the total mortality at about one-sixth of the whole population of my subdivision.

Looking to the information which I had at the time, I think that, if I had had my own way, I should not have begun to import rice above a week earlier than the importations did begin.

No. 30.—Mr. F. Bond, Executive Engineer, *Cuttack* Division.

[Examined at Cuttack, 27th December 1866.]

Mr. F. Bond.

27 December 1866.

I have been in Government employ for the last 10 years in this province, also spent my childhood in Orissa, know the language and people; throughout the famine have been in my division, which comprises the Imperial road from Cuttack to the Madras frontier; the Calcutta road from Cuttack as far as the Byturnee River; the Sumbulpoor road as far as the Central provinces; and the station of Cuttack. In October 1865, I returned from Balasore to Cuttack, and since then have been constantly moving up and down my division. Had no opportunity of ascertaining the yield of the crops in that year; cannot form any notion of the out-turn. Last cold weather a famine was generally expected, but there were many conflicting statements. The majority of people thought that there was grain in the country. On the Madras frontier road nothing had been in progress up to the end of December 1865, when Government issued orders that the road, which had been deteriorating for some years, should be taken in hand as a relief work, remodelled, raised, and metalled, and some bridges, still unbuilt, completed. The work was put in hand in February 1866, and is still in progress. The rough estimate amounted

Mr. F. Bond.

27 December 1866.

amounted to 44,000 rupees, and that amount was sanctioned for 1865–66. Further provision to the extent of 33,000 rupees has been made in the current Budget, and and out of the whole, 30,000 rupees have been expended up to the 30th November, of which 25,000 rupees may be taken as having been disbursed in payment of labour. Metal has been collected for 10 miles towards the Madras frontier, and the metalling of one mile has been completed. At the time the orders came, the superintending engineer was in another part of the circle, and the work was not put in hand until he arrived, when we went down together. Up to the 1st May, about 10,000 rupees were expended on labour and supervision, and about 5,000 rupees more to the 1st of June. From the time the work was commenced, labourers flocked in large numbers, and those who came across the lake were in a very emaciated condition; not so those from Banpoor. The able-bodied were paid by the job; the weaker by the day. For the first two months, I had about 600 able-bodied, and 600 feeble-bodied people. We found the latter doing so little work, and the rates running so high, that I reported the matter to the superintending engineer, who, I believe, took the orders of the Government, and the system of payment by the day was stopped, I think, about the beginning of May. The rate for task-work was then raised. The weaker-bodied then left us. The rate for task-work first adopted was *Rs.* 2. 8., latterly increased to *Rs.* 3. 12. per 1,000 cubic feet; this was for the medium description of soil only. Most of the feeble-bodied were women and children, who could not work at even this rate. They were dispersed, and I do not know what became of them. It was thought that those who could not work were fit objects of charity, and should apply to the relief centres. The task-work system continues up to date. There were no special famine works on any of the other roads under my charge, nor was any other system than that of task-work adopted on any other road works in my division; but we were obliged to raise the rates. Cholera broke out twice on the Madras frontier road, early in March, and again, I think, in April. Several of the supervising establishment died, and the rest ran away, and the works were on each occasion closed for a fortnight. On the first occasion, this was done by my orders. Up to the time that the change of system was made, I had a large number of work-people. I was also a member of the Cuttack relief committee, and from August to November inclusive I had the supervision of two of the working gangs, which I paid in rice. One of these gangs I put on task-work. The weaker-bodied got their food at the relief centres in Cuttack; the able-bodied worked. In the course of my tour, I first observed symptoms of famine in February last, in the neighbourhood of the Chilka Lake.

No. 31.—Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose, Deputy Magistrate, and Secretary, Relief Committee, *Cuttack.*

[Examined at Cuttack, 28th December 1866.]

Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose.

28 December 1866.

I have been in Orissa six years, and in Cuttack five years. Know the country well, but was not in the district last cold weather. From hearsay estimate the yield of the crop of 1865 at ten-sixteenths. In October grain became very dear. In the month of December it became evident that great scarcity, if not actual famine, was not far distant. This struck the then collector, Mr. Money, who called a meeting of a not very public character, as only three gentlemen attended. The natives were not invited to attend; but the meeting decided to invite the zemindars to co-operate, and they were asked to attend a meeting on the 28th December. Few of them came, but many of the people of the town and bazar came. The proceedings were recorded. The general feeling of the native members of the meeting was, that a famine was not far distant, and that it would be more severely felt from the middle of April. Grain is generally cheaper in the cold weather when the crop is cut, and dearer in the hot weather and till the beallee crop is cut. The records of the last settlement show 1,39,025 acres beallee cultivation to 530,021 acres sarud. It was agreed to collect subscriptions for relief, and it was arranged that many persons should find employment on the irrigation works. I don't know that any other works for the purpose of relief were started. In the course of a fortnight 1,479 rupees was subscribed and most of it was paid in March following. Nothing was done in January and February. The price of rice got higher. Till the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit, public opinion about the probability of famine remained in the same state as I have already described. It was generally believed that zemindars and mahajuns had large stocks of grain, but it was not available for the market. I myself then thought there was grain enough to last till the next crop, if it could only have been got at. I do not now think that it was so. It was not at that time thought that the distress would be so severe as it has turned out to be. I am not aware of any consultations on the subject when the Lieutenant Governor was here. I only know that petitions were presented, requesting his Honor to fix the price of grain, and he declined. People became somewhat discontented because a rate was not fixed. I did not perceive any other change of opinion. People had then no idea that Government would help. In March prices continued to rise; but nothing particular was done. In April grain got much dearer, and was selling at five or six seers per rupee, and people then thought a famine was at hand. In the fourth week of April (24th), I wrote to the collector, Mr. Cornell, proposing to commence relief operations, and to buy some rice. A meeting of the relief committee was then, for the first time, called, and relief operations were commenced. There had been none before. An unnochatro

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Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose.

28 December 1866.

was then opened at Cuttack only. An application for aid from Jajpoor was refused for want of funds. In the latter end of May, money was sent to both Jajpoor and Kendraparah, and some grain to Kendraparah. I think that in this district distress was first severely felt in the eastern parts in Killahs Koojong, Kendraparah, Aul, and Kanika. It was, I believe, towards the end of May. Till that time it was not very bad. I believe that there were not till then very many cases of death from starvation. In April there was not bad famine, only apprehension of it. Up to May we had only succeeded in getting about 1,400 rupees from the local public. We became aware that Messrs. Sykes had got up a subscription, and in May we applied to them for aid. In June, July, August, and part of September things were at their worst. On the 31st May, 10,000 rupees was received from Government. The first Government grain came actually to hand for relief on the 21st June. From that time it continued to come in. We had a full supply from that time forward. There was never any limit or stint as far as regards relief operations with which only I was concerned—I mean giving food gratuitously to the actually starving. I did not continue in charge of the actual relief. Mr. Kirkwood relieved me; but I think that at Cuttack no starving object was turned away. The sales at relief, *i.e.*, cheap rates, were occasionally stopped for want of rice, the boats having been delayed. I don't know about sales at market rates. It was, I think, a matter of regret that sales at cheap rates could not be more largely made. The famine abated when the sarud crop made its appearance.

In the early part of the season, when famine was expected, but had not actually arrived, I know nothing of any application for Government aid. The greatest mortality was among weavers and low-caste labourers; not to the same extent among the ryots. I can't say what class of ryots died most. The Ooryah ryots don't work so hard as the Bengal ryots, and they are more constantly in debt. The Ooryah zemindars are not much in debt. The Bengalees, who hold zemindarees here, are more frequently in debt. I don't know anything of the Killah holdings. Till a letter appeared in the "Hindoo Patriot," only one native was on the relief committee. Most of the 1,400 rupees mentioned by me was collected from natives. Most of the European gentlemen gave small monthly subscriptions.

No. 32.—Baboo Dwarkanath Chuckerbutty, Deputy Inspector of Schools.

[Examined at Cuttack, 28th December 1866.]

Baboo Dwarkanath Chuckerbutty.

28 December 1866.

Last year I was master in the Pooree Government School. Since September last I have been deputy inspector, and residing at Cuttack. In February and March last I officiated as deputy inspector. I left Pooree on the 8th February, and went first to Piply, Cuttack, Bhowanipoor, Khoorda, Beegoonea, Balghan (in the extreme north-west of the district), then to Sorapalla, in Banpoor, and back through Khoorda to Pooree. In March I was out again in the eastern part of the district, to Gope and other places. I was travelling by dawk. I was at Gope on the 27th March, and returned to Pooree on the 30th March. Before I left, there were a few, but not many, starving people in the town: they had come in from the interior. I heard bad reports of the state of the district. When I went to Piply, there there was distress, and a few people, but not many, were starving. In Khoorda, there had been some crop, but I heard that the zemindars and mahajuns were holding it back. There were a few starving people about Khoorda itself. There was much cholera. At Piply and other places, on my way to Balghan, I saw many people dying of starvation, especially about Balghan. No relief was then being given near Balghan, and no works were in operation. There is not even a road between Khoorda and Balghan. At Khoorda, works had been commenced. At Sarrakulla, I saw many people dying from cholera, which was the result of scarcity, but I cannot say I saw anyone dying of actual want of food. At Tanghy and Jenkya I saw persons dying both from cholera and starvation. In Gope, when I visited it, the distress was greater than I had seen elsewhere. Hundreds of people were dying both of starvation and cholera. In Bhadelo, in the Gope division, the distress was particularly bad. No works were going on, but some families were being relieved in money by the Pooree committee; that relief was wholly insufficient. On my return to Pooree, at the end of March, matters were much worse than when I left. A large and gradually increasing number of people had come in from the interior. No people were dying of starvation in the town, although they came in in a very emaciated condition. The mohunts were giving private relief. Cholera was very prevalent, and that may have carried off the emaciated people. I mentioned what I had seen in the interior to my friend Ramakhoy Baboo (deputy collector) and others, who I believe, communicated it to the collector. I did not myself speak to the collector on the subject till the middle or end of May. In April, things got worse in Pooree. More people were coming in from the interior. The private charity was sufficient to keep most of them alive through April; some died. In May, things became much worse. I knew the collector; but did not think it necessary to communicate specially with him about the distress, until I accidentally met him in May, because I supposed that the state of things was known to him. In April, subscriptions were being raised for the Narendra tank. The labourers were paid by the day. Men, women, and children were employed—all who could work. At that time (April and May) I thought that more ought to be done, and that importation of rice was required. I wrote a pamphlet on the subject in April. It was first published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on the 23rd June. In May, I think I showed the manuscript to two friends of mine.

I estimate the sarud crop of 1865, over the whole Pooree district, at four or five-sixteenths

Baboo Dwarkanath Chuckerbutty.

28 December 1866.

teenths. It was rather better in Khoorda, and worse in Gope, Malood, and Parricood. The cause of the disappointment, alluded to in page 17 of my pamphlet, as following the Lieutenant Governor's visit, was, that no relief measures were adopted, and no hopes of relief held out. I did not write to the papers on the subject before my pamphlet was published. I think that May and June were the worst months for distress. May was the worst, as some relief was being given in June. The relief improved things in July and August in the town. In the interior, I believe things were very bad from May to October; in the latter part of this period, the relief measures did some good. In page 21 of my pamphlet, I have alluded to the inaccuracy of the price currents of grain published by the Board of Revenue; these were derived by the collector from the police. Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee, deputy collector, proved the inaccuracy to the collector on one occasion. I found rice dearer in the interior than in the Pooree town. In the interior, the zemindars had much grain; the mahajuns a little, and the ryots had none. I heard that the zemindars were endeavouring to raise the prices. In Pooree, for a time, the mohunts were selling, and some stores had been laid up at the time of the harvest. In the cold weather, the fact of the French ship having stranded with a rice cargo, induced the mahajuns to lower their rates to eight Cuttack seers, as long as they thought that the cargo would be sold. Most of the cargo was, however, taken away again, and then the dealers raised their prices again. The cheapest rate at which rice sold at any time by retail after the sarud crop was cut, was 10 Cuttack seers the rupee. At this time, a ryot bringing in a bullock load or two of rice into Pooree, would have sold to the retail dealer at about the rate of 12 Cuttack seers for the rupee. Perhaps the police constables were able to get rice cheaper than other people, and returned to the collector the rates at which they were able to buy.

No. 33.—Mr. E. J. Barton, c.s., in charge of *Khoorda*.

[Examined at Cuttack, 29th December 1866].

Mr. E. J. Barton, c. s.

29 December 1866.

I have been in Orissa for two years and upwards. For the last 14 months, I have been in charge of Khoorda, a subdivision of Pooree, except for about a month from the beginning of February 1866, when I was in temporary charge of the Cuttack district. Last cold weather, I had no permission to make a regular tour, but generally went out the first few days of each month. I examined the crops. In my opinion, in my subdivision, taken alone, there were 9 or 10-16ths of a crop; but all round the north of the Chilka Lake, which belongs to my jurisdiction, it was very bad, not more than one-eighth or one-fourth. I was round all that part In December, about Tanghy, the ryots were making loud lamentations about loss of crops. I then saw no visible want; but it was plain that distress would soon come. Further west, towards Khanpoor, things were somewhat worse, but there was not actual starvation. In January things were much the same. In the end of January I saw Mr. Barlow at Khoorda. We were agreed that great scarcity, if not famine, was coming, and it was determined to open works to employ the poor. A grant of 10,000 rupees was got from Government, and works commenced on the Piply and Khoorda Road on the 30th January. I don't know from what source the money came. We began on the day-labour system, paying in money to men and women alike, and to children at a smaller rate. At that time the employment was limited, and was given in preference to people coming from the distressed quarters—Chowbeescood, Mallood, Parricood, &c., also from Tanghy and other places round the lake. At that time, that is, during the first month, there was very little real distress about Khoorda itself, and Khoorda people were only admitted when well known to be in real distress. Distressed people also came in small numbers from Bollghur; but the distress there was not, and never has been, so great as near the lake. In March distress was plainly spreading among the poorer classes throughout the subdivision, but, speaking generally, not real starvation; there may have been exceptions. The country was then in a bad state; famine was clearly coming. On this account the policy of limiting the number employed was abandoned, and employment was given to all who came to the Khoorda and Piply Road; to the able-bodied on the task system at a liberal rate, *Rs.* 2. 5. per 1,000 feet, and to the weak on the daily system at the former rate of 2 annas a day for each adult, and less for children. That system succeeded and was continued. Till the 27th April, the daily average was 763 persons employed, and to the 22nd August, 800. The Khoorda and Ganjam Road was also of much use in giving employment. I can say that at the commencement of the famine in my subdivision, there was always work for all who chose to come to my road, and I myself personally decided whether each individual should work on the day or task system. From the first, there was great difficulty in getting rice for the labourers. Mr. Barlow tried to buy rice and establish godowns along the road, but this practice was prohibited by superior authority. The labourers had to forage for themselves. To enable them to do so, they were scattered in small gangs over twenty miles of road, and up to a certain time they there got rice; but the difficulty interfered much with the work as a means of relief, and probably deterred people from coming. It was not till towards the end of May that the difficulty of getting rice reached its maximum. I don't think I was in the Lake Pergunnahs in March or April. In February I was away, and Mr. Webster, who acted for me, was in bad health. I don't know of his going anywhere. In the early part of April I was up nearly to Bollghur, and saw symptoms of hunger in individual instances, but not general famine; but Mr. Barlow afterwards told me that in more remote parts of Bollghur, he had noticed signs

of

Mr. E. J. Barton, C. S.

29 December 1866.

of distress before I was there. In the great body of my subdivision, there was no general appearance of starvation in the faces and bodies of the poor till towards the end of May; but in April and in the early part of May, the distress was steadily increasing, and it was, of course, still more plain than in March that famine was coming. In March I saw a good deal of Mr. Barlow. I do not think I did in April. I had a good deal of demi-official and official correspondence about the famine roads, and much conversation about the famine. I did not keep copies of demi-official letters, but I may have some received from Mr. Barlow. I believe they are exclusively regarding details connected with the road. From my conversation with Mr. Barlow in March, I think that he was then fully aware that a famine was coming. Beyond starting relief works, he did not seem to me to have other measures in contemplation. His head was full of relief works to employ the poor, and he took a great interest in them. I cannot suggest any explanation of his writing on the 5th March, that no further remedial measures on the part of Government were necessary, nor of his altering his mind about appealing to the general public on the 25th February. In my subdivision, up to the end of May, excepting my Khoorda and Piply road and the public works on the Ganjam road, there were no other measures of relief. In the end of May, I first commenced gratuitous relief in money and grain from funds supplied by Mr. Buckley and raised in Calcutta by Messrs. Sykes & Co., and from local subscriptions. From that time gratuitous relief was continued, but not at first to all applicants, only to a selection of the most miserable. In June things got bad, and in July worse; but in my subdivision the worse months of all were August, September, and up to 15th October. Government relief commensurate with the district never came to my subdivision. The first grain that came had been bought by Mr. Barlow and the Relief Committee at Gopalpoor, 250 bags. I think that this was in June or beginning of July. The Government grain did not come till later. I established nine centres altogether. Up to the end of July I had nine; up to the end of August, seven; to the end of September, eight; and the last in October. I could have established many more centres with great advantage if I could have depended on the supply of grain. I was always afraid of its running short, and that if I had collected people and then not been able to supply them they would have died. Occasionally, some of the centres did run short, and then it always happened that some died. I should also have liked to have established sales both at market and cheap rates, but was unable to do so except to a very small extent at Khoorda, and to an extremely small extent at two or three relief centres. While the centres were in operation, decidedly most of those who came in survived. I never turned away any except those who could plainly work for themselves, and, in fact, in the height of the rains, I accepted all known to be needy when there was no work. I attributed the short supply of grain to the fact that it could not be spared from Pooree, and in the height of the rains our difficulties of transport were also extremely great. Generally, I had barely enough grain to keep my centres going. I was better supplied in September than in July and August, and in fact better in August than in July. In October I had enough for my centres. Towards the end of October the famine began to abate, and it may now be said to have disappeared, with the exception of a residuum of destitution and disease. There is scarcely any beallee crop in my division, and half of what there was, destroyed by floods.

I wish to add to what I have said that at Khoorda I always got all that I asked for, for the purpose of giving relief by employment on roads. Up to the end of May I had got 20,000 rupees for my road, and since then I have had 6,000 rupees more. I have spent 23,000 rupees. In May the work was at its maximum. In March, although I anticipated famine, I did not think it would be so bad as it turned out. There were then ample works in my subdivision to supply all who wished to work for their living, and I did not then think other measures necessary. The want of rice was the only difficulty. I have struck an average of the task-work done, and find that, taking men, women, and children together, the average earning of each individual was 2½ annas per diem. Strong men I have known to earn 4 or 5 annas per diem. Up to this time the ryots were living on their crops, and they are much better off than in other parts of Orissa. Even now there is no previously cultivated land out of cultivation. The labouring population only were in distress in the early part of the season. Throughout the famine, starvation was principally confined to them, but latterly the poorer classes of ryots suffered. The richer ryots were only impoverished. Khoorda is a very large Government estate. The revenue is collected by surburakars, who are allowed certain profits; but the settlement is in fact ryotwaree; the ryots hold pottahs direct from the collector. They are mostly what are elsewhere called Thanee ryots, but they call themselves "Khalee-pottah" ryots, meaning, I suppose, that they own the Government only for their master. They value the Government pottah very much. There are comparatively very few Pye ryots. The poorer class of ryots are mostly those who hold sub-leases under the Government ryots, and ryots who hold pottahs for reclaimed waste land from the surburakars. Of this last the surburakars have the profits. These last classes of ryots are generally tenants at will. I estimate the mortality in my subdivision at about one-ninth of the population, including deaths from cholera and small-pox. In May and June cholera was very bad and destructive towards the lake. There is no zemindaree in my subdivision, but one large jagheer of the Pooree temple. It is not well managed. The managers are always quarrelling with their surburakars and ryots, and in the famine gave them no assistance. In the whole of my subdivision no considerable assistance was given by any one except Government. There is little distinction of rank in my subdivision; they are all on one comfortable level. There are traders, but none very wealthy. The ryots work well, and resisted this famine wonderfully. Many of them are

Mr. E. J. Barton, C. S.

29 December 1866.

in debt, perhaps one-fifth of them, but very few ruinously. During the famine there was a good deal of mortgaging of Khalee-pottahs, but comparatively few sales. As respects improvement of their holdings, their chief aim is to acquire new land by breaking up the jungle, and in the Government estate they also dig tanks and form irrigating channels. They manure to a very large extent, and produce very fine crops. I have no doubt that if irrigation was brought to their doors they would buy water, provided they got it at reasonable rates; but they themselves have also numerous contrivances for storing up water, and in fact they have a good system of irrigation. They hold on a 30 years' settlement, an excellent one. The principal crop is the rice crop. They do not grow very much rubbee crop, but still a considerable quantity of various small grains, oil seeds, &c., little wheat, or barley, tobacco only for the local bazaars, sugar-cane, cotton, and jute only for local use, not for export. They export little beyond rice. They irrigate the rice largely. Everything that was possible to be done was done last year to save the crops by irrigation.

When I first joined, my court was filled with ryots quarrelling about tanks, springs, and water-courses; there were also many breaches of the peace on the same subject. A great part of the crop saved was altogether due to irrigation. There is still much jungle in the subdivision, which the ryots are rapidly reducing, and I don't think it is yet ready for a permanent settlement. So far as I know, the ryots who hold pottahs direct from Government are perfectly content with the present arrangements. The holdings of the others are very insecure. Before going to Khoorda I had been about two years in the Cuttack district. In that district also I should say that the ryots were then tolerably, but not very, industrious, and in a state of comfort, though much inferior to the Khoorda people. The zemindar of Kendraparah is a good man, and treats his ryots well. He is one of the best; but as a whole I don't think the Ooryah and other zemindars unkind to their ryots. The rajahs of Koojung and Awl are in difficulties, and the former has been deprived of his estate. I have heard that he did not use his ryots well. The Ooryahs are kinder to their ryots than the Bengalee purchasers, who are generally absentees and manage by naibs, which is never satisfactory.

When I was in charge of the Cuttack district in February, the state of things as regards scarcity was about the same as in Khoorda, but just then the bazaars became suddenly somewhat easier. The Lieutenant Governor was then expected, and I think the dealers were afraid of his fixing a price. There was no difficulty of getting rice in the bazaars just then. When the Lieutenant Governor came, I had no opportunity of discussing famine matters with his Honor. I went back to Khoorda soon after this. The bazaar again became tighter, but I can give no particulars. I had no reports of starvation. The natives seemed to think that the scarcity was caused by combination among the mahajuns and grain holders, zemindars and others. Every one, Europeans and natives, saw that a scarcity, perhaps famine, was coming, but no one anticipated the greatness of the calamity. I also at that time shared the belief that there was combination among the mahajuns and holders of grain. There were no local works that I know of then in operation for the relief of the poor; in fact, there certainly were none under me. The alarm was not sounded so soon in Cuttack as in Pooree. When I took charge from Mr. Money, he communicated to me nothing whatever regarding the state of the district.

No. 34.—Rev. John Buckley.

[Examined at Cuttack, 29th December 1866.]

Rev. J. Buckley.

29 December 1866.

I have lived more than 22 years in Orissa, with one break. I am intimately acquainted with the people and the language, and am the senior missionary and secretary of the Orissa Mission. I was in Cuttack last cold weather, and went about part of the district. Up to the beginning of September I thought it likely that we should have a remarkably good harvest, although the prices of rice were very high. Towards the end of September we felt considerable apprehensions. We have about 300 Christians engaged in agriculture. Our anxiety increased as no rain fell. About the 20th of October we began to despair of the crop. From that time things went from bad to worse, with the exception of a short period, from the middle of December to the end of January, when the harvesting of the crop improved matters a little. During that period I think that the people were comparatively less depressed. The crops were some better and some worse, but on an average I estimate the crop at a quarter crop in the country about Cuttack. I do not think that in this part of the country the idea of a famine is one which readily occurs to the people. They have had nothing of the kind for 29 years. In 1837 what was called a famine (but I should call it a scarcity) occurred. I was not here at the time; but I have heard that the prices reached 8 seers about July and August. It only continued about two months. During the last cold weather the general feeling was that dark and gloomy days were impending. There was nothing very definite. At the time when the bazaar was closed, the general impression was that it was the result of a wicked combination among the grain dealers. At that time I was not acquainted with the Commissioner. I knew Mr. Money, the magistrate and collector, slightly. On the 26th of October I wrote to the secretary of our society in England, stating that a frightful calamity had overtaken us. I produce a printed copy of my letter. By the beginning of February, prospects were beginning to look more gloomy again than they had done in December and January. About the middle of February the Lieutenant Governor was here. I had no conversation with the Lieutenant Governor

Rev. J. Buckley.

29 December 1866.

Governor on this subject. The address presented by the native Christians spoke of the time as one of great and general distress. The address was printed, with other papers, by the Irrigation Company. There was certainly a feeling of disappointment that the Lieutenant Governor had not done more on the occasion of his visit. The natives were principally discontented that he had refused to fix the selling price of grain, for which they had petitioned. I thought their expectations were unreasonable. I do not remember ever hearing the natives make any special suggestion (among themselves) as to any other measure which the Government might undertake. I think the natives would naturally look to Government for assistance in the case of a famine. On the 1st of March rice was selling at 6 and 6½ Cuttack seers per rupee. From my own observation, I am of opinion that the price currents published by Government were not always very accurate. I cannot say whether they were generally inaccurate in under-stating or over-stating the prices. Things got worse and worse till the end of March. On the 31st March I wrote another letter beginning "The state of things is truly awful, the famine is sore in the land." My remarks in that letter referred to the state of things in the Cuttack and Pooree districts; things were very bad in Cuttack. From my own observation and the appearance of the people, I was aware that there was much distress about the town of Cuttack, but things were still worse in Pooree. On the 16th April, I wrote another letter to our secretary in England. At the time, I was in frequent correspondence with Messrs. Sykes & Co., who are my agents, and I may have mentioned the distress, but did not do so with the deliberate intention of leading to an appeal to the Indian public. Some time before the Sykes' Fund was established, I discussed with my missionary brethren the propriety of making an appeal to the Indian public. We resolved not to do so, as we considered it was the duty of Government to make such an appeal, and also because we were not in a position to contribute to any general subscription, as might have been expected from us if we had started it. We had great difficulties in carrying on our own operations. At that time we did not communicate with the Government officials. The Commissioner was absent from the station, and with Mr. Cornell, the magistrate and collector, we had a very slight acquaintance. I am not aware that any general consultation as to the state of things, and measures to be taken, was held about that time, although the subject was discussed in private conversation. I think that the Europeans and natives were then generally convinced that a famine existed. I am not aware that any one took a leading part in urging a general movement to induce Government or the general public to take active measures to relieve the famine. We missionaries were desirous of doing all we could for others, though naturally our first care was for the orphans and suffering native Christians. A meeting had, I know, been held in December on the subject. My impression is that the result of the meeting was unsatisfactory. I was in the interior of the district at the time. No other general movement was made, nor any measures of general relief undertaken till April. We missionaries had, however, been making our own arrangements to meet the coming distress, and relieved cases of distress among our own people. In April, Mr. Phillips, of Jellasore, in the Balasore district, wrote to me to the same effect as his letter to the "Friend of India," published in the issue of 12th April. I advised his making an appeal to the public through the "Friend of India," as suggested by him. I received a letter from Messrs. Sykes & Co., dated 19th April, announcing the establishment of their Relief Fund, and sending me a little money. Two days after I received another on the subject, which I put in. Sykes' Fund was liberally supported to the end of May. At first the fund was chiefly, though not exclusively, intended for the relief of the native Christians; but it was largely subscribed to by native gentlemen as well as by Europeans, and from the beginning by far the larger portion was devoted to the relief of the non-Christian population. In the distribution of that fund, the officers of the Irrigation Company and Baboo Koylas Chunder Ghose gave great assistance.

I saw no manifestation of an appreciation of the calamity among the officials till a few days before the Commissioner's return to the station. At that time I received from Mr. Cornell, the Collector, a letter which the Commissioner had addressed to him, regarding the destitute children in the province, in which the Collector was requested to communicate with us on the subject. Except that letter, I saw no other signs of the officials waking up. In modification of my previous remarks, I must mention that some extra work had been undertaken on the roads for some months. The Irrigation Company's works also saved many from starvation. In the early part of May the state of things appeared to me as bad as it could be; but it became much worse afterwards. Early in May the evidence of famine, furnished by the appearance of the people, was exceedingly distressing; but as relief was being administered in the town from various private sources, I did not hear of many deaths from starvation in the town, though I believe many were occurring in the district. Things went on getting very much worse till the middle of June, or even till the 20th of June, when the Government-imported rice began to arrive. On the 1st of May I wrote a strong letter to England, but I have no copy of it here. On the 17th I wrote another, which I put in, giving my impression of the terrible state of things then existing.

I find from a letter of mine, dated the 21st of June, that it was then hoped that prospects had just begun to look a little brighter. The rivers had opened, and some boats began to arrive from Sumbulpoor with merchants' grain, and the rice imported by Government was on the point of arriving. On the 16th of July I wrote another letter, from which it will be seen that our hopes of improvement were not realised, as the rice came in at first very slowly. My impression is, that the Government relief has been very considerable. Sad as the distress has been, it would have been much worse without it. I was pleased to

Rev. J. Buckley.

29 December 1866.

to hear natives expressing their gratitude for the Government relief. After the Government rice arrived, the very great difficulty which we had previously experienced in buying rice for those whom we supplied, disappeared; we were able to buy rice for money. I believe that in the town the mortality was never so great as in the interior.

If the magnitude of the crisis had been appreciated earlier, in my judgment very much more might have been done for the relief of distress in the district. After the Government supply became larger, the floods interfered with its distribution in the interior. I believe that the mortality in August about Cuttack was greater than in any other month. The people who had been temporarily cut off from supplies by the inundation, came in a terrible state, and many of them died. About the end of September things became better; they improved as the harvest of 1866 approached.

My opinion is that after the full magnitude of the calamity was once appreciated, every officer did all that lay in his power, and all was done which under the circumstances was possible. The great defect was that the officials did not become sensible of the magnitude of the calamity in time.

I think that the visitation of God was so great, that no amount of Government aid, however early given, could have prevented great mortality; but if it had been given two months earlier, much of the mortality which did occur might have been avoided. I have seen and heard much of Mr. Kirkwood, the local relief manager, and am of opinion that he did all in his power. I wish to mention that, by the mercy of God, during this awful calamity, not one native Christian in Orissa has, to the best of my belief, died of starvation. In Orissa and Ganjam, there are about 1,400 Christians scattered about.

Q. You have said that you did not observe any manifestation that the officials at Cuttack had realised the full magnitude of the impending calamity till towards the end of May; but your letters show that you did realise it long before, and it is your impression that some others realised it. Do you know whether any one attempted to wake up the officials to the danger?—*A.* I am not aware of any official and formal representations being made to that effect. I had rather not refer to private conversations not my own.

Q. Was the conduct of the Government officials, or any of them, such as to discourage the communication to them of information of this sort?—*A.* I am not aware that it was; but I knew very little of the Government officials, and they are constantly changing them. I know that, from the time when the magnitude of the calamity was known, Mr. Ravenshaw invited suggestions in a spirit for which I honour him, and worked heart and soul. He was absent at the most critical time, in April and May, and I did not know his address. As far as I am personally concerned, nothing in the conduct of the Government officials deterred me from communicating with them. I supposed that they had many sources of information, denied to me, and must know the state of things better than I did. I never had been introduced to Mr. Ravenshaw, who was new to the division, till the Lieutenant Governor came in February, and I do not remember to have seen him again till after his return. Mr. Cornell joined in the end of February. I had barely been introduced to him. Nothing repellant on the part of any of the officers prevented me from communicating with them on the subject of the famine.

I think that the mortality has been greatest among the Bowrees, Chassas, and other caste, short of the lowest who feed on offal. The better classes had more to part with to keep them alive. I think that the distress was increased by the fact that a settlement was impending, that is to say, I have always heard that it is customary to reduce cultivations before a settlement, but I have no particular information on this point at present. I think a permanent settlement would be of great advantage. By a permanent settlement I mean a fixing of the rents both of zemindars and ryots, not of zemindars alone. Whatever is done for the zemindars, respect should be had to the rights of the ryots, otherwise there will be fearful oppression. The zemindars will take everything for them. To give irrigation and improvement fair play, I think a permanent settlement desirable. I think that if the ryots saw that, it would be for their gain to take water; they would take it.

No. 35.—Baboo Lukhee Narain Chowdhry, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 29th December 1866.]

Baboo Lukhee Narain Chowdhry.

29 December 1866.

I am a Bengalee settled in Cuttack; have considerable estates in Kendraparah. People out there were living on roots, got dreadfully emaciated, and began to die of starvation in March; considerable numbers died in March and April. Did not specially represent this at the time, because it was patent to all the world. Government relief was not commenced till later in the end of May. Government relief altogether came two months too late; but when it did come, it was liberal, and people have been very grateful for it. It was efficiently administered, and saved many people. If it had not come, no one would have been left alive. For the future I can only recommend storing of grain. Ooryah ryots are less wicked and troublesome than Bengalees, but also less laborious and more indebted.

No. 36.—Baboo Jonardan Sen, Sheristadar, Collectorate.

[Examined at Cuttack, 29th December 1866.]

Baboo Jonardan Sen.

29 December 1866.

Last year the crop amounted to four or five-sixteenths. No inquiry was made. When the Lieutenant Governor came zemindars petitioned for remissions of revenue. The lower people cried out that they had nothing to eat. They were disappointed that nothing was done. They expected that a price would be fixed. Everyone thought that the grain-holders had some grain in hand; but it was not generally believed that they had really large quantities sufficient to last the whole year. People generally did not know what would come; but many who thought about it said, if things are bad now, they will be much worse when the season advances. From that time things got worse; but there was not mortality from actual starvation till the end of May. There was cholera earlier. In the end of May many were dying from starvation. Finally, the Government grain arrived and saved many. If it had not come, many more would have died.

No. 37.—Baboo Wooma Churn Neogee, Sheristadar and Head Clerk, Magistrate's Office.

[Examined at Cuttack, 29th December 1866.]

Baboo Wooma Churn Neogee.

29 December 1866.

Famine commenced immediately after the Lieutenant Governor's visit, but deaths from starvation not till the end of May. In March I got up a subscription, and in April commenced relief in the town of Cuttack; I got about 1,200 rupees. In March I thought a bad famine was coming. Poor people were begging from door to door; they were coming in from the district. In April day by day things got gradually worse. It was not till June that the whole extent of the calamity was realised. It was either in the first or second week of April that I commenced operations. Before Mr. Ravenshaw went, I asked him to assist me in getting rice for any charity. He told Roghoonath Chowdry to sell me grain, and I got some. I did not say there was famine, only that there was scarcity, and that charity was necessary. I had no conversation about the probability of more severe famine afterwards. In the end of May I printed and circulated an appeal to the principal zemindars and merchants in Bengal, and to leading men all over India. I got nothing from any one, except the Maharajah of Burdwan.

No. 38.—Dhanu Beara, and Twenty-two others.

[Examined at Cuttack, 29th December 1866.]

Dhanu Beara, and Twenty-two others.

29 December 1866.

In Jeyt (May) last a quantity of grain was brought by private merchants in carts from Gopalpoor and saved many people. Next month (Asarh) when the rains fell, that communication was stopped, but it came from Sumbulpoor; 10 or 12,000 maunds of rice came and other grains besides. More grain came for mahajuns than for Government, and more good was done. Government supplied gaol, troops, &c., and sold a little in town for two hours only, and there was this good, that the merchants were induced to sell cheaper. Eventually they sometimes sold cheaper than Government. Throughout the famine the Government rice was sold very sparingly, and much more was done by the merchants, who bought grain from the four quarters of the globe. The zemindars have still much old grain stored up, in the hope of selling at famine prices. If they are properly dealt with, things will be easier.

No. 39.—Mr. T. K. Webster, c.s.

[Examined at Cuttack, 1st January 1867.]

Mr. T. K. Webster, c. s.

1 January 1867.

I have been in Orissa since December 1864. Was assistant at Cuttack till 1st February 1866. Was in the Sudder station during September, October, and November 1865. Knew, as early as September, that the crops about Cuttack and towards the western Gurjats would be bad, but thought the failure was partial. Had no idea of the actual state of things until I went out into the district with Mr. Money, the Collector. Having had no experience before in crops, did not even then realize the serious nature of the case. Went out with Mr. Money early in December, first northwards along the Calcutta-road, 30 miles, then eastwards to Jajpoor, thence to Patamoondee and Killah Kanika, and thence back through Patamoondee to Kendraparah and Cuttack, about the 15th of January 1866. Believe that Mr. Money's special object was to visit Kanika. Am not aware that his tour was particularly intended for the purpose of inspecting the crops, or the state of the people in connection with the scarcity and high prices which were then prevailing. I had no special business assigned to me. The Collector spoke of sending me to inquire into the losses of crop in Darpan, which was then under his management, but did not do so. As we went along, the state of the crops was naturally a subject of occasional conversation between

Mr. T. K. Webster, C. S.

1 January 1867.

Mr. Money and me, principally with reference to remission. I was over a good deal of Pergunnah Darpan, and saw that the crops there were very bad. Estimating them with the experience which I have since gained, I should say there was not more than six-sixteenths of a crop. Most of the crops had been cut, and my attention was not particularly attracted to them during the rest of the tour, till we got back to Puddumpoor, about eight miles east of Cuttack. I observed that the crops there were about the same as about Darpan. In the condition of the people I saw no indication of distress during that tour. They were dying of cholera about Aul and Patamoondee. We lost several men out of our camp. I saw no indication of people being driven to feed on roots or other unwonted food, and do not ascribe the cholera to that cause. In Kanika our servants complained that they could not get rice, although we were told (by others than our servants) that the bazar price of rice was 20 seers for the rupee. I believe the deputy collector got rice for them. There was rice there. I did not hear this complaint from the servants, except in Kanika; but throughout the town there was great difficulty in getting Kullee and Kelaie, or any of the Rubbee grains for the horses. Did not hear any complaints from the people of the difficulty of getting grain, but did hear complaints of the high prices. Do not remember, in the course of the tour, having heard Mr. Money express any serious apprehension as to the distress or scarcity which was impending. Mr. Armstrong, the assistant magistrate in charge of the Jajpoor subdivision, was with us, and may have heard Mr. Money express some such opinion. After this tour I remained about a fortnight in Cuttack, and on the 1st of February took charge of Khoorda.

I remember that a meeting was held in Cuttack about the difficulty of getting rice, at which I was present. I cannot remember whether this was before our tour or after it. There was no Europeans present except Mr. Money, and the zemindars and mookhtears were there. Baboo Haran Chunder Ghose, the deputy collector, was present. Mr. Money urged the zemindars and mookhtears to use their influence to get rice into the market, but nothing definite was decided on.

I remember nothing else in particular which came to my notice in connection with the distress during the 15 days I remained in Cuttack. I did not know of any relief measures having been undertaken up to the time I left Cuttack.

On taking charge of the Khoorda subdivision on the 1st February I found a very different state of things. The repair of the Khoorda and Piply-road had just been sanctioned as a measure of relief, and I started it. When I took charge, people were coming in from the south for work on this road; people of the neighbourhood also came to work. We admitted to that work those only who were not in a fit condition to earn their subsistence by ordinary labour. The able-bodied we referred to the Irrigation Company for employment. The people of the neighbourhood were beginning to show slight signs of want; those from the south were in a very bad state of emaciation. I was only there 15 days, so cannot say that there was any appreciable change in the condition of the people during my stay, but the number of applicants for work increased to about 800. At that time I got each person to do as much as he could, and paid him a day's wages for it. I forget the exact rate of wages fixed for men, women, and children; but I remember that they were fixed by Mr. Barlow, so as to suffice for the support of the labourers, with reference to the market price of rice. Rice could be got in the bazar, but with difficulty. Mr. Barlow proposed to import rice from Kanika (the cheapest market) for the labourers; but the proposal was disapproved by superior authority, I cannot say by whom. I am not aware of deaths occurring among the coolies, nor among the people about Khoorda; I mean deaths from want. A few cases of cholera occurred, but not among the labourers.

No absolutely gratuitous relief was being distributed then at Khoorda. Much of the work on the road was, however, nominal.

I did not have it brought to my notice that the people about Khoorda were at that time eating uncooked food. I got a sun-stroke, and returned to Cuttack about the 15th of February; was ill for about a month, and can give no material information of what went on during that time. Do not remember being struck by any particular signs of destitution during March or April, beyond the difficulty of obtaining rice. I heard from servants and others that rice absolutely could not be got in the bazar. Do not remember having any special conversation with Mr. Cornell, the Collector, on the subject. On the 15th May I went out to take charge of the Jajpoor subdivision; on my way out, going along the Calcutta-road, I heard that the people were eating roots. Relief measures had been begun; some zemindars had been prevailed on to sell paddy below the bazar rate. No money nor rice had, I believe, been sent from the Sudder station. Very soon after I got to Jajpoor I saw people dying in the streets here and there from starvation. Before this there had been a local subscription. Rice had been bought from holders, and sold somewhat cheaper, as a measure of relief. Soon after I arrived, I began distributing cooked food out of the subscribed money, and applied to the Collector for assistance. Mr. Buckley, of Cuttack, first sent me 150 rupees from Sykes' Fund, out of which I continued to distribute cooked rice to 400 or 500 people. The number did not increase much during my two months' stay at Jajpoor. After Mr. Buckley's instalment, I received money from the Collector. Early in June I got orders to send to False Point for rice, and to give notice that rice was to be got there. I accordingly sent a man with a letter to the officer in charge of the ship, probably the "Jacques Forestier." My instructions were, I think, to buy it at the rate of 11 rupees a bag. My man brought back a letter from the officer of the ship, to the effect that I could not have the rice at a lower rate than (I think) 12-4 rupees a bag. This answer reached me about the 20th June (12 days after I had sent the rice), and I immediately

dawked

Mr. T. K. Webster, C. S.

1 January 1867.

dawked into Cuttack. Although I published the notice that rice was to be had at False Point at 11 rupees a bag, not a single mahajun or other person from my neighbourhood would send to buy, although rice was extremely scarce in Jajpoor. Having received instructions in Cuttack, I sent an indent and boats to False Point—about 17 boats. Those boats did not arrive till after I left Jajpoor on the 15th July. They were despatched, I think, on the 26th of June. The boats could not have been back under 15 days. Before I left Jajpoor I got rice by cart from Cuttack; sold part, and distributed a part gratuitously. People crowded in to buy it, in spite of the relief I was giving. The number of deaths from starvation was increasing the whole time I was at Jajpoor. I attribute this to the fact that the paupers were beyond recovery when they came in for relief. I gave five Cuttack chittacks of rice to each applicant. Do not think I was giving vegetables or dhal besides. I consider that this was just sufficient to support life. I had no sufficient supply of rice, and therefore could not give more. I never had absolutely to stop the distribution of relief. Cannot estimate the daily rate of mortality. No relief work was going on in the subdivision while I was there, and the centres of relief in the interior of the subdivision were on the point of being opened when I left Jajpoor. On my way back to Cuttack, I saw numbers of people dying and dead along the roadside. During the 15 days I was attached to the Sudder station I was principally out near Dyalpoor, about 10 miles to the east of the station. I saw people dead and dying along the road from starvation. They were, I suppose, people who could not get into Cuttack for relief. I do not believe any centre had been opened near Dyalpoor. I sold several hundred bags of damaged rice there, and distributed some gratuitously. The rice had been wet and dried again; it was quite unwholesome, but unfit for carriage. I suppose that on going down that road 10 miles to Dyalpoor, I must have seen eight or ten persons either dying or recently dead. There was no special arrangements along the road for their care or removal. The same state of things must have existed then on all the roads about Cuttack. Went out to Kendraparah on the 1st, and went on at once to Patamoondee and Oolabar. I went out to visit the relief station at Oolabar. I found very great distress; sales of rice were going on, and gratuitous relief in cooked food was being distributed. Sales were crowded and disorderly. The distribution of cooked food was orderly. Above 500 were receiving food. On the day I passed through Kendraparah, I saw 10 dead bodies lying in the streets. The deaths had evidently been from starvation. On the road from Kendraparah to Oolaber, and in Oolabar, I saw dead bodies. In Aul, great mortality had occurred. It was reported that out of 500 families of Mussulmans, 100 only remained. On the 8th of August I took charge of Kendraparah. Uncooked rice was being given to light-labour coolies in payment of labour; cooked rice was gratuitously distributed. The Government rice had been sold; but there was so little in store when I arrived that sales had been stopped. Road-work was going on; paid in rice. I sent off all the able-bodied to the Irrigation Company for employment. By a mistake of the deputy collector, Doorjodhun Dass, the rice had been weighed out in chittacks of 80 tola weight, instead of 105 tola weight, on which the quantity allowed to each man had been calculated. I am decidedly of opinion that five chittacks of 80 tola weight was insufficient to support life. Mr. Odling and the Deputy Ferry Fund Overseer, Bhaghut Churn Mookerjee, had remonstrated with the deputy collector on the insufficiency of the rice when I went out, but without effect. I rectified this error. About the middle of August, some rice came up from False Point, which enabled me to re-commence Government sales; but I had to discontinue them soon after, so that the gratuitous relief might not be stopped. I sent boats again to False Point at once. The boats were delayed on the road; I do not know how; probably by the violence of the stream. The rice did not come up till the middle of September. In August a Government store for sale was started at Patamoondee; that was always kept supplied; there was also a relief centre there; it is 10 miles from Kendraparah. In the part of my subdivision above the Mahanuddee, there were eight centres at distances eight or ten miles from one another. The relief centres south of the Mahanuddee were under Mr. Kirkwood's management. I think the centres were sufficient in number. On one occasion, late in August, the supplies at two of the centres ran short, and relief had to be stopped for two or three days. The reports did not show any marked increase of mortality during these days. I do not know whether any previous notice was given to the people that distribution would not be made on these days. At that time I had not rice enough to send from Kendraparah; but I could have supplied rice from other centres if the communication had been better. The country was then under water. In September, October, and November the rice was sufficient for the gratuitous relief, but by no means sufficient for the requirements. Very much more ought to have been sold at cost price by Government. I consider these sales were of far more use than the gratuitous relief. At first, many would not come for relief; they preferred dying in their houses; afterwards, many gave in, and came in and did light labour, taking uncooked rice in return. There was considerable mortality at all the centres; it was heaviest in September. In August sheds were built for the coolies and paupers. Before the sheds were up, the mortality was considerably increased when heavy falls of rain occurred. The inundations came on about the 9th August. The highest was in the first half of August. There was a second high inundation about the beginning of September. The whole subdivision, with the exception of two or three pergunnahs in the south, was submerged. This caused almost the total destruction of the beallee crop. It swept away the whole sarud crop miles and miles. I estimate the sarud crop, which was left and re-planted, at about four or five-sixteenths over the subdivision.

Mr. T. K. Webster, C. S.

1 January 1867.

The greatest mortality occurred before the inundations; but I estimate that the mortality of the year would have been less by one-fourth or one-fifth if no inundation had occurred. Since the new crop came in very little old rice has come into the bazar of Cuttack.

No. 40.—Mr. A. Crommelin, Superintending Engineer, *Cuttack Circle.*

[Examined at Cuttack, 1st January 1867.]

Mr. A. Crommelin.

1 January 1867.

I came here in October 1865. My circle includes the whole of the Cuttack division, the whole of Midnapore, and a small portion of Hooghly. I went up the Grand Trunk-road towards Calcutta early in December, and marched up all the way. I was in Cuttack in November. I then left Calcutta, and went round the Selai embankments in the Tumlook division. I received orders to go down to Cuttack on the 24th December; that is, I heard personally from the Chief Engineer that orders had been issued to start the relief works in Pooree. I issued demi-official orders from Calcutta at once. In the meantime, with the consent of the Chief Engineer, I went down to look at the Selai embankments—an important work, but not connected with the famine operations. Got to Cuttack from Midnapore on the 24th January. Met Mr. Barlow at Cuttack. Left on the 29th or 26th by dawk for Pooree; from Pooree, having inspected the arrangements that were already made, I left for Khoorda. Nothing was going on actually at Khoorda then under me. From Khoorda I went down the Ganjam-road as far as Barcool. I got there about the 30th January, and was back at Cuttack on the 1st February, and stopped there until after the Lieutenant Governor went away. I then went up the road again towards Midnapore, to finish my inspections of the Hidgellee and Tumlook divisions, and returned about the 12th April. On the 23rd May I went again to Pooree to inspect the Pooree-road and embankments. I marched down, and came back by dawk. After that I stayed in the town till towards the end of June.

When I went up the road early in December, I thought the crops looked bad; but I am not conversant with Bengal crops. I saw no distress either then or up to the time I got back to Cuttack in January. When I went over to Pooree on the first occasion I saw distress, that is to say, people were making great complaints of the dearness of rice and the difficulty of getting it; and some of the workpeople who came from the Chilka Lake quarter looked emaciated, but not so much as to stop their work.

After that, when I went down the Ganjam-road, I saw very few people at work near Barcool. I noticed nothing very particular about the state of the people. When I went up the road after the Lieutenant Governor left, I observed nothing like famine. In the course of my tour in the Balasore and Hidgellee divisions, I did not see anything in particular. I think I heard of dacoities. I was in Balasore early in April. Everyone was talking of the scarcity, but not of famine, as far as I can remember. Up to the time I returned to Cuttack I remarked nothing in particular. On the occasion of my second visit to Pooree I saw several dead bodies laying about the country. I was then aware that there was famine. The first absolute famine work was started by Mr. Nolan on the 1st January 1866, on the Pooree-road, close to Pooree. All the work was confined at first, and for some time, to the neighbourhood of Pooree, and to the first six miles out of Pooree. That work has been continued till the present time.

The work on the Ganjam-road was commenced by Mr. Bond, I believe, in the middle of January. I believe Mr. Bond is in error in saying it did not begin till February.* When I went down in the end of January 1866, I found some work going on, perhaps not so much as there should have been. Up till the end of May there were no other special famine works under my control. The ordinary works were pushed on more energetically than usual. I spent more money than usual, with a view to give relief. The first system introduced in both of the famine works was payment by the day in money. There were decided orders that they were not to be paid in grain. After that it was found that the cost of the work exceeded the ordinary rates at which I was authorised to offer work. I was especially ordered at first to offer the ordinary rates; and the rule of the Department is that the cost of the out-turn must not exceed the ordinary rates. I consider I was bound not to exceed the ordinary rates, even at such a time, as I considered that the Government order was issued with a view of not raising the rates of the country generally, but to offer employment to all who wanted it, the actual relief being given through the civil authorities, as pointed out in my orders. On my afterwards reporting my having raised the rates on the Ganjam and Pooree-roads, I was not found fault with for not having increased the ordinary daily pay of coolies before. I asked the civil authorities for aid in carrying out my orders, to supplement my rate of wages, that is to say, I ordered the Executive Engineers under me to put themselves in communication with the civil authorities.

I did not, as far as I remember, directly make any representation to Government; but in my letter to the Commissioner, dated the 3rd February, a copy of which was forwarded to the Chief Engineer, I did mention the extreme necessity of the civil authorities making proper arrangements for supplying rice, without which I was of opinion that our works could not be carried on. It was never understood that the supplement should be in money; but merely that rice should be supplied at such a rate as to enable our coolies to

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* Mr. Crommelin has since written, giving the date as "on or about the 20th January."

to purchase sufficient food to support themselves with the money they gained from us. On the 14th March, I authorised an increase on the Pooree-road, from *R.* 1. 8. to *R.* 1. 12. per 1,000 cubic feet on my own responsibility, and on the 28th May an increase on the Gonjam-road from *R.* 1. 8. to 3 rupees; which was an extra rate to allow for the employment at daily labour of the women and children. Daily labour was almost entirely stopped after this on the Pooree-road, but not on the other road. The result on the Pooree-road was a diminution of the number employed. On the other road I do not think there was any diminution. This system was persevered in till I received orders from Government to increase rates early in June (9th June). Meanwhile there was no correspondence about rates beyond this, that I represented that I was not assisted by the civil authorities in procuring rice.

The orders issued by me on the for "husbanding resources in view to the almost certainty of the distress becoming far more extended a few months hence," were issued after consultation with the Commissioner, and copies of the letter* were sent to the Commissioner and to Government. From both I received approval of my orders. I have not been able to find the letter, and consequently I can't be quite certain whether I actually got a letter from Government approving, but certainly no intimation of disapproval reached me. Besides the difficulty about rates there was another great difficulty in getting rice for the labourers. That difficulty was felt from the first starting of both works, and continued to be felt throughout. I think the want of grain excessively diminished the efficiency of my works as measures of relief. On the 3rd February, I made a representation to Government about this, enclosing a copy of my letter to the Commissioner. I had previously telegraphed about the advance of money for the purchase of grain, and on the 26th January I received a telegram prohibiting any advances.

*Commissioner's letter, No. 36, dated 12th February.

After that, Mr. Ravenshaw suggested that shopkeepers could be got to supply the workpeople by paying them so much a month, but this plan failed. The orders of Government that wages should be paid in money, and not in grain, were most positive; but on the 31st May, I exceeded my authority, in consequence of representations from the executive engineers of Balasore and Cuttack, that important works were at a standstill for want of labourers, as men would not go to the works unless rice was supplied to them, and I then sanctioned the purchase of rice to be conveyed to the works for the labourers to purchase with the wages they received, and I reported my action to Government, and it was approved of by them as a special measure. At Balasore the executive engineer got a little grain, and sent it to the works at Jajpoor. The Pooree engineers were unable to purchase grain. The work on the Pooree-road went on continuously, though limited by the cause above-mentioned; but the work on the Ganjam-road was stopped late in February, or early in March, for a fortnight, on account of cholera breaking out, and the executive engineer ordering the work to be closed. It was closed a second time towards the end of April.

On the 26th or 27th of May I got a telegram, informing me that 60,000 rupees had been specially sanctioned for famine works on the Balasore and Midnapore divisions, and that I was to arrange, in communication with the Commissioner, what works should be put in hand. The works were put in hand, I sanctioned them all in anticipation. The result was not successful. The relief came too late. We got some labour, but not in such large quantities as we ought to have done. In the month of April ordinary works were going on at Balasore. The works were then carried on there by petty contract, and job work, as usual, at the average ordinary rates for earth-work, varying from *R.* 1. 8. to 2 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet.

Q. On the 20th April, the Commissioner, writing from Balasore, stated to the Lieutenant Governor that the executive engineer now wants 100 men, and can't get them; to what do you attribute this?—*A.* I can't say, unless I know what and where the work was; but I should say that the ordinary rates were not then sufficiently high to attract labour. Rice was very dear; but as far as I know procurable, though in very small quantities. In the works started after May the system of pay was task work. Rates were increased by me to *Rs.* 3. 12., and to 4 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet. On the 9th of June I received orders to raise the rates. The effect of the increased rates in no part of the circle was to attract labour in large quantities in consequence of the impossibility of procuring food, the coolies saying they couldn't eat pice. During the rains the works were carried on as far as possible; but they must have been contracted necessarily, as the country was under water. I went on leave of absence to Simla on the 1st August, and returned in November. I had no conversation with the Lieutenant Governor, when here, on the subject of the difficulty of getting rice for the workmen, nor regarding relief works generally. The chief engineer accompanied the Lieutenant Governor as far as I remember; I can't be positive. If I had any conversation with the chief engineer, the subject must have been mentioned. I did not think it necessary specially to address the Lieutenant Governor on the subject of relief, as I considered this to fall more specially within the province of the civil authorities, and as I had already specially written to the secretary on the subject, on the 3rd February. I am not aware of any consultation on the subject being held when the Lieutenant Governor was here.

I think if the Irrigation Company's works are successfully carried out, that they will go very far to obviate the risk of famine. I am sanguine as to the success of these works. The only doubts that occur to me are the difficulty of regulating the rivers in the floods, and the scarcity of the water in the dry weather. I do not apprehend any engineering difficulties in the actual construction of the works.

Mr. A. Crommelin
1 January 1867.

I think, when constructed, that they will suffice for the irrigation of a very large area, equal, I should say (including Balasore and Pooree), to the whole area of the district. This is to be taken in a general way. The irrigation during the monsoon may be carried on quite independently of any question of reservoirs in the upper waters. My knowledge of the district and of the system of rice crops is limited; but roughly speaking, I should say that in ordinary years there would not be a large demand for water between the 15th June and the 15th September; but whenever the local rains fail, I believe the supply of water in the rivers during that season will be sufficient to water a very large area indeed. In the event of an early cessation of rain from the 15th September, such as occurred in 1865, I think there would be a sufficiency of water in the rivers to supply all the canals as now projected till the the 15th November, if not later. I am now having the discharge of the rivers measured. The rains were later than usual this year.

Q. In your opinion has the question of embankments, as a whole, any necessary connection with the irrigation scheme, except so far as the cultivation benefited by the canal is liable to injury from floods in common with all other culture?—*A.* No; I don't think it has.

Q. Will the irrigation canals in part serve as embankments for the protection of the country?—*A.* Certainly.

Q. Can the irrigation works at present be carried out without any material hindrance on account of the doubt which exists regarding the embankment system?—*A.* Certainly.

I am a member of a committee for considering the whole question of embankments. I certainly do not expect to be able to report on the subject, that is, to send in our report, till after the end of the rains.

I have read the correspondence regarding the cost of land involved in a scheme put forward by Mr. Levinge and Colonel Rundall, and I think the damage to the land is very much over-estimated. I think the land would be very valuable owing to the silt occasionally deposited on it. The silt brought down by these rivers is of an ordinarily good quality as far as my experience goes. I don't think the rivers bring down sand in such quantities as to cause material injury. Sand is deposited in quantities such as to cause damage in the places near the breaches, but in the lands at a greater distance the silt is such as to cause an excellent effect. If irrigation water is obtainable, I imagine that a crop could be grown after the subsidence of the floods. From December to March, I think the rivers would supply water enough to irrigate a considerable area.

The principal works of communication now being carried on in my circle are roads. There are no canals under the department. The principal roads now under me are—the main road from Calcutta through Midnapore and Balasore to Cuttack, from Cuttack to Ganjam, and from Cuttack to Pooree or Juggurnath.

Sanction has been given to metal the whole line from Cuttack to Midnapore, and an estimate has been called for for metalling the line from Cuttack to Ganjam. From Pooree towards Cuttack metalling for six miles has been sanctioned, and an estimate for metalling the remainder of that line is in preparation. There is an earthen road from Cuttack to Taldunda, on the right bank of the Mahanuddee, and another from Cuttack by Kendraparah to Patamoondee, the extension of which to Aul has been sanctioned. From Aul to Taldunda, respectively, there is tidal communication with the sea. It is not at present proposed to metal these lines, nor are they completely bridged. There are also some local roads in the Midnapore district. It is my opinion that when the system of canals of the Irrigation Company is complete, there will be efficient communication between Cuttack and the sea at all seasons. The anchorage at False Point will, I think, afford cover sufficient to enable ships to unload during the south-west moonsoon; but steam power and proper boats will be required to take cargoes into the river. I do not know anything about the mouth of the Dhamrah. I think that when the Irrigation Company's canals are completed, there will be water communication all the way from Cuttack to Ganjam, through the Chilka Lake.

Q. To what extent is it proposed to make the road from Cuttack to Ganjam, and that from Cuttack to Midnapore, passable for heavy traffic on carts all the year round?—*A.* Both these roads will be metalled and bridged throughout, with the exception of one stream on the Ganjam-road, which may be eventually bridged, and of 12 large streams between Cuttack and the end of my circle. The estimates for all other bridges, not already completed, have been sanctioned.

Q. Can the large unbridged rivers be conveniently crossed by ferries capable of carrying large numbers of heavy carts during the rains?—*A.* These rivers can be crossed by ferry boats, except during very heavy floods, when they may be occassionally impassable 48 hours at a time. At other times in the rains ferries can always ply, and large numbers of boats might be carried across, provided the boats are in sufficient numbers and kept in proper order.

Q. Will the ordinary traffic be such that it may be expected that a sufficient number of boats will be kept up in proper order to meet the occasional pressure of very heavy traffic in the rains?—*A.* No; I should say not.

Q. In the dry season, are the obstacles caused by the sandy beds of the river very serious, and such as to render it necessary that wheeled carriages using the roads should be provided with extraordinary means of draught?—*A.* Yes, they are

Q. Have you ever tried the plan of metalling these sandy beds as is now done in the North-Western Provinces?—*A.* No, I have not.

Q. Are you sanguine as to the probable success of the Irrigation Company's high level canal, from Cuttack to Midnapore, as a means of transit?—*A.* Yes; I consider that when completed

completed it will carry a large quantity of the traffic of the country. I see no engineering difficulties to obstruct the project for carrying a continuous line of navigable canal from Cuttack all the way to Calcutta. I am not, however, sanguine of its speedy completion, and I am further of opinion that it would not be advisable to leave the trunk road in its present inefficient state, and trust to the canal for the conveyance of the entire traffic of the country.

Q. If the canal were completed and in efficient order, do you consider that much traffic would be carried by the road?—*A.* This is a point on which I can scarcely venture to give a decided opinion.

Q. In your opinion, supposing the road, as at present sanctioned, to be completed in due course, would any traffic in grain between Calcutta and Cuttack be carried by it, or by sea to the ports of the Mahanuddee, and thence by the Irrigation Company's canals?—*A.* I think that the sea route would be preferred, even in the monsoons, were it only for the absolute saving of time. I would, however, recommend, under all the circumstances of the case, that for purposes of internal communication the trunk road from Cuttack to Midnapore should be completed. The estimate for metalling this line amounts to a little over 6 lakhs of rupees. I consider that the road will be completed, including every work that can be required, except the bridges for the large rivers already referred to, for an expenditure well under 10 lakhs from the present time. As to time of completion, much depends on the supply of funds, and the efficiency of the establishment allowed to me. Supposing these are not stinted, I consider that the work may be completed in three rainy seasons. The Ganjam-road may perhaps be finished in a shorter time. On it metal is easily obtainable, and the work will be comparatively cheaper. On the Pooree-road metal is expensive. The cost of completing the line will probably be between 4 and 5 lakhs of rupees.

Q. Does Government now incur a heavy expenditure on account of embankments in Orissa?—*A.* Yes, it does. I put in a statement showing the expenditure during recent years. In the Midnapore district also, some expenditure on the same account is annually incurred.

Q. Are any embankments kept up by the zemindars in connection with your embankments?—*A.* Yes; there are; and others are maintained by us at the expense of zemindars. Those kept up by the zemindars are indifferently maintained. I have, however, the power of taking charge of them if I find them at any time very greatly neglected, and the present system is not found productive of much serious inconvenience in that respect. In an engineering point of view, I consider the existing system of embankments extremely inefficient.

Q. With reference to the opinion recorded in his evidence by Mr. Levinge, as to the condition of the trunk road between Cuttack and Midnapore, and which has been read over to you, have you any further remarks to offer?—*A.* He states that it is liable to interruption during the rainy season. This has already been allowed by me with reference to the larger rivers. In addition to this, temporary stoppages of traffic may be expected at the several causeways; but these would not be of such long duration as those at the rivers, so that no additional inconvenience would be experienced from them. During the dry season, causeways like that on the Soane, or some modification of the same, would be advantageous, and I should recommend them. The only difficulty in maintaining them would be due to the constant changes of the river channel. This road, as well as all other engineering works, is of course liable to unforeseen injury; but as far as present experience goes, the waterway which has been provided, and which was minutely calculated and determined on in 1863, and for which an estimate has been sanctioned, has proved perfectly sufficient, as no injury, either in breaches, or in carrying away of bridges, has occurred in any portion of the completed road. I may here mention that nearly the whole length of the road has been embanked and bridged at the present date, with the exception of a few unimportant bridges in the Balasore district. During the late floods, which have been excessive, no injury whatever has taken place, with the exception of a trifling breach close to Cuttack, which will be provided for before the floods of the ensuing season. Two or three wing walls of bridges have been carried away; but this was not occasioned by the direct action of the floods, but from the rush of the water down the side excavations, which have been made continuous. This error is now in course of being remedied. This experience, I consider, proves that sufficient waterway can be, and has been, provided to obviate any possible injury that can be foreseen.

Q. Will you be so good as to give a brief *resumé* of the orders issued to you in regard to the mode of employing and paying public works labourers; in what manner these orders were carried out, and the results as regards increase or diminution of the number of people who sought relief on your works? State also what orders were first issued to you as to paying workpeople in money and not in kind, and when and to what extent these orders were modified, and with what results?—*A.* My first orders were dated 19th December; these did not reach me for some time, as I was in Calcutta. Demi-official orders were issued from Calcutta somewhere about the 26th December. Official orders were issued on the 6th January. Government orders were, that work should be pushed on the Ganjam and Pooree-roads, giving employment to all who came, and paying at the ordinary rates of wages in coin, and not in grain. These orders were again repeated in Secretary's No. 6178, dated 30th December, in reply to my No. Z28, dated 18th December. In both letters it was strictly enjoined that payments should be made in coin at usual rates, and anything that might be necessary to enable these wages to purchase food advantageously should be carried out under local arrangements. Copies of my orders were sent to the chief engineer. On the 3rd February, after having visited the Pooree and Ganjam-roads, more

Mr. A. Crommelin.

1 January 1867.

specific orders were again issued to the executive engineers based on the same principle of ordinary daily wages and coin payments. These were submitted to the chief engineer and to the Commissioner, and were approved of by letter on 12th February in his No. 36. The chief engineer never disapproved of these orders. The Commissioner, in his No. 243½, dated 4th June, represented to me that our rates were insufficient, and requested me to raise them. I replied on the 8th June, in my No. 2601, that I had already raised rates beyond what I was authorised in doing, and considered it was for me now to expect that assistance from the Commissioner which had been ordered by Government to be given, viz., the supplementing of our rates as above noted. Nothing towards this, except what was done by Mr. Barlow at Pooree, had hitherto been apparent. On the same day I forwarded copy of this letter, with my No. 2602, to the chief engineer, saying that I could evidently expect no assistance from the civil authorities, and so I requested orders by telegram. To this I received a telegram on the 17th June, referring me to a letter No. 97T, dated 2nd June, giving further instructions concerning rates, &c. These letters must have crossed. I may here remark that Government found no fault with my arrangements mentioned in my No. 2601, to the Commissioner.

The orders contained in No. 97T were that rates were to be subservient to the wants of the people, and were to be regulated according to their physical strength and the price of grain; but that when the amount of work done fell to merely a nominal quantity, the people were to be made over to the charitable relief centres. On this I fixed my rates, making a limit of from *Rs.* 3. 12. to 4 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet, as the average rate for good and bad, some receiving more and some less. These rates and arrangements were approved of by the Commissioner in his No. 122, dated 16th June, in the following terms: "The rates and tasks you have fixed appear to me to be in every respect fair, and in accordance with the spirit of the instructions you have received from Government," also by Government in officiating secretary's No. 2411, dated 3rd July. The success of the whole of the above arrangements, however, depended entirely on the supply of rice to the workpeople by the civil authorities, a measure ordered by Government in Public Works Letter, No. 6062, dated 19th December, and No. 6178, dated 30th idem, and this was pointed out by me in my No. 1635, dated 3rd February, to the address of the Commissioner, a copy of which was sent to the chief engineer on the same date, in the following terms: "Whatever decision you may arrive at about this point, I trust you will give the necessary orders to the district officers to see, if possible, that the people employed both on the Ganjam and Pooreerroads are properly supplied, as I am of opinion that, unless the civil authorities do make such arrangements, the people will be supplied in no other way, and the efforts made by this department will fall to the ground." The same warning was again repeated by me to the Commissioner in my No. 2654, dated 13th June, as follows: "Undersigned is much afraid that this increase of rates now sanctioned will not be of much avail, as rice cannot be obtained without the greatest difficulty by the comparatively few labourers now employed. In fact, at some places, namely, on "the Motelyaon-road, Burra Olundee embankments, the Byturnee at Jajpoor, and the Bhudruk sub-division, no rice whatever is obtainable. It will be of no use, therefore, offering higher wages unless the markets are opened, or arrangements made for the supply of rice by the civil authorities." Copy of this was also sent to the chief engineer on the same date.

Rice was, with the exception already noted, viz., the small assistance rendered by Mr. Barlow, never supplied to the Pooree, Cuttack, and Mahanuddee divisions whilst I was in the circle, viz., to 31st July. In Balasore some small quantity of rice was obtained from the Balasore collector, on my sanction for its purchase before the arrival of the Government sanction. The sanction is conveyed in P. W. letter, No. 2538, dated 6th July, when the officiating secretary wrote as follows: "The Lieutenant Governor has been pleased to authorise your purchasing rice from the civil authorities for the working parties of the distressed poor in your circle. It will rest with you to determine whether the wages should be paid in rice, or whether the rice being conveyed to the spot, and arrangements made for its sale, the people should be left to purchase as they like, with the wages given." This sanction came very late; but had it been accorded at the earliest date at which our workpeople were employed, it would have been of no avail, simply because there was not rice to be supplied. The success of the arrangements initiated for affording relief by carrying on public works depended mainly on the workpeople having supplies of rice made available to them, and as this could not be done, the arrangements in question never did provide that measure of relief which they might otherwise have done. The actual number of workpeople employed between the 1st May and 31st October in our famine relief works will be seen from the abstracts which I put in.

Q. Had the rains any effect, and if so, to what extent, on the number of people who resorted to your works for employment?—*A.* Of necessity they had a serious effect, inasmuch as the country being more or less under water, there was a greatly diminished facility for working. The certainty of this result occurring was pointed out by me in my No. A 84, dated 17th July, when I wrote: "I am, therefore, much afraid that it is not in our power to do very much, more especially as the rains will soon submerge the whole country, rendering earthwork impossible, and the carting of metal nearly impracticable; still his Honor may rely on every effort being made by this department." The interruption to work caused by the rains will be clearly exhibited by the abstracts above referred to.

Q. Did you provide work for every person capable of working, who applied to you, or were any such people turned away?—*A.* Generally, the orders already issued concerning limits of rates were carried out, and consequently some people coming under the denomination

tion of "capable of only nominal work" must have been turned off; but no person who could work up to the minimum rates approved of by Government was ever refused employment where the execution of work was practicable. Mr. A. Crommelin. 1 January 1867.

At no time, so far as I know, were the labourers employed on daily pay. It was possible for an able-bodied man to work at our rates in the rains, but not for an emaciated man; but I can't say much of the rains, because I left on 1st August, and work must have been sometimes impracticable. Mr. Leonard acted for me. He took charge in Calcutta. Mr. Barlow at first induced bunniahs to open shops, but they did not continue.

No. 41.—Lieutenant G. Nolan, Executive Engineer, *Pooree* Division.

[Examined at Cuttack, 1st January 1867.]

In November and December 1865, I was out on my ordinary tours in the Pooree district. The crops seemed to me very inferior and light. Distress came under my notice, and I began to employ the people about the Chilka Lake on the embankments and wherever I could, in December. In January I got orders to commence re-modelling the Pooree-road, and, having no overseer, I superintended the works myself. I began about the 3rd January. The system was that of daily payment. There were about 1,000 people employed. There were more applicants than I could entertain. I turned away the able-bodied applicants and employed the weakly. When task-work was introduced about the 6th February, I was not there. Mr. Crowe was in charge. The people refused to work almost entirely. Few came; the others threatened them. On the 1st March I took my office down to Piply, and carried on the works from within six miles of Poree up to Cuttack. On that part of the road they worked at the lower rates, but on the sixth mile near Pooree, they wouldn't. The rise to *Rs.* 1. 12. brought a few people, but not the full complement. I had not enough to support them. Those that were very emaciated did not and couldn't work at those rates, and many preferred living on sag and jungle produce to working, at any rate in the absence of rice. There were great fluctuations in the number employed, and the scarcity of rice was the chief cause. I had a good many people at work in March; they diminished in May in consequence of the want of rice; again in June they increased in number, and I had then a much larger number than at any other season of the year. In that month Mr. Barlow established rice depôts on the road. On the 4th March I went down to Piply, and remained there till June. The people were dying on that road as early as April. I don't think many were dying in February and March. In and after April the numbers increased; as far as I know, the famine showed earlier towards Pooree than towards Cuttack. I should say that the famine set in about six weeks earlier in Pooree than in Cuttack. Lieut. G. Nolan. 1 January 1867.

The map put in by me represents the effect of the inundations as noticed by me on going round the embankments after the floods. The floods caused great loss of life by cutting off access to Pooree. The loss to crops was not so great as I had at first estimated and reported. Many of the crops came out improved, and this on a large scale, so much so that it is my opinion that, taking the whole aggregate of the lands in the Pooree division, the crops were improved by the flood. On the dark blue lines in my map, the crops were entirely destroyed, but in other parts improved. The rains had been irregular, and the crop was poor before the inundation. The water brought down by the floods of the Mahanuddee is very fertilising. The rains are not, as a rule, sufficient for the crops, and the soil is such that it requires flooding once a week.

In September 1865 I allowed the people to cut the bunds on the condition of their repairing them, and they were glad to do so in order to get the water.

I only asked the collector to supplement my rates by procuring and selling rice at a reasonable price. I did not apply for money to supplement my rates.

No. 42.—Mr. D'Souza.

[Examined at Cuttack, 2nd January 1867.]

I have been in Orissa since my tenth year (from 1823–24). I remember a famine in 1837–38. It wasn't felt so severely. Mr. Mills was collector; Mr. Ricketts, commissioner. No rice was imported. Only a subscription was raised, and large quantities of rice were bought up in the district, and people were fed in one place, the salt compound. A good many died, as it was the rainy season. This famine was very much worse. It never was so in Cuttack in my experience. It began to be bad a month after it broke out on the 21st October. People began to die at the end of November and December, and things gradually became worse and worse. Mr. D'Souza. 2 January 1867.

It was very bad when the Lieutenant Governor came. I was here in Cuttack. The Lieutenant Governor did nothing for us. The order he passed made things worse. The order he passed was that the merchants and dealers were at liberty to sell according to their own option. People only asked him to make a rate, and to compel sale. From that time it became worse and worse. In 1831, when the great cyclone and irruption of the sea took place in Balasore and Pooree, rice was imported for the Molungees; they, however, had to buy it at prime cost. The rice came from Calcutta. On two or three other occasions rice was imported for the Molungees, in 1840 for the last time.

No. 43.—Mr. H. Levinge, Executive Engineer, *Katjoree* Division, East Indian Irrigation Company.

[Examined at Cuttack, 2nd January 1867.]

Mr. H. Levinge.

2 January 1867.

I have been in the Cuttack district throughout the famine. I had opportunities of noticing the state of the crops in the autumn of 1865, along the line of canal towards Kendraparah. In the high lands they seemed to me in October to be a total failure; in the lowest lands about a three-quarter crop appeared to be saved; on the average I should say that there was about a half crop. I did not particularly notice, at the time of thrashing, whether the yield of grain was less than might have been expected from the straw. There is a great deal of low land in the part of the country which I have had an opportunity of seeing. Last cold weather there were obvious signs of distress among the people. The first death from absolute starvation that came under my observation occurred about the 20th November. It was a case of a bricklayer drawing 6 rupees per mensem, but who had a large family to maintain, and was unable to provide for them. From that date the distress went on increasing, and a good many cases of death were brought to my notice. During February and March there were a great many deaths, even among people who were drawing ordinary pay. In March the most casual observer could see that there was severe famine in the country. In the latter end of May there was a marked increase in the distress. On the 8th March I went into camp, and returned on the 28th April. During that period I saw a great deal of mortality. People like walking skeletons came constantly round my tent in large numbers. In the end of February there was great difficulty in procuring rice for money. On the 14th March I was in camp at Kendraparah with Colonel Rundall and Mr. Glass. There was then an almost absolute impossibility of procuring rice, and what was procured was excessively dear and bad. I have a memorandum dated February 26th that rice at Kendraparah was selling at six Cuttack seers for the rupee; and on the 19th March, at Raisonga, it was selling at four seers, and very bad. It may have been at that time a little cheaper in Cuttack itself, but I cannot speak for certain. There were frequent fires in the villages in April; these were attributed to arson, and supposed to have been caused by desperate people with a view to create confusion, and plunder the rice where it was known to have been stored. But, on the whole, the people seemed to me to bear their sufferings with astonishing patience.

About the beginning of the year I had large parties of labourers employed on my works. I put in a statement showing the number employed in my division of the canal. The supply of labour was greatly affected by the scarcity of rice. The numbers fluctuated exceedingly. Within two or three days, they varied from 4,000 to 1,000. We were only able to keep together the imported labourers and skilled artificers by paying them partly in money and partly in rice. I introduced this system about the middle of January, immediately after we imported rice from Calcutta. We were obliged, however, to confine this mode of payment to a small portion of our workpeople. Our supply of rice failed, I think, about the middle of April, and there was then a break from April to early in July, when a fresh supply of rice was obtained by our private importation.* I attribute the diminution of the numbers of labourers from January to February and from February to March entirely to mortality and the difficulty in procuring food. I consider that this system of part payment in rice should have been applied also to the Government works, and I think that the efficiency of the works undertaken and the relief of the distress was greatly diminished by the neglect to adopt this system. When the scarcity of food became great, we increased the rates of pay from *Rs.* 1. 12. to 2 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet of earthwork; this was for the first lift only, and all other rates were raised proportionately. The whole of our unskilled labour was employed on job work. I find that the supply of labour has now been enormously diminished; the ordinary labourers and people of the lower classes are nearly all dead. With respect to what I have said above about the rice crop of 1865, I wish to add that the ensuing cold weather crop was almost an entire failure. Usually there is in the cold season a very large quantity of the grains called kullai and kooltee grown in the part of the country which came under my observation. I consider that the famine was at its height in the end of July; and the cold wind, accompanied by rain, which occurred about the 10th August, was the climax of the calamities which fell on the country; the people at that time died at a more rapid rate than at any other. I do not attribute much of the mortality which I observed in August to the inundations, as distinguished from what was actually due to the inclemency of the weather. The villages in the part of the country where I was are high and protected from floods. Damage was done by the floods to the crops growing in the lowest lands, chiefly along the banks of the Gobree; but the proportion of the early rice crops destroyed by floods in that part of the country was, I think, very small, a great portion of the country being protected by the canal embankments.

As regards measures of relief adopted by Government, I think that the first and greatest error lay in not adopting them earlier. The local officers must have observed the approach of famine in November, and I think things were very little easier in December and January; prices of food continued at famine rates. They must have seen in February that matters were becoming very serious; and in March and April the most casual observer must have noticed that famine was in the land; but I consider that the local officers were deterred from taking action by the accounts that they received of the stocks of grain in the country.

My

* The Irrigation Company obtained the rice from Calcutta *viâ* False Point.

My own servants informed me that one man, Rogoonath Chowdree, had enormous stores of grain in his possession, and I believed the statement. My belief then was that individuals held large stocks, but not that there were any large stocks in the country generally, because I know that in 1864 there had been a short crop, and that in 1865 it was extremely short. I do not consider that a prudent employer of labour could have trusted to the existence of stocks of rice in the country. This is the only cause that occurs to me to account for the Government officers not having taken more active measures when they realised the state of affairs. All the European officers then in Cuttack were new to the country. When the time came that Government took active measures to relieve the famine, I then thought that they were as effective as, under the circumstances, could reasonably be expected, there being very many difficulties to contend with. But looking back to that period, I do not hold this opinion. I consider that more efficient measures might have been adopted, such as sending a steamer of light draught and boats to False Point. I also think that the means of transport up the river might have been greatly improved if more money had been spent in mooring the boats better and urging them more rapidly up the rivers; also in providing against pillage. I have seen boats detained for want of men and supervision, one policeman only being in charge of a whole fleet quite insufficiently manned to stem the current. I think that the local officers exerted themselves to the utmost; they had not only their ordinary work, but all the extra work thrown on them by the famine, and there was certainly a deficiency of officers when their services were most wanted. Additional assistants were sent afterwards, but not until the great pressure was over. Up to the month of August, in the interior of the country, I do not think that the Government relief had made much impression on the mass of suffering. There was an improvement in this respect in September and October; but still I do not consider that the great mass of suffering was reached. I have been very lately through the district, and I think that the condition of the people has been much improved since the new rice came in, and that there is now no actual starvation, nor any unusual disease, except among the people who have been relieved throughout at the unnochatros. I think that great numbers of people have, during the famine, lain down and died, without making any attempt to go to the centres of relief; also that many might have survived, if they had sought labour and laboured steadily during the early days of the famine. There was, however, a considerable interval during which rice was so scarce that it could not be purchased, and the labourer could not obtain food by his labour, and when relief centres also had not been established. Afterwards, if a much larger number of men had gone to these centres, I do not think there was rice enough to have supported all.

I am sanguine in thinking that within two or three years the irrigation works will be so far forward as to recover the district of Cuttack from famine, provided that the settlement question is speedily determined. I consider that very essential, and that the only thoroughly effectual remedy is to be found in a permanent settlement. By a permanent settlement, I mean one of the revenue paid by the zemindars. I do not think, however, that the object will be so effectually gained if the revenue paid by the zemindars only is fixed, while the rent paid by the ryots remains liable to be increased. From what I have seen, I am of opinion that if the zemindars obtain a permanent settlement, they would improve their estates; but I am not aware whether they have effected any improvement under the thirty years' settlement which is now expiring. I think, however, that they are fully alive to their own interests, and that the waste land, of which there is much, would be speedily brought into cultivation. The object at present is to keep this land waste, pending a settlement. I think that up to the present moment the want of a declared policy on the part of the Government has materially affected the sale of canal water; and at this present time, when grain is at famine rates, we are unable to dispose of all the water available, and it is running to waste. We could have supplied water for a spring crop of rice of about 32,000 acres, while water for only 2,800 acres has been taken up, and the season for sowing the spring crop has nearly expired. I think the want of a permanent settlement is the chief cause, because the zemindars are not co-operating with us; and the ryots, who would be glad enough to take the water, are prevented by the zemindars from taking it. The ryots are fully aware of the value of water; they have no prejudices against its use; no doubt if they got it at low rates, they would take it more readily than they are doing. At the same time I am of opinion that the rates now fixed are not too high even for the commencement of operations. I think that the soil, when watered by the muddy water of the river, could bear two and three crops annually. I have not seen good sugar-cane growing in this district; but I believe that in portions of it, it might be grown under irrigation and with good cultivation. I also think that both soil and climate are adapted to the country cotton, which is already grown successfully, and might, with the aid of irrigation, be largely extended. There is a little jute in the district, but I am not in a position to say whether its cultivation could be increased. I do not think that the embankment question is so intimately connected with irrigation, that a little delay in its settlement will interfere with our operations. If it is settled before next working season, those operations will not be impeded; but if there be greater delay, I think that the progress of our works may be delayed. If canals and embankments could be carried on together, the earth excavated from the one could be employed in raising the other, and time would thus be saved. By the end of next working season there should be water communication by the Kendraparah Canal, between Cuttack and tidal water. Our canals are all to be made capable of providing for navigation, which is a main portion of our schemes; the fall in the beds is little, and the velocity of the stream will not be higher than 1¼ mile an hour.

Mr. H. Levinge.

2 January 1867.

If proper arrangements be made for landing cargoes at False Point, I think that goods may then be conveyed all the way from Calcutta to Cuttack at any season of the year. I do not think that the completion of the communication with Calcutta by the high level canal can be looked for at any very early date, as the speedy carrying out of it must depend on the financial success of the first works. I do not, however, see any engineering difficulties in the way of its execution. I do not think that the road from Cuttack to Calcutta will be efficient for the transport of heavy goods at all seasons. During the rains it will be always liable to interruption. During the dry season, I think it may be made efficient by constructing causeways across the sandy beds of the large rivers, similar to that across the Soane. Interruption during the rainy season will, I consider, be due to the liability of the road to be breached, as it is not possible to provide water-ways with any degree of certainty for the spill waters of the rivers. The road crosses the whole drainage of the country, and since I have been here, bridges have been carried away continually. The high embankments of the road, which are very costly, are liable to be constantly breached. I think that the rivers should be embanked from the point where they begin to spill down to the road, and that then the road might be metalled without any new bridges being constructed. The road would then be efficient, and for light traffic, and as a means of internal communication, I would advocate its retention.

I had charge of a portion of the operations carried on from Sykes' Fund, which was started much earlier than the Government relief operations. From about the middle of May to the end of June, an average of 218 people were daily relieved from this fund under my supervision.

I put in a statement showing the disbursements under this head.

No. 44.—Mr. J. G. H. Glass, Assistant Engineer, *East Indian* Irrigation and Canal Company.

[Examined at Cuttack, 2nd January 1867.]

Mr. J. G. H. Glass.

2 January 1867.

I was in the Cuttack district throughout the famine, from Cuttack to Kendraparah. I think that the rice crop was about ten-sixteenths of a crop that part of the country, and that there was also a pretty fair Rubbee crop. I was not in the country the previous year. I had no reason to believe that there were large stores in the country, but every ryot had rice to a certain extent. In November and December I first noticed famine. Those who had rice would not sell, and those who had not, suffered. Things were easier than before, just when the crop was reaped, but not materially. Prices were then cheaper in the interior than in Cuttack, but afterwards they were dearer in the interior. In the end of January things began to get tighter, and in February they were very bad. On the 26th February I wrote from Kendrapattan (19¼ miles from Cuttack) to say that rice was at six seers, and not procurable in any quantity; that my labourers were leaving owing to inability to procure rice. In February I heard that people had died of starvation, but I did not see any. I observed, however, that people were in worse condition than usual, and that a smaller number came for work. In March I have a distinct remembrance of seeing very many people reduced to fearful skeletons, and I saw some bodies of persons lying about whom I presume to have died of starvation. In April I was able to purchase some rice in small quantities for my coolies, and I paid them in rice. In that month there was an increase of famine-stricken people; and in the early part of May things were very bad. I then commenced distributing relief from Sykes and Co'.s Fund; in the beginning of June there was a very marked change for the worst. I then saw most horrible scenes; I think worse in that month than at any other time. Till the month of August there was very little change. I had charge of three Government centres of relief; the first opened in July. I gave gratuitous relief, and was allowed to sell a small quantity, ten bags daily, at each place. This supply was maintained throughout, except that for three days the sale was stopped for want of rice. From August I think that the relief made a very sensible impression on the whole mass of suffering. The people who had no means came in large numbers for relief. But the sales were not a hundredth part sufficient to meet applicants who had money to buy. I made all applicants sit down, selected those who seemed most in want, and gave them the preference. I did this in person at Kendrapattan whenever I could. When I was not there, native overseers made the selections. I had complaints that they could not get grain for persons who had not been relieved, principally for persons who had come from a distance for grain. I think the native overseers behaved very well indeed. The police were not there. I never was able to meet all comers for purchase. But the gratuitous distribution of food to the indigent was never stopped. On one occasion, in November, the Government rice ran out, and I lent some Irrigation Company's rice. I think that from June all was done that could be done to supply Government rice. But I think that if a small steamer had been sent to False Point, it might have taken much more rice up the rivers; the local carriages could not have taken more. The bears on the river were sufficiently manned. I saw them; scores of them. They passed my house. But the guard was insufficient; they connived at the theft of rice.

During the season I was several times in Cuttack. When I came in I used to live with Mr. Webster, and was in the habit of seeing all the Government officers. I certainly think that in the early part of the famine I must have mentioned the sights that I had seen. It did not strike me that they were incredulous of the famine, but they thought that there was

Mr. J. G. H. Glass.

2 January 1867.

was rice in the country. It struck me that nothing was doing when something ought to have been done. I attributed the want of action to the belief of the officers that there was rice in the country. I never formally pressed on any of the Government officers the necessity of action, nor do I know whether any one else did, though I have heard that they did. I am not aware of any other reason for the want of action than that above stated. When action was taken, I certainly think that the officers did what they could. I don't think that better officers could have done more. I don't think there were enough of them. I estimate that about one-fourth of the population died, and more of the labouring population, say 30 per cent. For 10 men that we got to labour last year, we get about two now, but they have not necessarily all died; some may have emigrated, and many are working on the fields. A good deal of mortality was due to the inundations; many were drowned, and a great amount of the crops perished. Bullocks also were carried away. Roughly, I should say that of the whole deaths, about five per cent. are due to inundation. I never had any complaints of favoritism or maltreatment on the part of the native overseers at my centres, nor had I reason to think that there were other abuses at other centres. I have several times witnessed the distribution of relief at Kendraparah. I never saw any violence. I think that a great deficiency was want of shelter and clothing in the rainy season. I proposed to erect sheds in August, and the measure was immediately sanctioned. They were up in a few days. Many had died of exposure. I never had authority to give clothing. I did not apply for it, but gave it out of Sykes' Fund in September and October. There were also a want of medical comforts. There was a dresser, and he had none such comforts belonging to the Irrigation Company.

No. 45.—Mr. D. J. Poole, Assistant Superintendent of Police.

[Examined at Cuttack, 3rd January 1867].

Mr. D. J. Poole.

3 January 1867.

I have been in the district since April 1864. I was in charge of the Cuttack Police from the 3rd August to the 23rd October 1866. Last cold weather I was out in the Gurjat. I think that in the hills there was about a three-quarter crop; in the parts along the plains they were very bad, not even six-sixteenths. There was not much distress in the hills; in the plains there was great scarcity, but not much emaciation; and up to the present time there has been much less distress felt than east of Cuttack. To the west rice has always been procurable for money, while to the east it was not. In the Gurjat I think the rajahs kept grain for themselves and their ryots; they had better crops, and some of them prevented exports. In the hot weather also, I was not employed to the east of Cuttack. In the end of February and March I was out to the west, and I did not observe any actual starvation, although I heard that it was reported to the east towards the coast as early as January. I believe that such reports gradually increased from that time. At the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit, there was great scarcity, and in my own mind I expected famine; but no one thought it would be so bad as it has turned out. I call it famine when I see people dying of hunger. When the Lieutenant Governor was here, many people presented petitions, and I heard that great crowds collected and beseiged him; but I did not see them. In the early part of May I was out, and dealt with a serious case in which a village containing grain was burnt, and with a serious grain dacoity later in the month. On the 11th May I was in Cuttack. The state of things there was exceedingly bad; very many paupers were about in a very emaciated state, and I think that some were dying of starvation. On the 27th May, Mr. Ravenshaw returned. I was then here. I am senior assistant, and in charge of the district office whenever the superintendent is absent. I heard from the police reports that Grees Chunder, inspector, specially employed, reported deaths in December. During all the following months, constant reports of scarcity and of deaths from starvation were made. Captain Fisher was, I believe, out in the eastern districts. He kept diaries. He is obliged to do so. Captain Fisher took them away with him. When he made over charge to me I asked him for the diaries. He declined to give them, saying that the Deputy Inspector General, Mr. E. B. Baker, had ruled that these diaries were private property. I remonstrated, and expressed my opinion that the diaries were necessary to the proper conduct of my duties, but he still declined. There may have been personal remarks in the diaries which he did not wish me to see.

After the transport of grain commenced, Mr. Crouch was employed in that department, and the police generally were constantly so employed in escorting grain and on such duties. When I took charge 76 men were so employed, and 100 more afterwards. I know that Captain Fisher was transferred at his own request. While in charge, I constantly reported that there were not sufficient European officers to carry on all the duties. Mr. Crouch and Mr. Hall, European inspectors, were both laid up, and I was over-worked. Both in Captain Fisher's time and mine there were considerable differences of opinion between the civil and police officers; but I think the whole arose from the want of men to do efficiently both the increased police work and that required by the civil authorities for famine work. I never had an available man. Extra men were sanctioned for extra gaol duties and such like, but not enough. More men might have been entertained for famine work, to escort grain and such duties. In the town of Cuttack the relief authorities did all they could; but there was deficiency of European supervision, the number of officers not being enough; and at times there was scarcity of grain. Gratuitous relief was never stopped, and a great quantity was sold, not as much as was wanted. There were abuses in regard to the sales; in the struggle the poor and the weak were unable to get rice. When I was there, I gave the preference to the old hags; but at first, in the early days of

Mr. D. J. Poole.

3 January 1867.

the sales, I believe that the prostitutes of the town chiefly benefited; they used to hire women to go in and purchase, and then collected the rice. This was under native management. Gratuitous relief was given only to the starving. The principal criterion was their being reduced to skeletons. Children were first cared for. In October no want at Kendraparah and other centres. The famine was still awful; but then there was some shortness of rice. The relief measures were as good as the officers in charge could make them; at Kendraparah, very good. Sales were going on. There was always a great rush for the rice. The quantity was limited, and there was very little in the bazars. In Cuttack I have seen that when the struggle for rice took place, sticks were used to keep people back; the crush was very great. I don't think this was carried to any great excess; it was immediately checked when it came to the notice of the European officers, and the persons struck were generally strong men pressing forward when the weak were behind.

No. 46.—Mr. C. P. Crouch, Assistant Superintendent of Police.

[Examined at Cuttack, 3rd January 1867.]

Mr. C. P. Crouch.

3 January 1867.

I have been three and half years in the Cuttack district, and throughout the famine. Last cold weather I was in charge of the office in Cuttack while the District Superintendent was out. I received reports of distress in October and November 1865. I know of no reports of famine during the subsequent months till May. I was before that aware, from what I heard, that there was want, and that people were dying of starvation. I cannot give the dates. About February it was spoken of that there was going to be a famine; some thought it would be very bad, and some not; the last mentioned persons thought that there was grain hoarded up. When the Lieutenant Governor came, the people did not come up in a regular manner and complain, but everyone was saying that there was going to be a dreadful famine. In my opinion, death from starvation commenced in January, and from that time got worse and worse. The police should have reported this. I think it was their duty. I will examine the papers, and see whether they did; but Captain Fisher's diaries should be got. I was not out till June, except for two or three days at a time. In June famine was dreadfully bad at Taldunda, and during the floods it was frightful. The crops suffered much. I was employed in connection with the transport duties. The police officers were then quite insufficient in numbers to carry on police and transport duties. If boats and a small steamer had been sent down from Calcutta to False Point, and there had been more men, the landing and transport operations would have been much more efficient. As it was, boats were 12 and 15 days getting along 19 miles; they were insufficiently manned. I was first at False Point on the 20th June. There was a difficulty about the sale of the cargo of the "Jacques Forestier," and there was delay on that account. When the "Moulmein" was at False Point, she was delayed for many days, as there were no boats to take up the cargo. I engaged an empty brig, which had been accidentally driven in by stress of weather, and was lying there. I trans-shipped the cargo to let the steamer go. I was again at False Point in August. The arrangements were then better; more boats had been collected from the interior. There are no surf-boats at False Point. The landing was conducted in common country boats, not intended for sea work. Calcutta cargo boats could have landed the rice very well. During the monsoon, at times there was a heavy sea, and the boats could not go alongside; at other times they could. The longest interruption, while I was there, was four days. At that time I think a small steamer could have gone up almost to Cuttack, and might have towed boats. In the end of June very little was being dispatched up the river, and that little took a long time to get up, 20 and 25 days to Cuttack. At False Point, in September, people were dying to such an extent that Mr. Burgess and I took the responsibility of issuing raw rice to them. They had collected on account of the rice landing there; but no relief was given there till the end of August or September. The Taldunda relief, however, was opened in June. I do not think that the people got the food they should have got at the centres, there not being sufficient superintendence. At Cuttack, early in July, one morning, an inspector sent to collect the dead, buried upwards of 200 in the sands within a mile of the Cuttack Anicut. They died purely of starvation. Fifty men were buried on the opposite side of the river at the same point. Things began to get better when the new rice began to come into the market in November. In the town and neighbourhood, in August, the relief became efficient; but still many, who were much reduced, died from the effect of food; it made them ill and killed them. In the district also relief commenced to be good in August, and in the upper part of the district, I think, it reached the mass of the people, but not towards the coast. Much mortality was due to the floods in those parts in August and September. If it had not been for the floods, more centres might have been established, and more relief given. There was then rice at False Point. From what I have seen I should judge that the average out-turn of the crop of 1865 of the whole extent was from four to six-sixteenths.

I know that the French merchants bought and exported rice in July and August 1865. This was on the coast. I believe they did from Cuttack, but I am not sure. I am not sure whether they exported later.

No. 37.—Mr. D. J. McNeille, c.s.

[Examined at Cuttack, 3rd January 1867.]

Mr. D. J. McNeille, c.s.

3 January 1867.

I was appointed to assist the Commissioner of Orissa in relief arrangements. I arrived at Balasore on the 1st July, and remained there making arrangements till the 19th idem; got to Cuttack on the 21st; on the 11th August went to False Point; returned on the 2nd September. From the 15th to 25th October, I was away at Pooree. I started for False Point again on the 10th November.

When I reached Balasore, things were very bad, but perhaps a little better than they had been. Government rice had been received by sea. Upwards of 1,100 bags of rice had been made over for relief purposes, and before that the local committee had purchased a small quantity, which, I believe, had come down the road from Hidgellee. As soon as the rains began, that route was effectually stopped, and was impassable throughout the rains. When I first reached Balasore, there were some sheds opposite the dhurmsala, but insufficient, and great numbers were lying about the town. Gratuitous relief was given to those in the worst condition, mostly to women and children. The number of starving people was enormous. There, and in fact everywhere, the great test of distinguishing the people to whom gratuitous relief should be given was personal appearance, *i. e.*, those who were most emaciated got it. I have seen six to seven thousand people fed at one time in the dhurmsala at Balasore. The feeding such a number took such a time (five hours), as to render it impossible to feed them more than once a day. My impression on arriving at Balasore was, that the arrangements made by the Relief Committee were as good as possibly could have been made at the time. The inferior European agency was insufficient. I applied for three European assistants in the Public Works Department. They came down after I left, and were found useless. Two fell ill, and the third either resigned or was dismissed. As respects the magistrate and collector, and his assistants, I had no complaints of insufficiency of hands. During the time I was at Balasore (18 days), the supply of rice in the Government shops was sufficient to supply all comers in Balasore itself. The shops were opened for six hours a day, and a barricade was erected which effectually prevented a crush. The landing operations were as follows: The rice was brought up all through the monsoons in small sloops, which were towed by the "Nemesis," and besides two large vessels came. The sloops did not come up the river. They crossed the bar, and the rice was put over their sides into native boats. I never heard of any difficulty in unloading from the sloops. As far as I saw, no time was lost in unloading the boats. The river boats were always ready. I did not return again to Balasore. From the reports I have received, I believe there was a sufficient supply of rice till the accident which happened to the "Tubal Cain," in August, when she was blown away to Akyab. Then there was an almost total collapse, and the collector only kept the Government sales open, and supplied the Relief Committee with what they wanted by borrowing from the gaol. Supplies had been brought for the gaol before the Government relief supplies came into use. This scarcity lasted three weeks; but in the week ending the 25th August, operations were recommenced on a large scale. Since then the supplies have been sufficient, so far as the Sudder division was concerned, but Bhudruk has been insufficiently supplied till lately. The great difficulty in Bhudruk was inland communication between Balasore and Bhudruk, but I do not think there was enough rice in Balasore itself to supply Bhudruk with what was wanted there. Before the break in August, something like half the number of centres eventually established, were started.

When I got to Cuttack there were no arrangements made for Government sales. The relief operations were going on, I believe, well. There was not a very large stock in hand in the first week, but in the course of the week ending 28th July, large supplies arrived, and I immediately opened a Government shop. From that time we sold as much as could be served to customers during six hours a day. It was impossible to keep a Government shop open longer, as mohurrirs' accounts had to be settled, and the cash taken to the Treasury daily. It might have been possible to open more shops, and eventually we opened two more. The first shop opened included seven stalls; the second, opened soon after, included five stalls; and the third in the circuit house compound, opened in the end of September, contained seven stalls. When I was in Cuttack, there was a good deal of crowding and crushing, but no actual injury was done to the people. The barriades we put up were the only thing that prevented a serious riot taking place. Prior to my arrival, an attempt had been made to sell, but was entirely put a stop to by the confusion and crushing that took place. The barricades stopped this effectually. We were selling very slightly below the bazar rates. We had a limit from Government of one seer in the rupee, but that limit, I think, was never touched, certainly never exceeded. A great many people bought rice in the bazar at the somewhat higher bazar rates, because they got it on credit. Considerable quantities of grain arrived from Sumbulpoor. The Government importations would not have been sufficient to supply Cuttack, had it not been for these private importations.

When I first arrived, I remarked that people were not lying about the town as at Balasore. The general appearance of the latter place was much worse. The difficulties of bringing rice from the coast had not then been sufficiently overcome. It was to correct these shortcomings that I went down to False Point on the 11th August. As regards inland transport arrangements, European agency was never directly employed.

M. D. J. McNeille, C.S.
—
3 January 1867.

If there had been more European assistants, we could have found good means of employing them. I do not think the police did all that they might have done in this district; they were employed. My impression is, but I speak entirely from hearsay, that the district superintendent did not do all he might have done. The transfer of the district superintendent at such a time was, I think, injurious to the district. If there was one department more than another in which the police failed, it was the zemindaree dawk. Most serious consequences resulted on one occasion. A second letter sent to Mr. Burgess about the "Charles Moreau's" cargo, which might have had the effect of procuring the purchase of that cargo, was delayed. My impression was, that Captain Fisher went because he wanted to go, not because it was thought we were better without him.

On my way to False Point I met several consignments of boats, and invariably found them moored. They had six manjees on each, sufficient to bring them up much faster than they came; more boatmen might have been put aboard. Nothing could have been worse than the police supervision. Good supervision was what was most wanted. Some of the boats took from five to six weeks to come up from False Point. No European officer was told off to supervise the intermediate transit arrangements. We had a competent agent to start the boats at False Point, Mr. Burgess. The landing arrangements were as good as they could be, under all the circumstances. The main difficulty was the strength of the stream. Ships were lying in fresh water eight miles out. In ordinary weather there was no difficulty in unloading. Up to the end of August, from the time we opened operations, we landed an average of 700 bags a day. We had two fleets, one with keels (large boats) and a fleet of smaller flat-bottomed boats for inland transport. Had we had a steamer and better boats, we could have worked much more effectively. I applied for a flat-bottomed river steamer to ply between the anchorage and the Jumboo go-down. At that time the application was not complied with; there was no steamer available, there was no stoppage in the ship's supplies at False Point till the end of September. The transport up the river improved the last week in August, and became tolerably good in September. The stoppage at the end of September was this; I used to estimate the amount of rice required for a long period, and the Board used to supply what was estimated for with a little over. Two vessels disappointed us, the "Asia" and the "Dundas Castle." I remember seeing a notice in the "Englishman" that the steamer "Asia" had left the Hooghly on the 6th October, I think, and knowing she was one of the steamers engaged to bring rice, I supposed she was going to Rangoon to get rice. When I saw the Captain at False Point at the end of November, I heard that the "Asia" had been to Hong Kong before going to Rangoon.

When I got to Pooree, Mr. Barlow had shortly left. I gathered that his arrangements had been efficient; but that he concentrated them so entirely in his own hands, that there was a danger of a general collapse when he left. The landing arrangements there have always, I believe, been as good as it was possible for them to be. Mr. Barlow left before the arrival of his successor. He had not, as far as I know, broken down from sickness; he had been granted furlough from the Government of India, and he was, I believe, extremely anxious to see his wife, who had been an invalid for a long time. No representation as to the inconvenience of his absence was, I believe, made. I do not know whether the Commissioner asked him to stay. I think that the relief operations, generally, suffered temporarily from his leaving; but at the same time there was a shortness of rice owing to the non-arrival of the "Asia." On three separate occasions, during October, we requested the Board officially to telegraph to Rangoon to hasten the "Asia." The "Asia" belongs to Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. We were once led to expect the "Arabia" was coming with a cargo of rice, but we never heard anything more about it.

As respects Cuttack (False Point), we helped matters out by stopping the "Coringa" steamer, which was bound for the Dhamrah river, and by unloading her at False Point. She arrived at False Point on the 5th October with 500 bags, The Board also intermediately helped us out with a small consignment of 4,000 bags which arrived. The shortness of rice altogether lasted from the first week of October till the third week of November, and after that the prices began te fall in the market, and onr sales were never raised again to the September mark. The "Charles Moreau" came down with a private consignment to False Point at the end of September, and the Commissioner asked leave to buy the whole cargo. This was refused; but he was authorised to take over day by day as much as was needed to keep up the relief operations. We had heard of her arrival from her captain, who offered to sell at *Rs.* 11. 8. per bag. In the order sent down to Mr. Burgess, no special mention was made of the price; but he had instructions to take 500 bags a day so long as no Government vessel came. A second letter (alluded to above as having been delayed in transit by the police) accepted the captain's offer generally, but did not arrive in time. The collector reported that the captain would not break bulk, and Mr. Burgess mentioned verbally to me that it was because the captain's price was not guaranteed. The result was that on the 20th October, just at the very time the need was at its height, the captain took his whole cargo off. This was the most unfortunate thing that has happened during the whole operations. She had 8,500 bags on board. Mr. Burgess was the Government superintendent in charge at False Point. The "Charles Moreau" belongs to Messrs. Robert & Charriol. The only thing that saved some of the larger centres, *i.e.*, the gratuitous distribution itself, was my being able to bring up fleets of boats in tow of the "Teesta." She was, in the third week in November, found comparatively useless for plying between the anchorage and the shore and towing boats out; boats could get out at night, when she could not steam at all, and as respects their coming in, I was told that on the one hand the difficulty of getting them in had abated, and on the other no time would have been

Mr. D. J. McNeille, c.s.

3 January 1867.

been saved owing to her having to wait for a number of boats at a time. For these reasons she had been lying at False Point for nearly three weeks inactive, and I was the first to attempt to take her up the river. I sounded the wreck, and took her 20 miles up the Mahanuddee, and 25 up the Noona. She could have got further up in the rains. Mr. Burgess was in the Irrigation Company's service, and was taken into Government service for landing operations. He is a very efficient man; but his hands were full, and the inland transport operations were not within the sphere of his duties.

If there was one department of the whole operations that did unmixed and incalculable good, it was the Government sales at very slightly lower rates than the bazar rates; and if we had been able to continue them through October on the same scale they were on in September, an immense amount of good would have been done. I think the relief sales, *i. e.*, sales at cheap rates by the Relief Committees were, as sales at low rates, a comparative failure, because geveral persons not fit recipients got rice; in fact, the order for selection was impossible to carry out. The distribution of relief in food was efficient; but many came in such a bad state that they died in the unnochatros. I think that in all these districts, the labour that was exacted was almost nominal, and it was perhaps better that it should have been so, specially during the worst parts of the famine. In some few instances, considerable works were effected by large numbers. I believe that there was rice in the Dhamrah from the second week of September. There was no such want there as there was at Pooree and False Point, where there was actual stoppage.

Re-examined, 7th January 1867.

7 January 1867.

Q. In their letter, No. 4408 B., dated 11th October, the Board of Revenue gave their reasons for not allowing the Commissioner to purchase the whole of the cargo of the "Charles Moreau," although you were running short of rice; they directed Government sales to be contracted so as to tide over the time till the arrival of the "Asia," and also promised some Kuzla rice from Chittagong in a ship to be towed by the "Kwantung;" how soon afterwards did the "Asia" and the "Kwantung" arrive?—*A.* The "Asia" was expected and promised by the Board for the last week in October. In a subsequent letter the Board wrote that she might be expected between the 25th October and the 10th of November. In point of fact, she did not arrive till the 25th of November. She was then sent on to Pooree to discharge half of her cargo. This she did, and returned to False Point on the 29th November.

No vessel in tow of the "Kwantung" brought any Government rice probably the "Pie IX," which arrived from Chittagong with 8,000 maunds on the 26th October, brought the rice, to which the Board's letter referred.

Q. What was the result of the case of Kangalee Mahaputter, the relief agent and storekeeper at Taldunda, whose misconduct and arrest on a charge of theft of the committee's rice is mentioned in your report of the 3rd September?—*A.* He was tried by the assistant magistrate of Kendraparah and acquitted of the theft; but he was never re-employed by the Relief Committee. I believe that one or two other prosecutions were instituted against servants of the Relief Committee for peculation or theft of rice, but I am not sure.

Q. In the 10th paragraph of your letter of the 3rd September, you mention that the supplies which Mr. Webster had hitherto received are quite insufficient to enable him to afford relief on a scale adequate to the requirements of Kendraparah; did you mean by that, merely that he had not enough rice to sell to those who had money, or that he had not enough for gratuitous relief of the indigent?—*A.* Mr. Webster had a certain number of centres open on the frontier of his subdivision, which remained in his charge for relief purposes. He had a sufficient supply of rice to give all necessary gratuitous relief at those centres; in fact, he had some surplus which he was selling; but much more might have been sold, and more centres were required for gratuitous relief, which he could not open for want of rice. In fact, all through the operations five times as much rice as we had could have been disposed of with advantage by sales and in gratuitous relief (principally by sales). Our estimates and imports were limited solely by our capacity to transport inland and to distribute the rice, and not by the requirements of the people. With regard to the Cuttack district, the limit was exactly the amount which we could land at False Point. We could have sent more inland and disposed of it if we had had means of landing more. The estimate at first was 1,000 bags a day, and while cargoes were continuously received at False Point, and until the weather cleared up, our daily average reached 700 bags only. The total amount imported by Government into the three districts up to the end of November was, in round numbers, three lakhs of maunds. The population of the province by the last estimate was rather less than two and a-half millions. Allowing an average of five maunds a head per annum for adults and children, this importation supplied six months' subsistence for about one-twentieth of the population only.

Q. In paragraph 16 and 17 of your report, dated 26th October, you mention that it has been discovered that the returns made by the Relief Darogah of the number of labouring paupers employed on the relief roads were greatly exaggerated; do you know the result of the particular inquiry which Mr. Cornell made into the matter?—*A.* It was discovered that the Darogah had entered as paupers doing light labour many of those who were supported gratuitously and without labour at the relief centre; but I believe that this involved no peculation or fraud, because the system at that time in force was to collect the labouring paupers after their day's work at the camp, and to feed them, together with the non-labouring paupers, on cooked rice. They received no payment in raw rice or in money. Thus the

Mr. D. J. Mcneile, c.s.

7 January 1867.

the total number returned as paid was not in excess of the actual number fed. At my recommendation, the Relief Committee introduced the system of paying the labouring paupers in raw rice, and keeping them entirely separate from the inmates of the unnochutro, and building separate huts in which they could sleep at night.

Q. Among the rules for the management of the Government retail sales, is one to the effect that no sales shall be held on Sundays; was this rule carried out even when the number of applicants was greater than could be supplied each day?—*A.* It was; the large majority of applicants could be supplied daily; it only occasionally happened that any considerable number of applicants failed to obtain rice. The limit of sale to each person was three rupees worth. Those who bought at the Government sales were not in such a state of destitution that the stoppage of sales for one day with previous notice would distress them.

Q. Was the agency of professional shopkeepers employed to sell the Government rice on a commission?—*A.* It was to a considerable extent. They were bound to sell at the rate fixed for the Government shops in the same locality, and a certain per centage was allowed to them as commission. In Jajpoor the assistant collector obliged them to sell close to his Cutcherry, and there the plan succeeded. It was also a real benefit as increasing the centres of sale, all over the Cuttack and Balasore districts. The system was, however, open to the abuse that the shopkeepers entered fictitious sales in their books, and actually sold the rice in other places where the rates were higher; or that they hoarded the rice in anticipation of a rise in prices. There is a general rumour, but no actual proof, that this was done.

No. 48.—Suttyanund Surrungee and 22 others.

[Examined at Cuttack, 3rd January 1867.]

Suttyanund Surrungee, and 22 others.

3 January 1867.

During the famine, much was done for the very poor, but nothing for the more respectable. Rice was sold, but all did not get it. There were not shops enough, and people were afraid to go for fear of being beaten. More rice should have been sold at more shops. Even in the country rice might have been got if the holders had been ordered to produce it, and a price fixed. Rice that might have been sold at four seers per rupee, has since been sold at eight or ten seers. When the Lieutenant Governor came, he said they might sell as they liked, and that made them worse. They held on in the expectation that there would be another bad year. The Brahmins had prophesied three years of scarcity. Now, from the collections being stopped, all the holders have shut up the grain in their own houses; formerly they were obliged to sell to raise the money to pay their revenue. The present crop has been capital; there is only a little injury from floods in some places. That there is always only a little more this year, and in the land which has been flooded, there are abundant Rubbee crops, mustard, kalye, kooltee, tobacco, &c. Nothing will be right till the Dandeedars and others are dealt with. They should be ordered to sell in the Government gunges, and a price fixed. There are Government gunges, but no one sells there; the grain is forestalled before it gets in. There is no limit to the number of Dandeedars; but they have an hereditary connection with the merchants, and we can't get new ones, or if we did, they would soon be as bad as the others. Very great injury was done by the Government declaration. Rice immediately became much dearer. Another remedy is to continue for a time Government sales, and to keep down the oppressive shopkeepers. There are no sales now, and rice is very dear.

No. 49.—Mr. T. M. Kirkwood, c. s.

[Examined at Cuttack, 3rd January 1867.]

Mr. T. M. Kirkwood, c. s.

3 January 1867.

I arrived here on the 27th June. I was immediately placed in charge of the relief operations, including the mofussil centres of the greater part of the district, excepting the Jajpoor and part of the Kendraparah sub-divisions. The worst parts were the parts towards the sea. In Cuttack town it was not nearly so bad as it was in other places. The greater part of those fed in the Cuttack unnochatros are not for the most part Cuttack people. I attribute the less suffering in Cuttack itself to private relief and alms, and to the larger stores of grain in the town itself, and to the fact that much more Government grain proportionately was sold in Cuttack than in the mofussil. Even in Cuttack itself I do not think that the supplies were sufficient for the sales. I think that many respectable people would have bought at Government sales, but for the crush. As it was I believe that they bought from the Moodees, who themselves bought at the Government sales. In the month of October, I believe, we could have sold ten and twenty times as much with immense good. People used to flock in in crowds, especially at Taldunda, and we had no rice to give them. There was no bazar at Taldunda, and rice, as far as I know, was not procurable about there. I have never seen such scenes as I saw in Taldunda in October. When it became known that it was the last day of the sales, the rush and the struggle to buy were fearful. In October we were perfectly destitute of rice for sales. At the end of September we heard supplies were not coming, and I issued an order, with the approba-

tion

tion of the Relief Committee, that no sales should be made, unless there was a reserve of 200 bags at least, at any centre. Up to the present time we have never, since the check at the end of September, obtained regular supplies for sales; but gratuitous relief has never been checked. The present amelioration in the condition of the people is owing chiefly to the coming in of the crops, which has made rice so cheap that we could not have sold at our rates for the last month. When I arrived there were only four centres—Cuttack, Jajpoor, Kendraparah, and Taldunda. I myself opened the other centres subsequently. By the end of July there were 23 centres open in the district. These centres were only just opened by the end of July, and were not abundantly supplied. Until then relief was not upon a large scale. In August things got worse owing to the floods, which prevented the boats coming up, and we hadn't enough rice, scarcely enough for Cuttack. More centres (*i.e.*, new ones) were opened during August, and at the end of August I think they were comparatively efficiently supplied. In August operations were almost entirely suspended at several centres, owing to want of rice. For the first three weeks in September the centres were well supplied. About the 20th sales had to be checked, as above-mentioned, by me. The result is that there was a tolerably sufficient supply of rice at relief centres through the district; only for about three weeks in the whole season, viz., from about the end of August to the third week in September. I attribute the deficiencies of relief in July principally to want of supplies, and it may be partly to want of agency, which was only then being constructed. In August I attribute the deficiency to the floods which impeded the boats, and in October and November to deficiency of supply. At most of the centres I think there were sufficient arrangements for shelter made. I think the greatest mortality occurred in May and June, as far as I can learn from natives of all classes from whom I have inquired on the subject. The expression they have always used is that since Government has begun to sell rice they have been saved. In July I think the relief was considerable in Cuttack itself, and as far as it extended; but it did not then extend very far into the interior. I should say from what I have heard that the mortality in July was checked, but it got worse again in August in the floods. The relief afforded in the early part of September was very great, and mortality fell off considerably, and in October mortality was much the same as in September. There was some rice, but not much, that came into the market at that time. I, however, have no trustworthy return on which I can speak positively as to mortality.

The principle on which gratuitous relief was given was personal appearance, that is to say, people who looked emaciated and unable to do work got gratuitous relief, and they were gradually picked out as they improved and drafted on to some sort of work. Of the emaciated class, a great many died, but a great many improved. Relief sales were made at only one rate all through the mofussil, with the exception of the subdivisional stations and Ullabar. In the mofussil there were really no bazar rates. Sales were made at a rate fixed by the Relief Committee. Rice was sold at rates varying from 6 rupees a Calcutta maund to *Rs.* 4. 4. for cleaned rice.

I think the want of rice at the end of September and October was principally due to the following circumstances. Mr. McNeile had only just arrived, and I also had just arrived, and he estimated the rice required with reference to the existing agency. This was at a Committee meeting, and the estimate was laid before and accepted by the Committee. At that time I distinctly objected to the amount estimated for sales, and said we could dispose of far more by sales, but the Committee accepted Mr. McNeile's estimate. In September we were expending more than the estimate. I think the deficiency in October was partly owing to this deficient estimate.

I think the staff of civil officers in July, August, and September was insufficient; in fact till the first week in December. The officers in the sudder station were not above the ordinary average, and some were knocked up. The police has been deficient or useless all throughout. Also the medical staff of native class doctors was very insufficient; at present we have only three or four in the mofussil; we ought to have 10 at least.

I further wish to add that when I arrived at False Point on the 24th or 25th June, I was at once struck by the want of a steamer to tow up the rice boats, and I mentioned the matter when I arrived. I wrote about the steamer. It was discussed in the Relief Committee, but they did not approve of it.

Works for employment of the poor were carried on at all the centres. When people were convalescent, they were put to light and almost nominal work; afterwards, they were drafted on to irrigation and public works if available in the neighbourhood, and if not, they made roads, cut jungle, and such like works in the village where the centre was. All were supplied with rice from the relief centres, in the mofussil with cooked rice, in Cuttack with raw rice. I believe that every man who came to the relief houses could find food either with labour or without, certainly every woman and child; but in July there were not sufficient relief centres, and in August rice fell short, and also the floods prevented people coming. The system was to employ all on some useful work when we could, and any deviation has been the exception and against rule. Six weeks ago we had almost low people working in the town of Cuttack; they have now been sent off to the regular works.

No. 50.—Mr. J. MacMillan, Executive Engineer, Mahanuddee Division, E. I. I. and C. Co.

[Examined at Cuttack, 3rd January 1867.]

Mr. MacMillan.

3 January 1867.

I HAVE been in this district since November 1853, and employed on the East India Irrigation and Canal Company's works since the 1st January 1863, and prior to that was in Government employ. From September 1865 to November 1866, I was frequently in the district, within a radius of 10 or 12 miles from the town of Cuttack; occasionally proceeded to greater distances. I observed the first symptoms of the coming famine about the beginning of October 1865. About the latter end of that month my coolies began to complain greatly of the want of rice. I did not observe any more marked signs in Cuttack or its neighbourhood at that time than that rice was selling at about eight seers for the rupee, a high price here. From this time to the end of May the distress went on constantly increasing. I observed, however, only a few deaths in and about Cuttack during this interval. We began to import rice for our labourers some time in December; it came from Calcutta to False Point, and thence in country boats, aided by one of our own, up the river.

I think the distress and scarcity were at their height in July and August. I was a member of the Cuttack Relief Committee. The centres at Jobra, Futtehpoor, and Unnochatros were each immediately under charge of one of my subordinates. One of them was also constantly employed in looking after the landing of Government rice at False Point and forwarding it up the river.

I also established a depôt in the beginning of July at my own house for the sake of gratuitous distribution of rice obtained from the Relief Committee. All the papers connected with these transactions I have made over to Mr. Kirkwood. The rice was sold a little below the bazar rate, with the view of encouraging the people to work for their living. The depôt at my own house has now been closed for some time. The relief centres have also been closed, with the exception of the Unnochatros, one of which is still in operation. A godown belonging to the Company on their premises at Jobra was made over in June or July for storing Government rice, and formed the main depôt of issue for Cuttack; it is still so used up to this time.

In April, I think, a stranger coming into this country would have seen signs of famine in the appearance of the people. When the relief operations commenced we did what we could; but I do not think there was rice enough to give that measure of relief that was required to keep the people alive. I think that the officers here did all they could, but perhaps better arrangements might have been made for bringing up the rice from False Point, in causing the police to look more carefully after the crews of the boats.

I do not remember specially anything more that might have been done.

No. 51.—Mr. G. W. Boothby, Agent, East India Irrigation and Canal Company

[Examined at Cuttack, 4th January 1867.]

Mr. G. W. Boothby.

4 January 1867.

I HAVE been in the Oorya speaking districts of Ganjam and Cuttack for many years. I have had a great deal to do with the people. I am now agent for the East India Irrigation Company, and have been so since April 1862. I was, however, absent in the hot weather of 1865, and returned to Calcutta in November 1865, and to Cuttack in February 1866. I was then ill, and did not resume my duties till March. From what I learned in Calcutta, and from conversations with Colonel Rundall at Midnapore, I had reason to believe that there was scarcity in Orissa, and I formed the opinion that famine was impending. Colonel Rundall was much impressed with that idea, and had already ordered more grain from the Hidgellee district. This was in December, when I met Colonel Rundall at Midnapore. We returned to Calcutta, and then, from representations which we received from our engineers, we were induced to agree to what we called "famine allowance," that is, that all persons employed by us at less than 10 rupees per month should receive an additional allowance in money. A notification to this effect was issued. The allowance was to be made whenever rice was below 10 Cuttack seers per rupee, and throughout the famine the allowances were paid. I met with a severe accident on the 13th January, and during the two following months I did no business. In March, when I resumed my duties, there was very great difficulty in feeding workpeople. Rice was scarcely to be had for money. I am not sure that this point was reached in March; but I know that at Naraj, near Cuttack, in April, rice was not to be had for money. When I resumed charge, rice was sold by us to all our labourers at out-stations, and had been so for a short time, from, I think, the end of January or beginning of February. It was issued, and the price deducted from their pay. I understand that rice was going up to Naraj for our labourers when the Lieutenant Governor was here, and that his Honor saw the boats. In March we had a full supply of labour, but in April it fell off, because rice could not be got and we could not supply it. Our stores had fallen short. We had not then a sufficient supply to feed large numbers. It is certainly unquestionably my opinion that in March and April works were not effectual for the relief of the poor, when labour was paid

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Mr. G. W. Boothby.

4 January 1867.

in money and not in rice, because in those days money would not procure food at out-stations. At Cuttack itself rice was then to be had for money with difficulty, but no large quantity could be got, and the shops were occasionally closed from time to time. I put in a note of the cost of the rice imported by the Irrigation Company. The first importation was made in our own boats as far as tidal waters reach, and the cost of sea freight is therefore not included in my note of that importation. The rice thus imported was sold to our workpeople at out-stations. The price was fixed with reference to the market price in Cuttack in December and January when the grain arrived, viz., seven to eight Cuttack seers per rupee, and that price was continued by us throughout, even when rice became much dearer in the bazaar. The result of the sales was some gain to the Company in actual money.

Q. According to the returns of the Board of Revenue, rice was selling in Cuttack in the end of December and throughout January at from 13 to 15 Calcutta seers per rupee, say at 10 to 12 Cuttack seers, "*the cheapest kind of rice in ordinary use.*" Your note makes the price seven to eight seers. Can you explain the cause of this difference?—*A.* I cannot; but I feel certain of the correctness of my statement, because we were guided in our sales by it. I recollect to have subsequently noticed that the price currents officially published were incorrect. The question was so far raised that Mr. Chapman wrote an explanation in the "Englishman;" but we thought the explanation was not sufficient, and did not reconcile the discrepancy. The rice, of which I quote the prices, is what I should call common rice; the main portion of the rice sold in the bazaars is of this quality; we call it coolies' rice; in fact, there generally is, as far as we know, only one sort of common rice. I am not aware that any cheaper rice is in ordinary and common use.

When our rice began to run short, we had not funds which we could readily divert for the purpose of importing more rice. It was the middle of our working season, and our money was fully employed. The question of importations was much discussed. We expected that Government would import. I had several discussions on the subject with Mr. Ravenshaw. I am not sure of the date; but it must have been before he left in April. I most strongly urged the importation of grain by Government, and most strongly said that money was of no use. At that time we had had reports of very severe distress. I won't be quite sure of having heard of deaths at that time. I had formed the opinion that things would be much worse, and regarded them with the most gloomy apprehension. Prices had reached a height which meant starvation to almost every labouring man. I had conversation with Mr. Ravenshaw on the question whether things were likely to get worse, or whether the high prices would bring out stores. I understood Mr. Ravenshaw to say that he had urged importations; but he always also said that he had information that there were large quantities of grain in the country. He mentioned, as his authorities, some natives, whose names I forget; but Colonel Rundall and I, especially Colonel Rundall, gave our opinion that there could not be stocks. We had understood from Mr. Chapman that there was not above a half crop all over Bengal, and that there had never been so universal and wide-spread a failure. We were also sure that there had not been more than a half crop in Cuttack, and we thought that there could not be a sufficiency of food. The question of exports was also discussed. I had not formed an opinion as to whether the stocks of 1864, had left, more or less, than the average of grain in hand in 1865, before the crop came in. I knew that there had been no export of the crop of 1865 from the Cuttack district; but I showed that the normal export was so small in proportion to the whole crop, that its cessation would not make up for the deficiency of crop. While Mr. Ravenshaw was away, I used frequently to discuss this matter with Mr. Cornell; we used to meet two or three times a week at the Band. I was apprehensive of serious disturbances, and used to tell Mr. Cornell of the accounts I had from our canal works of the want of food and the dreadful distress, causing people to live on roots. About that time I had commenced relief from Sykes's Fund. It seemed to me that Mr. Cornell did not appreciate the gravity of the state of things; he thought that the worst distress was in Cuttack, whereas, in fact it was not nearly as bad as at other places. I understood, however, that he was in favour of the importation of rice. Till the Relief Committee telegraphed, I did not communicate on this subject direct with the Government.

In my opinion, after the Government relief did begin in June, everything was done that could be done, allowing for this overwhelming fact that the imports were not commenced till the monsoon had burst. I considered that the officials did all that was possible. I heard reports against the efficiency of the police; they urged that they had not men enough for the work which they were called upon to do. I do not think that any difference of opinion, that I ever heard, between the police and other departments, detracted from the efficiency of the service; but I thought it very unfortunate that the Commissioner was absent in April and May, the more so as the Collector was new to the district. After Mr. Ravenshaw's return, he was most energetic, and I consider that his action was efficient and all that could be desired. The staff of officers was insufficient for the work. The Irrigation Company lent as many of their officers as they could spare. We stopped our works as usual during July. I did not visit any relief out-station, but I was a member of the Relief Committee, which fixed upon the relief centres, and managed the general organisation. Mr. Kirkwood was our relief manager; he was constantly on the move, visiting the centres, and did his work excellently. In Cuttack itself at first there was difficulty in organising matters, but afterwards everything was got into good working order. I was of opinion throughout that, with a larger staff and a larger supply

Mr. G. W. Boothby. 4 January 1867.

of rice, very much more might have been done. There was a fearful amount of distress which we did not reach. There was a period of great shortness of rice about October owing to vessels not arriving, as I understood. I think the famine had then slightly abated, some new rice of the Beallee crop having come into the market, and private importations from Gopalpoor and Sumbulpoor (principally the latter) taking place; but still I heard of great inconvenience at the centres from the want of Government rice. I do not recollect that the Committee were consulted or gave any opinion regarding the estimate made by Mr. McNeile of the quantity of grain required up to the coming in of the autumn crop of 1866. My impression had been, that up to that time, if we had got all that was estimated for, it would have been sufficient, but this did not rest with the Committee. As respects the subsequent supply, the Committee were consulted, and then both I and Colonel Rundall and Mr. Kirkwood expressed our opinions that Mr. McNeile's view was too sanguine. I never heard complaints that people were roughly used at the relief houses, but I heard that there were great scenes of confusion at the sale of Government rice, and that people were much hurt. This was afterwards remedied. In my opinion the greatest suffering was among the labouring population, both agricultural and town; and also I heard that very many Pyekhast ryots and mechanics died. I heard that the Khoodkhast ryots nearly all had grain and did not die, but they have been much impoverished. Never heard of the zemindars as a class making any efforts to save their ryots or taking any active part in relief measures. It was generally remarked that they did nothing, but one or two were named as having fed their people—the Dekhanah Raja and Ragnath Chowdree. My impression is that the assessment of revenue on the zemindars is decidedly easy. I also believe that the rent paid by the ryots is easy. I think that before the famine, all the agricultural classes were comfortably off and contented. I never heard that the ryots were particularly oppressed. I should judge that the assessment was very even and fair, and I have heard no complaints against the correctness of the settlement record of the rights of the inferior classes. Before the famine I think that the Government assessment might have been greatly increased comparing these districts with other districts. I think that the zemindars might now bear an increase if they could get the money from the people below them; but that the agricultural population has been diminished and impoverished to so great an extent as seriously to diminish the resources of the country. I think that to increase the rents of the ryots at present would be a very harsh and inadmissible measure. I think it will be years before they are in a position to bear such a measure. I think that if there were no impediments in the way of an irrigation operation, they might be carried to such a point as to protect the delta of the Mahanuddee from famine by affording food within two seasons. The works at the head of the delta are completed by draining the main Mahanuddee and the Bairopa to that extent that we can lead the water into the canals. We do not yet control the waters of the smaller, or Katjoree branch. One large canal is carried to a point which will soon enable us to water a large tract of country, and will establish communications with tidal waters; another canal is also in a forward state.

The main and in fact, only impediment to our progress is that people will not take our water, and hence it is, in consequence, impossible to raise sufficient capital to extend the works as far as they ought to be carried. We have been in a position to give water to a certain extent since early in 1866, but the water has been taken to a very limited extent. I am certain that the reason is that the zemindars have set themselves dead against irrigation till they know the whole of the consequences in reference to the impending settlement. I believe that the ryots would take the water if they dared, and many of them have done so; but these are principally independent Khoodkhast ryots. The remedy is some satisfactory disposal of the settlement question by some sufficient authority. Some plain declaration is required. I think that it must be made plain whether the assessment will be increased, and if so, on what conditions. In my opinion there would be no sufficient guarantee without a settlement for 40 or 50 years. From what I have been told however, by Government officers, I believe that a permanent settlement is obligatory in consequence of promises. I think that to make an efficient permanent settlement, it would be necessary to fix permanently both the revenue of the zemindars and the rent of the Khoodkhast ryots; without that I do not think that the settlement would work well. The Pykehast ryots must necessarily be left to the ordinary laws of supply and demand; and after the diminution of population caused by the famine, I think that ryots will be in great demand, and that it will not be possible to enforce hard terms. I clearly understand the rent of the Khoodkhast ryots to be now fixed, and as between them and the zemindars to be unalterable; but if there is a general increased assessment of all parties interested in the land, I believe that they also are liable to enhancement, and that they would think that they must fairly bear their share of the burden.

I also think that measures to protect the country from floods are indispensably necessary, and should be carried out in a comprehensive scheme in connection with our irrigation works. I think that to render irrigation fully effective, the land must be protected from uncontrolled inundations. I should wish to add that I ordered a second importation of rice for our men in May—the latter part of May,—a little before the Government orders; but before it could be shipped, the Agra Bank broke and delayed us terribly. When it did come, it came much quicker than the Government rice, as we had better boats and more means at our disposal. I got the rice down in the tug steamer "Electric," and then we put it into our own boats and brought it rapidly up with relays of coolies; I mean that we had greater local means on the spot; but I think that when importation began,

Government

Government might have used its general resources to a much greater extent by company boats and small steamers from Calcutta. It was a matter of astonishment to me that such means were not used. That was not within the province of the Local Committee; but as an individual, I was constantly expressing my opinion about it. I was suprised that the whole arrangements were not put into the hands of some practical man. It was obvious that the Board of Revenue knew nothing about it. Throughout I think that this defect continued.

Mr. G. W. Boothby.

4 January 1867.

No. 52.—Colonel F. H. RUNDALL, Chief Engineer, Irrigation Company.

[Examined at Cuttack, 4 January 1867.]

I HAVE been in Orissa since July 1862, excepting a year in England. I was in the country throughout the famine. I have before had to do with an Oorya population in Ganjam. I think I understand their character pretty well. I do not understand the Oorya language. I first observed very high prices in October 1865. Prices rose till December, and there was then a slight relaxation. By the end of January, they rose again, and grain continued to get dearer from that time. Prices were so high that we ordered grain in November from the country about Calcutta. In October I was convinced that famine was impending. I wrote home to that effect. I had seen the failure of the harvest in Midnapore, Balasore, and Cuttack. In the end of July 1865 there was scarcely a field sown in Balasore. When I returned in September the fields were all sown; but after the 15th September there was not a drop of rain. I did not change my opinion in December and January, because I knew that the harvest had failed from Midnapore to Ganjam. I thought that the relaxation of prices was due to the small amount of harvest that was reaped coming into the market, and I anticipated that things would be worse in the spring. Towards the end of January, when prices got dearer, we began to dispose of our rice to our coolies. In February things got worse; it began to be almost impossible to procure rice. During the Lieutenant Governor's visit people petitioned him to fix a price. When he went down to our works and to the durbar, people petitioned him verbally; but with the exception of begging to have a price fixed they made no practical suggestion. There were, however, on our works some Molunghees, who suggested reopening the salt works. I can't call to mind whether I had any conversation on the subject of the famine with the Lieutenant Governor, but I understood that there was a consultation with the revenue authorities, and he spoke to us regarding the employment of labour. I should say that at the end of February, any person ordinarily observant of the country would have been aware that there was a famine. This would apply to the immediate neighbourhood of Cuttack. I was convinced there was considerable mortality from starvation at the end of March or beginning of April. I had no official discussions with the civil authorities, but I talked over the matter personally with them. I had an idea that it would be a severe famine, but could not calculate the intensity. As far as I remember, I expressed the above opinion in my conversation with the civil officers. I think they agreed as respecting the severity of the famine so far as the appearance of the people went, but they disagreed with me as to the total absence of food in the province. I held and often expressed that opinion; that was contested, and certain zemindars' names given who had large stores; but whatever the stores might have been, I thought that even if distributed they would have had no appreciable effect. The harvest was a short one in 1864, and a total failure in 1865; and I also know that Orissa cannot, under present circumstances, produce any great surplus, for the average yield of an acre of rice is not much more than sufficient to support a single person for a year. I think I had discussions with Mr. Ravenshaw and Mr. Cornell before the intensity of the famine was universally acknowledged. I was aware private appeals were made to the general public both in Cuttack and Calcutta in April. I think these were well founded.

Colonel F. H. Rundall.

4 January 1867.

I was most surprised, not at the civil authorities not appealing to the public, but at their holding to the opinion that there were large supplies of grain in the country.

When the Government did take action, I think there were mistakes made. I think, for instance, it would have been better had the whole importation and the arrangements been put into the hands of mercantile men acquainted with practical arrangements. I think those who did carry out the importation did not carry it out as efficiently as it might have been carried out. The defects I noticed were these: want of certain information as to the time of arrival of the stores of grain, and apparently contradictory orders which succeeded each other (as far as I, as a member of the Relief Committee, could judge from what was laid before the committee); another defect was the want of steam-power for effecting the landing of the rice in the south-west monsoon; a third was the shorthandedness of the local officials. The boats employed were defective, but I doubt whether it was possible, owing to the lateness of the season, to send down better from Calcutta. The result was that the rice which arrived, arrived irregularly and in insufficient quantities. At one time, in September, I think, we were getting as much as we could get out into the centres, but not at other times. There was a notable deficiency soon after in October. Till the end of August there was a deficiency in the means of

Colonel F. H. Rundall.

4 January 1867.

getting up rice from the coast, and soon after the inland transport was rendered efficient, the rice at the coast fell short.

I think with their means the local officers did what they could. I do not think there was any want of union amongst them. More decidedly might have been done with more officers, especially in the inland transport, in quickening operations and also in supervising the distribution of rice. I think that towards the end of August and beginning of September there was real relief afforded, but till then I do not think that it reached the mass of the people in the interior. I think the Government sales and the relief sales both were efficient so far as they were carried. Owing to the scarcity in October, the Government and also the relief committee's sales at low rates were stopped, but the gratuitous distribution was not checked. I think that during the rainy months there were works that afforded relief to those who were not emaciated enough to be objects of charity. As far as the Irrigation Company's servants were concerned, almost every European servant was employed to superintend light labour operations as well as in gratuitous operations. In July and till the end of July food was not to be had for labour, but in August and September, I think it was. I should say the mortality began to abate about the beginning of October, owing partly to the rice which had been distributed during August and September, and partly to the Beallee crop coming into the market. The greatest mortality has been among the labouring classes and petty artizans. Roughly speaking, I should say that 25 per cent. of the population of the district is missing. I think there is a considerable difference in the effect the famine has had upon the agricultural population. I think the mass of the owners of land have been able to pull through with considerable sacrifices, no doubt, of their means. I mean thereby that considerable ryots have escaped, and that petty ryots and day labourers have not. From all I have heard and the little I have seen, I think the conduct of the higher zemindars has been unfeeling. They have shown the greatest indifference. I think the inundations greatly aggravated the state of things, and that the mortality was increased about 25 per cent. owing to them, not by the people being drowned, but by their being cut off from means of food. I think the destruction to crops caused by them has been very great.

I think the irrigation works will, this season, be in a sufficiently forward state to protect from famine the country between the Mahanuddee and the Brahminee, an area of 3,50,000 culturable acres. Next season, this time 12 months, we shall be in a position to supply canal communication with the sea. The progress of the other canals will depend on the supply of funds, and that will depend, as far as I know, on the success of the operations as far as they have gone. The dams on the Mahanuddee are already sufficiently raised to supply much more water than all the canals designed can carry off. We have designed some more canals that are now in course of construction; the dams being constructed, there remains no engineering difficulty; it is only a question of money. As regards the whole scheme of irrigation and supply of water, I have put in a memorandum. In my opinion, the only impediment to an early success of the canals is owing to the uncertainty in the minds of the landowners regarding the re-settlement of the province. At the same time, I ought to add, irrigation is progressing slowly, and I hope surely.

I think the settlement should either be a permanent one, or if temporary, for a long period. The main object is to get the question determined quickly. From my previous experience in the Madras provinces, I think if the land question was settled, the ryots would take the water freely, as the circumstances of this province are almost identical. There are some zemindars in the Madras districts with whom I am acquainted, but in their zemindaree the ryots take the water, not the zemindars. I do not know if any zemindar contracts to take the water on a large scale. I do know a case of a zemindar, a part of whose estate had come into the hands of Government, and had been during the Government administration fully watered, who, on his subsequently getting it back, forbade the ryots to take the water. Eventually, however, they took the water in spite of him. I found that the holders of rent-free lands took the water readily.

The immediate progress of the works is not now impeded by the doubt existing on the subject of embankments, but the works in the Pooree districts would be impeded if the question were indefinitely delayed. It would affect the projection of the canals. In my opinion, the water communications and cross roads are the lines of communication most needed in this province. By cross roads I mean roads from mart to mart. I think the trunk road from Cuttack to Midnapore ought to be completed. It will, when completed, be an efficient means of communication for heavy traffic throughout the year till our canal be opened, when the heavy traffic will be taken by the canal; and even after the canal be opened, I would recommend its being kept up as a metalled road; but I think that communication with Calcutta will always be by sea and by the canals from the sea. I don't think that any class of works, besides those already mentioned, are wanted in the district; but protection from inundation is wanted, whether by embankments or some other system.

I think the waters of these rivers are, without exception, fertilizing.

The upper feeders of the Mahanuddee have been surveyed with a view to forming reservoirs with the double purpose of storing water for feeding the canals in the dry season and lessening the floods in the rains.

My impression is that, as long as food was procurable, people readily applied for labour. I do not think that the Government works on which the people working were paid in money

Colonel F. H. Rundall.

4 January 1867.

money were productive of much good as relief measures. If I had had abundant funds, I should have imported grain largely for the use of my own labourers on my own works to keep the labourers together. I think that for the sustenance of the labourers in the Government works, grain should have been imported and distributed. I think the great mass of the people who have died have died because they couldn't help themselves, not because they wouldn't help themselves. I don't think a large proportion have died because they wouldn't work. I also think the people have been very much impoverished. The mortality amongst the women and children has been so great that it will take a long time before the province can recover.

I think the average assessment of the province is very low. I think the population is a tolerable industrious one. I don't think they have any prejudice against irrigation; quite the contrary.

I have heard the opinion often expressed, that the Burmah rice, when first eaten, is unwholesome, but that this effect disappeared as the people became accustomed to it. It is said to have produced bowel complaints.

No. 53.—Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S., Officiating Commissioner, *Cuttack*.

[Examined at Cuttack, 5th and 7th January 1867.]

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

5 & 7 January 1867.

I ENTERED the service in 1849; served in various districts in Bengal and Behar until 1859, as Assistant and Magistrate of Dinagepoor, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Pubna, and Dacoity Commissioner at Hooghly. I was also at one time an Assistant to the Sub-treasurer in Calcutta. I proceeded to England in 1859, and returned to India in the end of 1862. Immediately on my return, I was appointed Officiating Judicial Commissioner of the Chota Nagpore Province, and continued to act there for 15 months. I was then appointed Magistrate and Collector of Patna, and joined my appointment on the 28th March 1864. During the latter period of my service there, I was specially employed to prosecute certain Wahabee conspirators in Patna. I was then appointed to officiate as Judge of Beerbhoom, where I remained only a few weeks, when I was appointed Officiating Commissioner, Cuttack Division. I took charge in Calcutta on the 22nd June 1865. Up to this time, I had never been in Orissa. I did not know the Oorya language, but I was conversant with Bengalee, and found myself soon able to understand Oorya. I had never previously been in any district in which anything like famine had been known, nor had my attention been ever drawn to reports on the subject of famine in India. I had never seen Colonel Baird Smith's report on the famine in the North-West Provinces during 1860–61 until a month or six weeks ago, when I found it in my office. I landed at Pooree from Calcutta on the 3rd July. I remained at Pooree only one day, and then came on to Cuttack, which I reached on the 5th July. On the 22nd July, I left for Balasore to hold Sessions, which duty I had to take alternately with the Sessions Judge. I returned to Cuttack on the 13th August, having been up to that date continually employed in criminal work. I then had no opportunity of going into Balasore revenue matters; and, moreover, the Collector, Mr. Muspratt, had recently joined the district, and found his office in considerable confusion. He was busily engaged at that time in putting his office in order, and I abstained, therefore, from making any inspection of it until later in the year. As far as I recollect, I was not again out between August and November. Before my return to Cuttack in August, I formed no opinion of the state of the crops: I heard nothing either favourable or unfavourable about them. I called a meeting of the zemindars and principal inhabitants at Balasore, Bhudruk, and Jajpoor, on my way back to Cuttack, for the purpose of arranging for holding an agricultural exhibition early in 1866. Had there been then any alarm about the crop, I should have certainly heard it. In the course of October, serious apprehensions began to be entertained about the crops; but I do not think that up to the end of October these apprehensions were very grave. In the latter half of October, the bazars were closed almost all over the country; but I do not think there was any real panic among the dealers. I attribute the movement to the existence of a belief among the dealers that there would be a short crop, and to a desire among them to raise prices by a combination. I do not think that all hope of rain was abandoned up to the end of October or well into November; nor that anything precise was known about the out-turn of the main or Sarud crop, until it commenced to be cut about the middle of November. Even then I do not think the worst was known. I also am of opinion that the crop, when thrashed out, yielded much less than it promised to do in the straw, and that that deficiency was not fully known until the ryots completed the thrashing of the crops in December and January. During the Doorgah Poojah, early in October, I myself visited part of the country towards Bobaneepoor, in the Pooree district, and there I saw fine crops of rice, which bid fair to yield an excellent out-turn of grain.

Mr. Barlow was in Cuttack in October, and left for Pooree, I believe, soon after the examination which occurred in the end of October. During the time he was in Cuttack he lived with me, and I was in constant communication with him. I have no doubt that all information of any importance connected with his district was communicated by him

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

5 & 7 January 1867.

to me. I do not recollect that the Board of Revenue called on me in November for any report on the state of the crops and prospects of this division. If any such were called for, they will be on record in my office. I myself called for such reports from Collectors on the 6th November. Those reports, so far as I remember, were called for in a demi-official letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, dated 1st November, and received on the 3rd idem. The Secretary's letter called for prices only; but I amplified it so far as to add "state of the crops, &c." Those reports were discontinued on receipt of the Board's printed circular, No. 10, of October 1865, which reached my office on the 10th November. That circular prescribed a form for weekly reports of prices, and, therefore, the reports called for by me on Mr. Chapman's demi-official letter were discontinued. I do not remember if from that time any reports as to the state of the crops were called for. Were any such reports called for, they will be found on record. It was the duty of the Collector of Pooree to keep himself informed generally of the state of the crops in his district, and I imagine that he did so. I have no special knowledge of his having made any minute or local inquiries on this point.

Q. In your opinion, was your letter, No. 351, of 24th January 1866, with copy of Board's letter, No. 10A., of 10th January, calculated to put a stop to any detailed and local inquiries which the Collector had instituted?—*A.* Certainly not as regards the Collector informing himself of the state of his district; but they would decidedly preclude him from making any inquiries with a view to granting remissions of revenue, as although the crops had been short, the prices of grain had been more than proportionately increased. I did not, therefore, consider that any inquiries with a view to remission of revenue were necessary, and in this opinion the Board concurred.

Q. In your opinion, then, are the Collectors of Pooree and Cuttack wrong in alleging that correspondence as a reason for not making more particular inquiries and more particularly reporting the out-turn of the crops?—*A.* Most decidedly so. Those orders referred to inquiries with a view to revenue remissions, and not to inquiries connected with the state of their respective districts.

Q. Is it your opinion that the Board would not have been dissatisfied if it had been brought to their notice that any Collector had, after the receipt of their instructions, been making anything like precise local inquiries as to the state of the crops in his district, even without holding out hopes of any remission of revenue?—*A.* No; I do not think that the Board would in this case have been dissatisfied. Certainly I should not have been dissatisfied; on the contrary, I should have thought that the Collector would only have been doing his duty.

Q. In your letter No. 255¼, to the Collector of Balasore, dated 3rd November 1865, you expressed the opinion that there was more rice in his district than he imagined, and that the crop of the current year would suffice for the year's supply, the Collector having then given a very bad report of the crops in his district; will you mention on what information you founded your opinion?—*A.* I cannot at the present moment recall to my recollection the precise grounds on which I formed that opinion, nor have I the correspondence before me that would enable me to state precisely on what grounds I founded an opinion that there was more rice in Balasore district, or that the crops would suffice for the year's supply; but speaking generally, I may say that I was aware that the people were in the habit of hoarding grain, and I hoped that they had more than the Collector had been able to ascertain; moreover, from the information which I had received from different sources, I was led to believe that the general out-turn, taking all lands together, would be half of an ordinary crop. As nearly as I can judge from the information which I now have, the actual out-turn of all Orissa was as near as can be to half an ordinary crop.

On the 20th November I went on tour into the Tributary Hill States north and west of Cuttack, and remained out till the 31st of January. I penetrated a long way into the hills in every direction. I did not pass through any considerable portion of the regulation districts. It is customary for the Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals to visit them during the year; and it was more than usually necessary at this time, as only one mehal, known as the Khand Mehal, had been visited in the preceding year. None of the estates which I visited had, I believe, been visited for years, and parts of them had never been visited by any British officers except a surveyor. There were also political questions, some of great importance, to be settled.

Q. Were you not aware by the end of November and beginning of December, that there was very serious alarm in the British districts regarding the failure of the crops, and had you not information that there was actual famine in part of the Pooree district; and having differed in opinion with the Collector of Balasore regarding the prospects of his district, did it not strike you that it was your first duty to visit the proper British districts of Pooree and Balasore with which you were personally entirely unacquainted, before proceeding to remote tributary mehals?—*A.* At the time I started on my tour in the tributary mehals, I was aware that very great scarcity prevailed in and about the Chilka Lake districts in Pooree. I did not, however, anticipate anything approaching to general scarcity or famine throughout the district or province. I could as easily have superintended matters through correspondence from my camp as from head quarters. I was in constant communication with my Collectors. Although the letters were two or three days longer in reaching me in camp than in my Sudder station, I could have returned to the spot within a few days at any time, if I had seen a necessity for so doing.

Q. Did you at any time before June 1866 visit the Pooree district?—*A.* I did not.

Q. After reaching Cuttack in August, did you visit the Balasore district before you were

were directed by the Government to do so in April 1866?—*A.* I did not; but my intention was to visit Balasore on my return from the tributary mehals. My tour was interrupted by the intelligence of the Lieutenant Governor's intended visit, and also by my wife's unexpected return from England. After the Lieutenant Governor had left Cuttack, I found that my work had accumulated to such an extent that it was impossible to go out on tour again immediately. I had always intended to visit Pooree in May, if not earlier.

During my tour in the tributary mehals, I made a detailed report as to the state of the crops in them. On an average the crops were much better than in the regulation districts, particularly in the hilly parts. In the tributary mehals, with the exception of the low lying parts of Nilgherry and Mohurbhunj, adjoining Balasore, the distress was much less than in the regulation districts; but these parts I did not visit till May.

Q. Did you, in the end of 1865, and again on the 31st January, recommend the importation of rice?—*A.* On the 2nd of December, in my letter No. 305½, I recommended to the Board of Revenue the importation of rice into Pooree, for the support of the starving population of Malood, Parricood, and other Lake Pergunnahs. But no rice was sent at that time. On the 6th December, in my letter No. 315¾, I also recommended to the Board that I be authorised to purchase a store of rice with which to remunerate the labourers on works. On the 31st of January, the day after my return to Cuttack, I telegraphed to the Board: "Famine relief is at a stand-still; Public Works Department refuse to advance money to Collectors to purchase rice; Pooree must get rice from elsewhere; may I authorise advance for this purpose from Cuttack, Balasore, or Pooree." On the 2nd February I received in reply this telegram from the Board (telegram read as follows): "The Government decline to import rice into Pooree; if the market favours importers rice will find its way into Pooree without Government interference, which can only do harm; all payments for labour employed to relieve the present distress are to be in cash."

Q. Did you consider that those orders were conclusive and final?—*A.* I did; and to the best of my belief I acted upon them.

Q. Did you consider that the orders as to payment of labourers in cash applied to local works as well as to works which were being executed by the Department of Public Works?—*A.* Yes. I received a copy of the Board's No. 16 A, dated 26th January, in which distinct orders were given that payment for labour was to be given, not only in works under the Department of Public Works, but also on local works. Acting on these instructions, I wrote to the Collector of Pooree, No. 368, dated 2nd February, suggesting the employment of paid shopkeepers for the sale of grain to the labourers, but no shopkeepers could be induced to enter into the speculation of selling grain, even though a salary was offered to them as an inducement.

Q. Did you think that these orders applied even to works which were undertaken out of private subscriptions, as expressed in your letter No. 375, dated 5th February 1866?—*A.* As the digging of the Satparah tank was a work specially undertaken in that estate, which is the property of Government, for the purpose of affording relief, and as I had been ordered to remunerate labour on those at work by money and not by grain, I considered that the principle of the orders was applicable to all relief works carried on by the Collector, even though the funds were provided by private subscription. I subsequently found reason to change my opinion as to the inexpediency of giving relief in the shape of cooked rice. To the best of my belief, however, till June, all labour on Government relief works was remunerated in cash and not in food.

Q. In your opinion, did the measure of remunerating in cash and not in food detract materially from the benefit of the relief works?—*A.* I think it did, as at that time the difficulty of procuring rice in the neighbourhood of some of the works was excessive. I recollect that in another correspondence the local officers were directed to make arrangements which should enable the labourers to procure food in return for cash on the spot. There was considerable correspondence between the departments, but it was found impossible to make such arrangements, the Collector neither having rice nor agency for the purpose at his disposal, and finding it impossible to attract shopkeepers to the neighbourhood of the works, even by the offer of salaries in addition to the profits of the trade.

I believe the Lieutenant Governor reached Pooree on the 13th February 1866, but I did not meet him there. He reached Cuttack on the 15th, and was staying at my house. I believe that the principal object of the Lieutenant Governor's visit was to see the irrigation works, and that he took the opportunity of holding a durbar to meet the native chiefs. I am not aware that one of the objects of the Lieutenant Governor's visit was to inquire into the scarcity. There was no official consultation or discussion on the subject during his stay here, that is, there was no gathering of public officers for the purpose.

Q. Are you aware whether the subjects connected with the prevailing scarcity, which had been matter of recent correspondence, and especially the dearth in the Pooree district, and the difficulty in carrying on relief works, owing to the order prohibiting the purchase of grain, were in any shape topics of representation and discussion during the Lieutenant Governor's visit?—*A.* The prevailing scarcity and difficulty in procuring grain were constant topics of discussion; but at that time I believe it was not understood that we were on the verge of a famine. The representations made to the Lieutenant Governor were chiefly with the object of obtaining remissions of revenue, and complaints against the Dandeedars for withholding grain from the market. The fear of famine was not expressed.

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

5 & 7 January 1867.

The general cry was to cheapen grain. I do not recollect that there was any discussion on the special subject of the difficulty caused to relief works by the order refusing to permit the purchase of grain, nor that I pressed that subject on his Honor. I believe that the Lieutenant Governor spoke to me privately several times on the subject of the scarcity, and I expressed an opinion that there were probably sufficient stocks of grain in the country, and that though it might be dear, it would be procurable for money. I believe that the Lieutenant Governor throughout the time he was here, was open to an interview with any person of ordinary respectability, and that the greater portion of his time was taken up in receiving native residents and visitors. I do not know the nature of his conversation, or whether any special inquiry regarding the scarcity was made from competent persons. The Lieutenant Governor was at Cuttack from the 15th to 19th February. He held a levee on the 15th, and visited the whole of the public offices. On the 16th he visited the Naraj Anicut and the Irrigation Company's workshops on the Mahanuddee Anicut. On the 17th a general durbar for native rajahs and zemindars was held, and the same day the missions and schools were visited. The 18th was Sunday. On the 19th the Kendraparah Canal was visited, and a banquet given to the Lieutenant Governor by the Irrigation Company in the Durbar Pavilion. That evening he left by dawk for Taldunda; from thence proceeded to False Point.

Q. You have mentioned that the rajahs and respectable persons were presented to the Lieutenant Governor; had the poor also any opportunity of representing their grievances?—*A.* I should say, certainly. I recollect at the cutcherry the Lieutenant Governor stopping and speaking to the people who were there, and also to a crowd of people outside the school-house; also on one or two occasions his stopping in the street when petitions were presented. I do not remember any occasions on which he was followed by crowds, nor on which any great outcry was made. The universal petitions were only to cheapen rice. I do not remember whether orders were passed on any petitions. Here the Lieutenant Governor rendered himself particularly accessible to the public.

Q. Are you aware whether the Lieutenant Governor was impressed by anything he had heard at Pooree regarding distress in that district?—*A.* I had no conversation with him on the subject.

Q. Are you aware whether Mr. Barlow had throughout been much impressed by the reports of distress in his district?—*A.* I am unable to say, except from Mr. Barlow's official correspondence. I only saw him after his return to Pooree at the close of the rains on one or two days during the Lieutenant Governor's visit there. I had then little leisure, and what may have passed between us I do not recollect. Occasionally, there was demi-official correspondence between us; but a demi-official letter was, to the best of my belief, almost always covered by an official letter within a day or two, or as soon as it could be got through the office. To the best of my knowledge, every item of importance regarding the famine has been fully detailed in official correspondence; and all demi-official letters I have placed at the disposal of the Commissioner, excepting one private letter from Mr. Shore, dated 2nd November 1865, which I now hold in my hand, and of which I will put in an extract. Should I find any further correspondence; I will put it in. I believe I did not again see Mr. Barlow during March or April.

Q. Were you ever made aware from October to March or April that the district superintendent of the Pooree police held strong opinions regarding the probability of severe famine?—*A.* To the best of my recollection, I received no such information.

Q. Did you not consider Mr. Barlow's report alarming up to the time of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit?—*A.* Locally so, I did. I refer particularly to the Chilka district. I had heard of some distress at Piply. I do not recollect anything at that time about Gope.

During the period between the Lieutenant-Governor's visit and my departure for Balasore, which took place on the 9th April, I had no reason to believe that the distress was materially increasing or that famine was impending. I do not remember that during that period I had considerable private or demi-official correspondence either with the Government or the Board, or with my subordinate officers other than that which is on record. As a rule, I have not adopted the habit of demi-official correspondence. I have always preferred official correspondence; and I believe that when Mr. Barlow proposed demi-official correspondence, I intimated that matters of public importance should be reported officially. I do not remember that up to my departure for Balasore any one expressed to me an opinion different from my own regarding the prospects of the country and the stocks of grain. My opinion, and I believe that of all others, Native and European, with whom I conversed, was that there was grain enough in the country to supply the entire wants of the population till the new crops should come in. I had no reason to believe that famine was impending. I am not aware that either the Irrigation Company's officers or the missionaries, or any one else, held a contrary opinion. To the best of my belief, no contrary opinion was expressed to me.

Q. Can you at all specify the authorities on which you founded your opinion that there were such large stocks of grain?—*A.* I was in constant communication with zemindars, European and Native officers, the Irrigation Company's officers, and others, and the universal opinion was that the stocks in the country would be sufficient generally for the year. I had peculiar opportunities of inquiry, because, being new to the district, many zemindars and others constantly visited me.

Q. Had you any reason to suppose that Mr. Barlow and Mr. Muspratt held that opinion

opinion at that time?—*A.* I think they did. I think that with the exception of parts of the Pooree district, there was then no reason to apprehend general famine; but not having then had any personal or special communication with Mr. Barlow or Mr. Muspratt, I am not in a position to say exactly what opinions they held regarding the stocks of grain.

At that time, besides the relief works of the Public Works Department, the following local works from public funds I know to have been in operation to give relief to the poor:—

1. The Satparah works, the subject of a correspondence.
2. The Khoorda and Piply road (which is the same as the Khoorda and Pooree road alluded to in the correspondence), and the continuation of the same road to the west to Dalapadah. I do not remember any others.

When I got to Balasore on the 11th April, there was there a great congregation of famished paupers. I had then received the report of the magistrate of Balasore, dated the 2nd April. I remained at Balasore till the 20th April. During that time, I was engaged in drawing up a report about the frightful increase of crime and the condition of the district. During my stay at Balasore, there was there famine on a large scale; there was frightful distress. I find recorded in my diary of the 19th April that I had then ocular demonstration of the abject distress suffered by the people. I believe that it was on that day that the scenes occurred recorded in my letter of the 2nd May. This was the first time that I had seen actual famine or believed that severe famine existed to any extent.

Q. Did you then think that the time had come for emergent measures on the part of Government to relieve the frightful starvation and distress described by you?—*A.* I certainly did so.

Q. What emergent measures did you take to secure the aid of Government?—*A.* I described what I had seen in a demi-official letter to the Lieutenant Governor, but I do not recollect any other special measures of relief to have been either proposed or adopted. If there was any correspondence, it will be on record. I do not know when the Lieutenant Governor went to the hills. I was not aware that he was going to the hills, and I do not recollect any special telegrams sent to his Honor. Every endeavour was then made to push on local subscriptions, but I heard of no appeal to the general public, nor did I suggest any. During the nine days of my stay at Balasore, there were certainly in the station very large numbers of famishing people who had come in from the interior, perhaps 600 to 1,000. The Relief Committees did their very utmost, and I daily visited the unnochatro. The people had enough given them to eat. The difficulty was to keep anything like order. They all suspected that there would not be sufficient for all, and they were consequently extremely eager to obtain it, but I believe that there was sufficient for all.

Q. Did it not then strike you that the frightful distress witnessed by you must terribly increase in the long period intervening before the harvest?—*A.* I was given to understand at that time that the majority of these people had come from the north of Balasore and the skirts of the Gurjat states, where the crop had almost entirely failed, and I had not even then reason to believe that the famine would extend to the enormous magnitude which it afterwards assumed. When I was at Balasore, there were several meetings of the zemindars for the purpose of raising relief subscriptions. They (the zemindars) did not lead me to believe that there was an entire absence of grain, or that the famine would assume the magnitude that it afterwards did. I believe that my opinion was principally formed on their representations. I think that the zemindars and native residents in Balasore subscribed better than in other districts. I did not hear anticipations of famine on a large scale expressed by the Relief Committee.

Before my official report on the state of the district was ready, I heard of a serious outbreak in Bamunghatty in Mohurbhunj, Tributary State. The rajah's omlah had so oppressed the aborigines that they rose in a body, expelled the rajah's police and his omlah, and had plundered the whole of their property as well as that of all the Hindoo population (as distinguished from the aborigines). The Rajah had left his head-quarters, Barripudda, with an armed force, and was marching against the indigenous rebels. I sent an immediate order to recall him, and reported to Government. The Government directed me to go myself to Barripudda. I am not quite sure whether I received orders first to go to Mohurbhunj, or went there first of my own accord; the matter was urgent.

Q. Did you not think the famine in the British districts at least as urgent?—*A.* Quite as urgent; but I had already turned my attention to the famine, and done all that I considered necessary at that time.

Q. Were you aware that the famine was then raging to a large extent in the Pooree district, as well as in Balasore?—*A.* I had been aware before I left, that there was local scarcity and distress in the Pooree district, but I was not aware that there was any general famine there.

Q. When you left the British districts, did you leave any instructions with the Collectors to communicate direct with the Board or with Government in case of emergency?—*A.* I do not recollect whether any official orders were issued on the occasion; but all my Collectors were aware, that in any emergency they were quite competent, and would be justified in addressing the Board or the Government direct. I left instructions in the

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

5 & 7 January 1867.

office that any urgent orders from the Government or the Board should be at once communicated to district officers by my assistant at head-quarters.

Q. As a matter of fact, was either Mr. Muspratt's report of the 2nd April or Mr. Barlow's of the 10th May in any shape communicated to Government, till after you had gone to Mohanbhary?—*A.* I am unable to recollect whether either of the above letters or the information contained was reported by the Collectors to the Government direct.

Q. Looking back, does it not seem to you that there was a very unfortunate delay in communicating some of the worst facts of the famine to Government, and is it your impression that there was no sort of communication other than that on public record?—*A.* I believe, so far as myself was concerned, that all possible information was communicated to Government immediately on receipt; but no doubt, such delay as did occur was unfortunate. I am not aware of any defect in the official machinery that prevented Collectors from communicating direct to Government any information that they considered as of more than ordinary importance.

Q. Do you think that either the Collectors or yourself at all understood the decree to which, as it has since proved, Government would be willing to assist in a famine to save the people from starvation?—*A.* No; certainly not; I was not aware at the time that Government would have incurred so large an expenditure, nor was I aware that there was any balance over from a former famine fund. Had I been aware of this, I should have applied for aid from it.

Q. Had you any European officers who might have been deputed to the tributary mehals, instead of proceeding there yourself?—*A.* No; I had not; and I wish to add, with reference to the length of my stay in Mohurbhunj at this particular time, that I had originally intended to go as far as Barripudda, and there meet the rajah and his disaffected sirdars, and endeavour to settle their disputes without going into Bamunghatty. This course would not have taken me away from Balasore more than three or four days. I mentioned to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, in my telegram, 13th April 1866, that I intended visiting Mohurbhunj. The Government replied in their telegram of the 13th April that they approved of my intention of proceeding there in person. On reaching Barripudda, I learnt that not only Bamunghatty, but also Oopurbag Pergunnah had been plundered, and the whole country was in a state of uproar and disorganisation. This necessitated my visit to Oopurbag, and Dr. Hayes, Deputy Commissioner of Chyebassa, having simultaneously with myself, received orders to go to Bamunghatty, we succeeded rapidly in restoring the country to order, and I returned in the utmost haste to Balasore, where I arrived on the 21st May.

Q. When the Lieutenant Governor visited the province, did he give you any instructions as to your conduct in the possible event of famine, or express to you his views in regard to the duties of Government in such an event?—*A.* I believe that at the time neither the Lieutenant Governor nor myself anticipated famine; the idea of a general famine had not at that time entered my head, nor as far as I know, that of the Lieutenant Governor. The only opinion that I recollect the Lieutenant Governor expressed was, that local demand created local supply; and the difficulty of procuring rice which prevailed while he was in Cuttack, would be relieved by importations from other places, where supplies of grain existed. In the ordinary course of trade, he strongly advocated no interference with the market. He left no further instructions.

Q. Was it at that time at all considered whether, after the change of the monsoon in March, the peculiar geographical circumstances of Orissa would admit of private importation from any source, from which large supplies might be derived, or whence could you expect to receive large supplies at that season?—*A.* At that time no consideration was given to this subject. I think I expressed an opinion to his Honor that the scarcity was likely to be relieved by importations from Sumbulpoor as soon as the river opened. This does not occur usually until the 15th or 20th June. I also thought that the portions of the province which are highest would be supplied from those that are lowest, where the moisture lodged long enough to mature the crop of rice.

Q. Was Mr. Cockburn ill or well during his stay in Cuttack?—*A.* He was decidedly ill, and unfit for business; he was in very low spirits.

Q. On your return to Balasore on the 21st May, what was the state of things?—*A.* The number of applicants for relief had increased, but the arrangements made for relieving the distress had been vastly improved. I then first, from what I had seen in Mohurbhunj, and what I saw in Balasore, realised the fact that there was general famine throughout the land.

Q. Did you then adopt any emergent measures before your return to Cuttack?—I do not recollect that I did so, but immediately on my return to Cuttack, on the 25th May, I represented the state of affairs urgently by both letter and telegram to Government and the Board to the best of my recollection. On the 21st May I attended the distribution of rice and clothing at Balasore by Baboo Shamanund Dey. I believe that at that time all the starving people were being fed by local charity. I did not hear at that time of any deaths from starvation in Balasore, but I had heard of some having occurred in Mohurbhunj.

[Re-examined, 7th January 1867.]

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

7 January 1867.

Q. We observe that in a letter to the agent, East India Irrigation Company, and printed by him, dated Balasore, the 19th April, you say, "The distress in Balasore is, if possible, even worse than in Cuttack." Does not this imply that you were aware that very great distress and famine existed in the Cuttack district?—*A.* I cannot recollect what was the immediate occasion on which this letter was written, or what Mr. Boothby may have written to me regarding the distress in Cuttack; it was probably written with reference to some particulars which Mr. Boothby had communicated to me.

Q. It is to be gathered from the main letter that you were, at that time, in demi-official communication with the Lieutenant Governor on another subject; do you not think that you had any communication with his Honor on the subject of the famine, except that which we have just seen?—*A.* I have made a complete search throughout my office, and among my private papers, at the special request of the President of the Commission, to find any demi-official correspondence relating particularly to the early part of the famine; and the only letters that I have found bearing on the subject are one from Mr. Shore, which I filed the day before yesterday; another, a private letter from the Lieutenant Governor, dated 28th October 1865, and two from Mr. Grote, not dated, but one of which I received on the 6th June. I put in a copy of these. I also put in extract from the Lieutenant Governor's private letter. This is done in accordance with my promise that whatever demi-official correspondence I had in my possession should be freely placed at the disposal of your Commission. But I wish to record that I put in these documents solely in accordance with that promise, and not because I consider that I am bound to give up letters which are private and confidential, in regard to matters which are on record fully and officially. I am aware of no other correspondence with the Lieutenant Governor in any way touching the subject of the famine.

Q. It appears from your Letter to the Lieutenant Governor, dated the 20th April, that you were in correspondence with Mr. Eden, Secretary to Government, on the subject of Balasore matters; is it your impression that you had any considerable correspondence with him regarding the distress and famine?—*A.* I certainly had not; nor with anyone else connected with the Government.

Q. You have told us that you first became aware of severe famine on your arrival at Balasore. We observe that, in the extract of your letter, dated the 20th April, communicated to us by the Lieutenant Governor, you do not put the famine the first subject in order, but mention crime, cholera, and the inspection of the office before you come to the famine. Is it yonr impression that the Lieutenant Governor had or had not at that time from any source information regading the existence of severe famine in the province?—*A.* At that time I had gone to Balasore under special orders to make inquiries as to the great increase of crime in the district, and for that reason I probably made matters connected with increase of crime the first subject in my letter. I cannot say what information the Lieutenant Governor may have had in his possession regarding the famine at that time, but I can safely say that all the information forwarded to his Honor from my office has been placed at your disposal. I am not aware of any further or previous demi-official communication made by me on the snbject of the famine. I may say that I was not in the constant habit of corresponding demi-officially with his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, and I can state with confidence that not more than five or six demi-official and private letters have passed between us from the date of my appointment to Cuttack to the present time.

Q. May we take it that, from the 28th May, when you sent a very urgent telegram to the Government, you were aware fully of the severity of the famine?—*A.* Most decidedly; as far as I recollect, I was fully aware at that date that the scarcity and difficulty in procuring grain amounted to severe famine, and that extraordinary measures were necessary.

Q. From the time when you communicated to Government, on the 28th May, is it your opinion that all was done that could be reasonably expected to be done in the way of Government aid to save the people from starvation?—*A.* Certainly this is my opinion.

Q. Were you satisfied that every possible means were used to forward a proper supply of rice from Calcutta to Cuttack and other places?—*A.* Yes; I believe that every possible exertion was made to afford a sufficient supply.

Q. Do you think that the delay in landing large quantities of rice on the coast was due altogether to causes beyond control, and that, supposing the authorities in Calcutta to have been as fully convinced of the extent of the famine as people on the spot were, nothing more could have been done in the month of June?—*A.* Yes; I believe that the causes of delay in landing the rice were altogether beyond control. I do not think that more could have been done.

Q. When the rice was first sent down to False Point, was any practical person deputed from Calcutta to superintend the landing, or any person having authority in respect to the cargo?—*A.* As far as I recollect, no person was specially deputed from Calcutta to superintend the landing of the rice; but there were on the spot Mr. Geary, Assistant Collector of Customs and Lighthouse Superintendent, and his assistant, Mr. Workman, both active intelligent men, who, had they continued in health, would probably have conducted all the landing operations at first. Of course, when these assumed larger dimensions, it was

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

7 January 1867.

necessary to send further assistance, and this was effected by sending Mr. Burgess, who was lent to us by the East India Irrigation Company, a gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the coast and shipping and landing operations, who had been for some years employed in a similar capacity at Ganjam. The employment of Mr. Burgess was arranged here with the sanction of the Board; he was also provided with a conpetent staff.

Q. Was there not considerable delay and difficulty regarding the bringing into use of the first large cargo despatched, that of the "Jacques Forestier," which came down under a guarantee of a minimum price, in consequence of objections regarding the sale and price raised by the agent of the owners, and the want of any one on the spot who had sufficient authority to deal with him?—*A.* There was no one at False Point capable of dealing with the agent, but I do not think there was any delay in bringing the cargo into use, because Mr. Fressanges, the agent, landed the cargo at his own godown, at False Point, and assisted the committee by arranging for its conveyance to Taldunda.

Q. Do you not think that if a small steamer had been sent to tow the boats from False Point much time would have been saved?—*A.* I can only speak from hearsay; but I have heard that the depth of water on the bar there is so little that a steamer would have been of very little use, except at full flood. I am not prepared with a decided opinion on this point.

Q. Did you ever apply for a steamer, or was such a suggestion ever made to you?—*A.* I applied for a steamer; I am not sure whether one was sent when I first asked for it, but one came subsequently.

Q. Are you aware that there was a great scarcity of rice at both False Point and Pooree subsequently in October?—*A.* Yes; there was a great deficiency at both places, I believe. This was due to the non-arrival of the "Asia" and "Dundas Castle." I am not aware of the cause of the delay, but in consequence of these two ships being delayed, the Board sent some other supplies.

Q. Did you ever apply for any boats?—*A.* Yes; one or two were sent down by the "Teesta" after the close of the monsoon. I do not think that it would have been possible to have sent them from Calcutta earlier.

Q. Up to the time of the arrival of the "Teesta," were any Governments agents, or men or means of any kind sent from Calcutta for the purpose of landing or inland transit?—*A.* Yes; the Board sent down an agent, I think a European, but I forget his name. He came to False Point with a supply of tarpaulins to protect the cargoes during the rains in transit. He remained some time, but I do not know how long. I do not remember that any other men or means were sent or wanted.

Q. When there was a scarcity of rice in October, and the private cargo of the "Charles Moreau" was offered for sale, was not the opportunity of buying that cargo lost for want of authority to negotiate with the agent or captain?—*A.* There was no one at False Point having express authority to treat with the captain of that vessel, although Mr. Burgess would have been quite justified in doing so. The captain wished for a guarantee, I believe, that a certain quantity should be purchased at a certain price, but there was no one who was authorised to give that guarantee, and of two letters despatched by my orders through the Collector, one was misunderstood, and the other miscarried altogether.

Q. Would it have been possible for the agent to sell that cargo at False Point privately to his advantage?—*A.* I think he would have done so if he had landed it there and sold it by retail on the spot; but there was certainly no merchant at False Point, or even in Cuttack who would have bought the cargo wholesale.

Q. At that time could any private person have bought up rice from False Point, or had Government possession of the whole means of conveyance?—*A.* I think that any private person would have had great difficulty in conveying rice in large quantities from False Point to Cuttack at that time.

Q. In your opinion, was there a sufficient supply of European officers in the province, and particularly in the Cuttack district, in the early months of the famine and subsequently?—*A.* I think the supply of officers was short; new men were sent, and others were removed. I applied for a joint magistrate for each district; but that request, I believe, was not complied with. I think, had it been complied with, the hands of the magistrate and Collector would have been materially strengthened. I think that every other application was complied with.

Q. In your opinion, was the Cuttack police sufficient, and did the officers do all that could be done in assisting in transport and famine operations?—*A.* The Cuttack police force was insufficient in numbers and was increased at my request; but the material obtainable was very inefficient. I do not think that the district superintendent, Captain Fisher, entered heart and soul in assisting with his police as the other district superintendents did. He thought that the escort of rice and other matters connected with famine were not part of the legitimate duties of the police. Taken departmentally, perhaps Captain Fisher had some grounds, but in my own opinion in such an emergency, he was wrong. I am not aware of the circumstances under which he was removed to another district. I was not consulted about it. No one was sent to take his place for some time. I am not aware of the circumstances under which Mr. Crommelin went on leave. A successor was appointed, and I am not aware that there was any inconvenience. Mr. Barlow went on urgent private affairs after having done more than ninety-nine men out of a hundred could have done; it was near the end of the famine. His relief arrangements

ment were thoroughly examined, and there was little or no inconvenience. Several other officers applied for leave, but I do not remember any that got it.

Q. Were the arrangements for transporting the rice from False Point to Cuttack as efficient as they might have been?—*A.* Yes, I think that they were as efficient as could have been expected under the circumstances.

Q. Throughout the summer, was the supply of rice received at Cuttack sufficient for the relief of the population?—*A.* The quantity of rice received throughout the famine was sufficient for feeding all who applied at the unnochatros that were established. If we had had more rice, we might have established more unnochators at an earlier date. By September I think that the number of unnochators was quite sufficient. Throughout the famine, we had not so much as we should have liked to have sold. I do not think that there was loss of life from the limit necessarily put to sales; there was always rice at the unnochatros for all who applied, either with or without work. I think that it was so at every centre. No limit was ever placed upon the number to be relieved. I believe that the system in regard to distribution of food varied considerably at the different centres.

Q. Did you think that the management of the Pooree and Balasore districts by the district officers during the famine all that could be desired?—*A.* Yes, decidedly, of both. Both Mr. Barlow and Mr. Muspratt were conspicuous for their zeal and untiring exertions, and were ably seconded by all their subordinates, particularly by Mr. Barton at Khoorda, and Mr. Shortt at Bhudruk.

Q. In the Cuttack district, would you mention any one in particular?—*A.* I believe that Mr. Cornell exerted himself to the very best of his ability. Mr. Kirkwood, though young, made himself active in a remarkable degree. Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose and Mr. Crouch, Assistant Superintendent of Police, did particularly well, as did Mr. Webster, assistant in charge of Kendraparah, whose arrangements were most excellent. I must also mention most prominently the assistance received from all the officers of the Irrigation Company, small and great. Without their assistance, our operations must have very seriously suffered. I would add that Mr. McNeile assisted me most efficiently.

Q. Are you aware that the official returns of prices rendered during the past year have been called in question, and that you yourself inquired into apparent discrepancies (*see* your letter to Collector of Cuttack, dated 7th February 1866); are you prepared to explain the discrepancies?—*A.* I do not at present remember the result of my inquiries, but I will search my office.

Q. It is observed that during some meetings at first, for some weeks, the Relief Committee of Cuttack consisted of a number of Europeans, and that there was one native member only; why were not more native gentlemen asked to co-operate?—*A.* The reason, I believe, is this. I had about November or December last instructed the Collector to raise subscriptions, and a general meeting was called for that purpose. At that meeting the European members of the Relief Committee as at first constituted, and one native member only attended. When the Relief Committee was again summoned, the members who had attended that meeting again attended, but no regular committee was formally appointed. This want of native members did not attract notice for some time, and I brought it to the notice of the committee, and some additional members were appointed.

The greatest mortality was amongst the labouring classes and artizans.

The ryots certainly suffered much less, the poorer ryots more; but I am not in a position further to classify the ryots in regard to mortality. I think that the people of this province are excessively apathetic and indolent, and that they did not do all they might have done for themselves. They did not attempt to assist themselves by planting gourds or vegetables in any way out of their ordinary daily course. The zemindars as a body did absolutely nothing to relieve distress during the famine. There were some few exceptions: two zemindars of Kendrapara, Radhasham Narendra and his brother Gouresham Jenna, Rognath Chowdree, and the Rajah of Parricood, and a zemindar in the town of Balasore, named Shamanund Dey. I will hereafter specify any others who did well. The zemindars may be divided into residents, chiefly old Ooryahs, or permanent settlers, and non-resident purchasers, chiefly Bengalees. The former are decidedly the better landlords, and more considerate with their ryots. They habitually store grain and advance it at large interest to their ryots at the season when they most require it. They also occasionally assist with small loans of money on pledge of property or bullocks. The other class manage through naibs or gomastahs, who only take all they can get, and give nothing; there are no advantages in their case.

The ryots in the permanently settled estates are, I should say, not so well off as the others; there is no record of their rights, and the rajahs exercise more oppression on their people than an ordinary zemindar could. The ryots' rents and rights are not so well defined, and they are liable to irregular exactions.

I believe that the Khoorda ryots of the Government estates are more prosperous and more contented than any in the whole province.

The last instalments of revenue of 1865 and the first instalments of 1866 were, I believe, collected without material balance, and I believe that the zemindars, as a rule, collected in full from their ryots. They have, as a rule, not collected the autumn instalments of 1866, for the simple reason that it is known that the Government demand has been suspended and the ryots will not pay. I think that if the Government demand had been suspended, there would have been less grain in the market this time last year; and

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

7 January 1867.

I am informed by every one that the suspension this year has caused grain to be held back. The effect of suspension of demand is that people retain their rice as capital to meet future wants. I think that without doubt the delay in regard to the settlement has had much effect in preventing people from taking the water of the Irrigation Company, and that notwithstanding the proclamation which has been issued, it is the general impression that by taking water they will render themselves to liable enhanced assessment. If the revenue payable by the zemindars was fixed, I think that the difficulty would be got over. I do not think that the ryots would be deterred; a Pahee ryot taking water might be liable to have his rents increased, but a Thanee ryot is in a better position, having a fixed right, and can set his zemindar at defiance. At present, however, I think the zemindars prevent even some of the Thanee ryots from taking water, because they have the power of exercising innumerable petty oppressions. I think that the ryots are also afraid of the price at which the water is offered, but in my opinion that price is perfectly reasonable. I hold a very strong opinion that five rupees per acre per annum is not too much. I am not prepared to say that they would take water universally on these terms if the settlement was made permanent, but they would do so much more generally. I think that cotton and sugar-cane in addition to rice would be very largely grown, especially cotton, which is already grown on the higher land of the delta, and I believe grows well. The sugar-cane grown is also good. In my opinion the conduct of the Irrigation Company's officers has been such as most decidedly to conciliate the people. I have never seen a well used for the purpose of irrigation in Orissa; but I have occasionally seen water taken from tanks, but not extensively. There is direct irrigation by means of bunds in Khoorda. I do not think that the question of embankments is such that it need interfere with a permanent settlement being made, pending a decision with reference to that question. The correspondence regarding the compensation for lands to be taken up for a new system of embankments on retired lands has not come before me. The first improvement, in my opinion, necessary to protect the country from the recurrence of famine, is the entire metalling and bridging of the trunk roads from Calcutta to Ganjam, and from Cuttack to Pooree. I think also a system of roads should be carried from the Grand Trunk Road, connecting it with tidal waters in Cuttack, Balasore, and Pooree. I think if this be carried out, and the Irrigation Company's entire scheme of canals, embankments, escapes, and distributaries be completed, such a famine could never again occur in Orissa. If we had had a good metalled road, or a canal, placing Cuttack in communication with Calcutta during the past year, it would have been an inestimable benefit.

As far as I understand, a Thanee ryot holds his tenure at a fixed rent from the settlement, and I am not aware this has ever been disputed.

Q. Do you understand that the practice of this province has been to grant remissions of revenue with a view to remission of rent, on occasion of any severe and general calamities?—*A.* I believe it has been the practice to grant remissions of revenue; but I am most distinctly of opinion that this has seldom or ever led to remissions of rent to their ryots by the zemindars. I am also of opinion that the practice which has obtained of late years of granting remissions of revenue, has led the people to rely on the Government exclusively, and tended to prevent their taking measures to protect themselves in times of difficulty.

After my return to Cuttack in the end of May, I went to Pooree on revenue circuit, and chiefly to look after famine business, and was away from the 3rd to the 19th June. I did not leave Cuttack after that. I found decided famine at Pooree, and people were beginning to flock into the relief centres in Pooree. Those who had come in were in a very bad state, and were daily fed at an unnochator then permanently established. The condition of the people who had come in was worse than was to be seen in Cuttack, but there was not the same difficulty in procuring rice in the bazaar. My sole reason for then recommending that grain should not be imported was, that it was coming in considerable quantities from Ganjam. I thought Mr. Barlow's arrangements as good as possible; he was engaged from morning to night, and I assisted him. The measures which he had begun were developed, and the relief centres increased. During the time I was at Pooree, I drew up the rules and forms of statements and accounts for the relief proceedings, which were afterwards adopted by the Board. Before I left Cuttack I put the arrangements for receiving grain at False Point, and bringing it up the river into the hands of the Magistrate and Collector of Cuttack under instructions shown in the correspondence. No one was especially appointed to assist him; but it was arranged that Mr. Geary, Superintendent of the Lighthouse and Assistant Collector of Customs, as well as his assistant, Mr. Workman, should land the rice, and Mr. Fressanges promised to assist; but at that time it was not arranged on what terms the cargo of the "Jacques Forestier" was to be taken. There were no special arrangements made for Cuttack and Balasore while I was away at Pooree, beyond what will be found in the correspondence, and this, that I told the Collector of Cuttack to keep me informed of all that went on, and also if necessary to telegraph to the Board. I was very anxious to see what was the state of the country in Pooree, and I do not think that there was any inconvenience from my absence from Cuttack. When I returned to Cuttack, I was not satisfied with the way in which the transport of rice to Cuttack had been effected. I understood that the Naib Nazir who had been sent down, had done absolutely nothing. The Superintendent of Police objected to Mr. Crouch's going down, and I ordered him to go. Mr. Burgess was subsequently sent down. I did not take any part of the executive duty out of the hands of the Magistrate

and

and Collector, but I assisted him in every way I could, and almost daily went to his office. When Mr. McNeile came he did not relieve the Magistrate and Collector of any executive duties; his business was to superintend importation and relief business; he was to instruct and assist the Magistrate and Collector under my orders, but not to do executive work himself. A little later he was sent down to False Point, and there he did executive work.

Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, C.S.

7 January 1867.

No. 54.—Noor Mahomed and 22 others, Petitioners.

[Examined at Cuttack, 7th January 1867.]

ABSTRACT OF CONVERSATIONS.

All we want is to have rice made cheap. The following modes are suggested:

To make people who have rice bring it out and sell it at a just price.

To sell Government rice cheap, so as to bring down the price.

To adopt a stricter revenue system. Formerly the revenue was collected in four quarterly instalments, and rice was forced into the market. Now the zemindars have time to pay. They make advances to the ryots, have time to get all the rice into their own possession, and won't sell it at reasonable rates. Formerly to meet the Government demands, the rice was brought quickly, and sold at reasonable rates.

To abolish the Dandeedars, not to allow their interference, and introduce direct dealings between the people and the shopkeepers. That the chowkeedaree tax assessment should be remitted till the city recovers itself.

Noor Mahomed, and 22 others.

7 January 1867.

No. 55.—Grish Chunder Roy, Police Inspector.

[Examined at Cuttack, 7th January 1867.]

I am a native of Nuddea Zillah. I have served in this district since 1839; in the police since 1863. I wasn't in Cuttack in December, January, February; I took leave for those three months. I returned by Midnapore. On my journey home I saw that the crops were only four or six-sixteenths of a full crop. I returned in March, and on the 27th March I was sent to take overcharge of Jajpoor station, and was there during April and May. I went to Jajpoor by Kendraparah and Ullabar; I did not see any deaths, but people were much reduced, and in great distress. A few began to die in April; but from from the beginning of May I think they began to die faster, and from that time deaths increased. Up to the end of May mortality hadn't reached its height. In June, July, and August, it was about maximum. From October it abated. From July, Government grain began to be abundantly supplied; but the death-rate was not reduced, as the people were so pulled down, that from eating rice they died more than ever. The rice given them was cooked rice. Things mended in October. The Beallee rice had come in. Then also, from eating new rice, many died. In November the famine was got under. The lower castes, Pan, Kentara, Tantee, Hansee, Gowca, suffered most; more than half these castes disappeared.

Grish Chunder Roy.

7 January 1867.

No. 56.—Baboo Juggomohum Lall, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 9th January 1867.]

My village is 20 miles from Cuttack, in Pergunnah Mathudnugger. The nearest relief centre to my village was about six or seven miles off. There is no road. Very few went to the centre. Very many of the lower and poorer classes died. The centre alluded to by me was not established till later in the season. and there people mostly died in June and July; they began to die in the end of April, and it got worse afterwards. I don't know if there was rice enough to have established more centres; but if a centre had been established near my village earlier, many persons would have been saved. In the rains the country is impassable, and people could not get to the centre.

Pearee Mohun, petitioner, confirms the above. If labour had been supplied, many would have been saved. They were referred to the irrigation officers, but these latter refused many, as may be seen by their reports; they had not sufficient funds. The labour would have been much more effectual if it had been paid in rice than in money, but perhaps if high wages had been given, people might have found rice.

Baboo Juggomohun Lall.

9 January 1867.

No. 57.—Mr. J. S. Armstrong, C. S.

[Examined at Cuttack, 9th January 1867.]

I have been in charge of Jajpoor subdivision since the rains of 1864, but was absent on leave from 15th May to 15th July 1866. In April people of the mechanic and labourer class and mendicants began to crowd into the town. There were deaths from cholera, and a few

Mr. J. S. Armstrong, C.S.

9 January 1867.

Mr. J. S. Armstrong, C.S.

9 January 1867.

a few from starvation. The people who came in were not then in an emaciated state. I noticed that they did not show signs of starvation. The cause probably was that rice continued cheap in my subdivision longer than elsewhere; it was selling there at 20 and 22 seers in the eastern part, towards Kanika and the sea-board, when the price at Jajpoor itself was between eight and nine seers, and still higher in Cuttack. They were exporting from Kanika when I was on tour with the Collector in February.

While I was on that tour the scarcity was a constant subject of conversation with Mr. Money; but I do not remember whether the probable necessity of importation for the support of the people was mentioned; certainly the idea never occurred to me that the Government would import. I thought merchants would be sure to do so. The crop of 1865 was generally over my subdivision a light and poor crop. The people did not do all they could to save their crops. I have seen Dalo crops allowed to wither away on the sides of tanks from which water could have been obtained with very little trouble, and have remonstrated with the owners, but without effect. The people are accustomed to trust entirely to the rain. I have also seen places left unsown, in which the Dalo crop might have been sown with advantage. On remonstrating with them, the ryots replied that they did not sow these lands because the zemindars were in the habit of charging rent according to the area cultivated. It is my opinion that if the ryots had appreciated what was coming, they would have sown every inch of land.

In April I raised subscriptions for relief, and bought some rice, which I distributed gratuitously. I also got rice from a zemindar, and sold it to people who appeared in need of it, at 16 seers to the rupee. I paid the money which I realised to the zemindar. The zemindar gave me out this rice for sale at this rate, as a matter of charity, but I believe he was no loser, that is, that he had originally purchased the rice still cheaper. At that time several zemindars were giving and lending rice, some to their own tenants, others to the poor in general; none were giving cooked food. By the 15th May, deaths from want of food were beginning to be frequent all about the subdivision. I was without assistance, and was tied down to my head quarters, so I could not go about the interior of the subdivision. I believe that the mortality in Jajpoor town was less than in the interior, because of the relief operations, and private charity. When I returned to Jajpoor on the 15th July, I found that the Government rice had come; it was being sold just below market price at Jajpoor, Ullabar, and Aul. Relief sales at lower rates were also going on in the same three places, and cooked rice was being distributed gratuitously. None of the regular annual and local works had been commenced upon, because the estimates for the year had only just been sanctioned. The Public Works Department were employing labourers in repairing embankments, especially in the town of Jajpoor. Special works were also going on in Jajpoor, Aul, and Ullabar on a small scale for the relief of those who were able to work; roads were being mended. There was no task-work, in fact it was impossible to get out of the people even as much work as they were capable of doing. They were paid in raw rice, and preferred this to cooked rice. These light relief works have been going on through the famine, and indeed are going on still; at one time 3,000 people were employed. Notwithstanding all this relief, in July the people were dying in numbers in the interior. Many more centres of relief should have been at work in the district, but want of rice made it impossible to do more than had been done up to that time. Soon after I arrived, 300 bags of rice arrived from False Point. I saw that this was insufficient to carry on, therefore I was obliged to stop Government sales for about a fortnight, reserving the rice for charitable relief, which has never been discontinued up to this time. While Government sales were stopped, we were able to continue paying the labourers in raw rice. I have no reason to believe that the discontinuance of Government sales caused an increase of mortality; for by the exercise of influence and persuasion, I succeeded in inducing the dealers not to close their shops.

Just as our operations were on the point of collapse, we received about 3,000 bags of rice, chiefly from False Point. I sent for it in boats. The rivers were then open, and it was easy to get up any quantity of rice. Before it was over, I had 100 large boats afloat, which brought up as much as they would give me.

I believe that I had to stop Government sales on one occasion only after July; do not remember in what month.

When I arrived in the middle of July, no accommodation had been provided by the Relief Committee, nor did the want lead to much exposure, because the residents allowed the paupers to sleep in their out-houses. About 200 paupers were then in the town, but they very soon increased in numbers. There was rainy weather in the beginning of July. Immediately on my return I erected sheds. Some used the sheds, but others preferred lying about the town in out-houses as before. The native doctor was of very little use; he was very ill, and shortly afterwards died. I forget when he died, but up to that time we had no other medical assistance. I applied for another doctor before he died; one came eventually, but I was without medical assistance for some time, perhaps a month. The doctor came from somewhere in the North-Western Provinces. We had a very fair permanent hospital; it was very full of dysentery and diarrhœa patients during the famine. While there was no doctor, the hospital and dispensary were virtually closed. I did what I could myself to prevent and stop bowel complaints by giving mutton broth to the paupers who first came to the centre in a state of exhaustion. I found this course very successful.

There was no medical attendance provided in any other part of the sub-division than Jajpoor.

Mr. J. S. Armstrong, C.S.

9 January 1867.

As soon as I got rice, that is in August, I opened new centres as fast I could. Eventually, I had ten centres open, but not till October. At each of the seven new centres there was gratuitous relief, by cooked food, small sales at low prices, and light labour paid in raw rice.

If I had four times as much rice, I could have disposed of it with much benefit to the people. I would not allow the chuprassees at my centres to use canes. Latterly, I had fourteen Government shops open at once in the Government compound, so there was no crush; before this there used to be a fearful crush. Every one who applied to buy rice at the Government shops got it, although not in so large a quantity as he would have liked.

We made use of the agency of the regular shopkeepers only to sell Government rice within sight of my office. In one or two instances I detected them selling rice to their relatives, who took it away and sold it again at higher rates; on the whole, the arrangements worked well.

There were heavy inundations in my sub-division; but I do not think they increased the mortality to any appreciable extent. In some parts of the sub-division both the Beallee and Sarud crops were almost entirely destroyed. Taking the whole sub-division, I consider that the crops of 1866 have been scarcely one-third of an average crop. There was a good deal of immigration from my sub-division to Calcutta; many have returned. I can make no estimate of the proporation of deaths to population.

No. 58.—Baboo Radasham Nurinder, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 9th January 1867.]

Baboo Radasham Nurinder.

9 January 1867.

I reside in Kendraparah in the Cuttack district. My estates are principally in Pergunnah Jodh, Chandnulla and Altee, north of Cuttack. I was absent from September till February, when I returned to Kendraparah. On my return I had an interview with the Lieutenant Governor at Cuttack. I brought to his notice that something should be done to save the country from the impending distress, but the Lieutenant Governor did not say anything special. I then went to Pooree. Whenever I sat down to eat, beggars thronged round me. The people appeared in a very bad state, but they had not then begun to die. I saw no corpses on the road. On getting back to Kendraparah, I found that several of the poor from the neighbouring villages had come in to beg, but none then from a great distance. When the Lieutenant Governor said in his speech that he would as soon commit a dacoity as fix rates, all the rascally mahajuns who had been selling at seven or eight seers to the rupee locked up their stores and sold only in driblets. The movements extended to Kendrapara, and widened all over the country.

This went on through March. At the request of the sub-divisional deputy magistrate Baboo Durjadhun Dass, I let him have rice during a month and four days at 12 seers to the rupee, for the use of the prisoners in the lock-up and his Amlah, and of the temporary visitors. I gave it to the prisoners because the deputy magistrate represented to me that he would get into trouble if the prisoners went without food, adding he could not get rice for money. He offered to buy at even eight seers, but I refused to sell dearer than 12 seers to the rupee. This was 200 per cent. profit, and I considered it usurious to take more. The nominal bazar rate was then eight seers, but rice was not procurable in any quantities at that price. At that time I sold 1,000 mauds to my ryots at easy rates. There had been no deaths up to this time (the middle of April). There was a large mango crop, on which the people subsisted. I have a permanent religious distribution of rice going on, and at that time the number of applicants greatly increased. The deputy magistrate was distributing a few seers of cooked rice daily, and my brother Gouresham Jenna was also distributing cooked rice. A meeting of native gentlemen was held, at which it was proposed to subscribe a trading capital for the purpose of importing rice and selling it at cost price. The head of this movement was Bichitranundo Dass, the Commissioner's Serishtadar, but he soon after left with the Commissioner, and the movement came to nothing. I had an interview with the Commissioner before he left. He told me not to give my rice for the benefit of the Government officials and prisoners, adding that other arrangements could be made for them, but to give to the poor. On my return home I fed 300 destitute persons for five months, giving each four chittacks of uncooked rice daily. When I returned the deputy magistrate again pressed me, and I gave rice for another month for the gaol at the rate of eight seers to the rupee; after that he pressed me again, and I let him have rice at six seers for another month. People began to die of starvation in Kendraparah itself and in the interior at the end of April. All through May people were dying in Kendraparah town, 10 or 12 were found dead about the town daily. There was no organised relief before June, then some rice came, and the deputy magistrate began to distribute cooked rice to the poor. No labour was then exacted. Government rice was also sold a little below the bazar rate. He asked me to belong to the Committee, but I refused, because he would not, as I suggested, give relief in the shape of raw rice instead of cooked food. I objected to the latter arrangement, because it deprives people of their caste, and high caste people could not therefore benefit by it. The result of distributing only cooked food over the Cuttack district was,

Baboo Radasham Nurinder.

9 January 1867.

that respectable people preferred dying in their houses to accepting relief. The sales of Government rice might just as well not have been held. There was very little rice, and it was only sold for two or three hours a day, and then only in small and insufficient quantities to each applicant. Crowds of people pushed and struggled to get some, and the chuprassees and constables beat them off. The deputy magistrate was hard-hearted, and his only object seemed to be to sell as little rice as possible. He wasted time in giving tickets, and made frivolous excuses to the effect that he hadn't rice enough. In fact there was a great want of rice, but he made too much of the difficulty. In July, I think, he was removed. The paupers had at that time reached the number of 500 or 600, and 10 to 20 people were dying daily. About this time the Commissioner got a severe reproof from Government for not making better arrangements, and the Commissioner found fault with the Collector, Mr. Cornell, and from that time the rice began to flow in to Kendraparah and Jajpoor and other sub-divisions. Mr. Webster, the officer who succeeded to the charge of the sub-division, immediately began opening relief centres in the interior, eight or ten, and started relief works. The recipients of daily relief rose to 7,000 or 8,000. He also sold a little, but he should have sold three times as much. He was obliged to reserve his rice for the gratuitous relief of the indigent. Mr. Webster's arrival did much good; but there was no decrease in the mortality, in fact it increased; the greatest mortality was in August and September. Sheds were erected about September; they should have been erected earlier. The arrangements in this district were never equal to those made by Mr. Barlow. The real fault here was that the Commissioner is "stony-hearted;" he does not feel for the people. To me, personally, he is very affable, because I do whatever he asks me; moreover, I have plenty of patrons, but he is so hard on others that he will ruin them.

I asked him to give remissions of revenue to the zemindars. He replied that if he did so I should not let off the ryots any of their rent, but should still collect it. I told him that if he thought that I was prepared to collect from the ryots, and to make over the whole collections, the entire demand of a year to him, for him to re-distribute among them as he might think best. I consider him stony-hearted, because he will listen to no suggestions for the good of the people; he will not lower the selling price of rice; he will not make remissions of revenue; he does his best to make the ryots take the Irrigation Company's water at the exorbitant rate of 5 rupees an acre. They will never take it at this rate; if the rate were reduced, they would gladly take it. At first the Irrigation Company wanted *Rs.* 1. 8. an acre. I do not think the ryots will ever pay more than 12 annas an acre.

I have caused an enumeration of the people on my estates to be made; there were about 30,000 people; 5,000 have died and 1,100 have emigrated. The people of my estates have died less than in other estates. The inundations destroyed crops, but caused no mortality.

Thanee ryots have no right to hold at fixed rates beyond the expiration of their settlement. They had pottahs for 30 years only. The zemindars desire to have a permanent settlement made with them, even though it should debar them of all claim to remission on any pretext whatever, provided that the Government take only 50 per cent. of the assets. There might be some inquiry, but I don't think the rents of the Thanee ryots could be greatly raised. The land which has been brought into cultivation since the last settlement, and was not then assessed, should, of course, be assessed. For my part, I should be quite content if the rates of the Thanee ryots were permanently fixed at the settlement, but some other zemindars do wish to have the Thanee ryots left at their mercy, but they will not dissent from my views.

No. 59.—Baboo Mookund Pershad Roy Bahadoor.

[Examined at Cuttack, 9th January 1867.]

Baboo Mookund Pershad Roy Bahadoor.

9 January 1867.

I AM resident of pergunnah Mathutnuggur, in zillah Cuttack; entered the Government service as a police darogah in 1818, and was appointed deputy collector in 1837; have been principally employed in Orissa, and took part in the settlement in 1837; have been principally in Cuttack since the beginning of 1866. In consequence of the drought and failure of crops in 1865, prices went on rising, and the scarcity became more and more apparent till March.

In March I first realised that it would be necessary for Government to import rice to support the people till the Beallee crop came in. In March cholera began, and people began to die in the interior from want of food. I had no conversation with any one on the subject of importing rice. In April I had about 300 bhurrs (3,000 maunds of paddy) stored in my mofussil zemindaree, and directed my agent to give it out to the ryots; they were to repay it with 25 per cent. more from the next crop. In April there was importation of grain by traders from the south and from Gurjats to the west, so people were not dying of hunger in Cuttack, but they were dying in the interior. Most people died in May, June, and July. When Government rice came into the district, people flocked in from the interior to buy.

From the time when the Government rice came in, people got as much as ever they wanted; who would be excluded from obtaining Government rice? The mofussil people also

Baboo Mookund Pershad Roy Bahadcor.

9 January 1867.

also came into Cuttack, and bought as much as they wanted. I am not aware of any struggling or of any maltreatment of the people by constables, &c., at the sales. I did not go to them. There were no relief centres in my estates. I hold four estates. I have caused statistics to be collected, and found that the population consisted of above 4,000 people. Of these, 1,007 have died of cholera and starvation during the year.

I do not attribute any of the mortality to inundation. In the north-east of the district, and also in the south, there has been much destruction of crops from inundation.

I have never seen or heard of such a famine as this. I remember hearing of one in 1211, or 1803 or 1804, when I was a child; I do not remember anything more about it.

There was also a famine in Orissa in 1837; it was caused by drought; I think it lasted four or five months only. Rice sold at eight seers a rupee. 2,000 paupers collected in Cuttack; Mr. Ricketts was, I think, commissioner, and Mr. Mills, collector. There was a general subscription, from which they were fed. I believe Mr. Atkinson, a merchant, imported rice from Calcutta in the course of trade, but Government imported nothing.

Before the settlement of 1837, in which I took part, the Thanee ryots occasionally had their rents raised and lowered by the zemindars. At the settlement they obtained leases, fixing their rents for the term of the settlement. The rates paid in those days by the Papee ryots, were a quarter below those paid by the Thanees, because the latter got the sites of their houses for nothing; and in the first instance the houses themselves; that is the custom of the country.

Up to the present time, the Papee ryots pay less than the Thanee ryots pay for lands of the same description. I am clearly of opinion that it will never pay the ryots to take the Irrigation Company's water at 5 rupees a beegah. I cannot say how much they can afford to pay.

Perhaps the ryots about the Godavery can afford to pay eight rupees an acre for water, because they are richer than the Ooryahs. I can assign no other reason.

I pay revenue to Government for my four estates, 3,425 rupees a year. I have held the zemindarees since 1848; since then I have received about 800 rupees or 900 rupees remission of revenue in consequence of drought and floods (the remissions of 1865 are not included); the remissions were distributed over four or five years. I have allowed about 2,500 rupees remission to my ryots in the same period.

I desire a permanent settlement on the following conditions—

That Government take 50 per cent. of the gross assets of the estates as revenue.

That I abandon all claim to remission on any grounds whatever.

The Government to be bound to keep up the embankments as now.

The rents of the Thanee ryots to be permanently fixed. The land brought into cultivation since the last settlement to be assessed.

The assessment on all other lands to remain as at the last settlement.

In the last settlement, about half of the lands in my estates were pronounced incapable of cultivation, and entered as unassessable; of the remaining half, about four-fifths were cultivated, and one-fifth entered as capable of cultivation. Now a great deal has been brought under cultivation, perhaps (including the lands capable of cultivation) not more than one-sixteenth of the lands *which were entered* are unreclaimed.

I heard of the possibility of a permanent settlement discussed at the time of the last settlement, but I know of no promise to make such a settlement.

Unless the Government make it a condition of the permanent settlement that they will keep up the embankments, in my opinion the majority of the landholders, whose estates are affected by floods, will not accept a permanent settlement. As far as I am concerned, if the Government took only 50 per cent. of the gross assets, I would accept a permanent settlement without any condition as to embankments. One estate would suffer extremely if the embankments were abandoned; the other three would suffer, but not much.

No. 60.—Baboo Puddum Churn Chowdhry, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 9th January 1867.]

Baboo Puddum Churn Chowdhry.

9 January 1867.

I live in Cuttack, but my home is in Jajpoor, 16 miles north-east of Cuttack. I hold estates in that neighbourhood, and also in different parts of the Cuttack district. The distress began to be felt in September 1865; it gradually increased (abating a little in Pous and Magh) during the next months till the month of Assar (June and July), when it was at its worst. It was not till the second month of Jeyt or late in May (there were two months of Jeyt in 1865) that it became apparent to us that there was not sufficient rice in the country, and that the people must be supported by imports. By that time people were dying in numbers, both in Cuttack and the interior, from starvation. I do not know of any one having told the officials that there was no sufficiency of rice in the country. I believe some zemindars had told them that the produce of the crop was sufficient for the wants of the country. Till the month of May, it was my own opinion, and I believe the opinion of every one, that there was rice enough in the district to carry people through till the Beallee crop came in. We were all mistaken. Since the second crop of 1866 came in, very little old rice has come into the market; it has all been used up; there is none left to come.

Baboo Puddum Churn Chowdhry.

9 January 1867.

When the Government rice came in, much good was done; many lives were saved, and those who were withholding their stocks of rice began to sell them. People did not get nearly as much as they wished to buy; the sales were held in few places. The sales should have been entrusted to respectable persons at intervals of six or eight miles; as it was, the applicants were in such crowds that people did not like to go for rice. The chaprassees and servants used to beat off the crowd; there was nothing of this kind in the distribution of the charitable relief, in cooked food. I can say this, for I have seen the centres from Pooree to Jajpoor. There was sufficient rice to feed all who applied at the centres for cooked food from the time they were established in June; but there should have been twice the number of centres. Many people of the better castes died in their houses rather than go to the relief centres for food. Those who eat food at the centres lost caste, because they sat with other castes to take their food. Brahmin cooks were provided. No arrangements were made for relieving respectable people and women who would not eat at the relief centres; they died at their houses.

I consider the relief operations should have begun in April; if that had been done, I believe one-half the mortality would have been prevented.

I pay 2,500 rupees Government revenue for 17 estates. In the last 10 years I have received remissions once only, about one-eighth of the year's revenue.

I should be glad of a permanent settlement, Government taking 50 per cent. of the gross assets as revenue, but the Government must engage to keep up the embankments. I would give up all claim to remission after such a settlement. The rents of the Thanee ryots should be fixed. In my estates the proportion of uncultivated to cultivated land, at the time of the last settlement, was about one-eighth; now most of it has been brought into cultivation.

I have heard people say that perhaps there would be a permanent settlement when the current settlement expired, but I have never heard of any pledge having been given to that effect.

If no permanent settlement is to be made, then the longer the better; but, in my opinion, no satisfactory settlement could be made now; the country has been ruined and depopulated by famine; and irrigation canals are being excavated. No fair arrangements could be made at present. I would extend the existing settlement for 10 years; I do not believe that any landowner would object to this. I believe that the Irrigation Company's water would be taken and used every year for the Sarud crop if they could get it at a reasonable price. It will never pay the ryots to take water at five rupees a beegah. I believe that if the question of permanent settlement were finally decided, and there were no obstacles on that score, the ryots would not pay more than eight annas or one rupee per acre for the water. If they see that it pays them, they will of course pay more afterwards, but they will never give more than eight annas or one rupee to take the water as an experiment.

No. 61.—Baboo Sreemunt Mohapatur, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 9th January 1867.]

Baboo Sreemunt Mohapatur.

9 January 1867.

I live at Kusandahee, 10 miles south-east of Cuttack; have estates in different parts of Cuttack and Pooree districts. People began to die first in April; the mortality increased till September; by that time only a few people remained, so, of course, the mortality decreased; they are dying still, one or two here and there. When Government rice arrived it did much good; but if it had come two or three months earlier it would have saved many more lives. Half of the whole population have died about my neighbourhood; half of those might have been saved if the rice had come earlier. I believe that in pergunnah Banchas, in the north-east of the Pooree district, no less than three-fourths of the people are dead. In that pergunnah they have had three years of failure of crop; in 1271 there was a little; 1272 and 1273 there was none. There was no relief centre opened in my pergunnah Deogurh. One was opened about four coss off. I petitioned the Collector for a centre, but it was not given. There Government rice should have been sent. I pay 2,152 rupees Government revenue on my estates; in the last 10 years I have received about 100 rupees remission. At the time of the last settlement, about half of the whole area of my estates was found to be incapable of cultivation, one-eighth waste capable of culture, and the rest cultivated. Some of the land which was waste at last settlement has since been cultivated; some which was then under cultivation has become sandy and has been thrown up.

I would not take a permanent settlement at the rate of the present settlement, but should be glad to have one at a lower rate.

If Government agrees to keep up the embankments, I would accept a permanent settlement, excluding myself from all claim to remission if 60 per cent. of the gross assets were allowed to me, the Government taking 40 per cent. only. I would not give up the claim to remission on account of calamities of season on any lower terms.

Chowdhry Pekladhan Mohapatter.

No. 62.—Chowdhry Pekladhan Mohapatter.

[Examined at Cuttack, 10th January 1867.]

10 January 1867.

The famine lasted four months. One-third of the people have died, and another third are so reduced as to be good for nothing. We have had several misfortunes: 1st. God sent no rain; 2nd, the Government gave us no remissions for our losses; 3rd, the traders bought at 25 seers per rupee and sold at six seers. Another is that the courts have sold up those who from the calamities of nature could not pay, and the constables of police are also a misfortune. I would shut the courts in these days of famine. If the Government only takes something for increase of settlement, and for the rest gives us 50 per cent. malikana on the old jummabundee, we should be glad to get a permenent settlement, and would not claim remissions after that, provided the embankments are kept in order. We have now no power over the Thanee ryots; they sell, do what they like, and are quite independent of us. If we get a permanent settlement we are quite willing that the Thanee ryots should get the same; and they should not be allowed to sell to others as they now do; if they do, powerful men are introduced in their place, who are to be subject to us, and we don't like that.

Mohunt Puddun Churn Dass.

No. 68.—Mohunt Puddun Churn Dass.

[Examined at Cuttack, 10th January 1867.]

10 January 1867.

I have a mut at Pooree, and another in this district; have jagheers. Last year was in Cuttack district. People began to die in the month of Jeth. The Government aid was good so far as it went, but was not given at the right time. The officers did what they could to send out rice, but the superintendence was deficient. Things were better arranged in Pooree than Cuttack. I hear that the best of all the white officers was the magistrate and Collector of Balasore.

(Here begs that his communications may be considered confidential; they are not important.)

There are inequalities in the settlement. Some zemindars have become rich, some poor; they must be corrected.

Baboo Rungolall Bannerjee.

No. 64.—Baboo Rungolall Bannerjee, Deputy Collector.

[Examined at Cuttack, 10th January 1867.]

10 January 1867.

I have been four years in Orissa. I was employed in the Cuttack district during the famine. I was a little out in the district. The autumn crop of 1865, in the parts which I saw it (which were limited) may have been about a half crop. Famine was apprehended in October, and fears got worse in March. I heard of deaths by starvation in distant parts of the district in that month, but not in the town. From that time the famine grew worse and worse. There were more deaths in April than in March, and crime increased. Hindoos began to steal cows and eat them. When the Lieutenant Governor came, the populace prostrated themselves near the gaol, and vociferated near the cutcherry, that a famine was come, and beseeched him to fix the price of grain. They said they were dying of hunger. Rice was then selling at famine prices, and it always gets dearer as the season advances. The European officers were retarded from measures of relief by the idea that there were large stocks of grain. I did not share that belief. I think that when the European officers were convinced of the state of things, they did what they could, but there were not many enough. I think more relief centres should have been established, and the rice given uncooked, as the Ooryah caste prejudices are very strong. There would not have been rice enough if more had been given. I think that respectable Bengallee deputy collectors might have been got to supervise the centres where there were considerable abuses. The local authorities should have gone into the interior more. There was shortness of rice in October, and that caused injury.

The reasons why the people won't take the water of the Irrigation Company, are, 1st, that they think the rates too high; 2nd, the distributaries are not ready, many ryots say that they would have grown Dalo rice (where it can be grown), had these been ready; 3rd, the Pahee ryots (who are in the majority) object that, though there is a guarantee from Government that the zemindar's rent is not to be raised, there is none that the zemindars will not raise their rent as soon as a permanent settlement is made. I have just been out taking up land and enquiring about famine and other matters, and I have thoroughly investigated these subjects. I think that if the rate were lowered, it would promote the taking of the water, as at present the new system is looked on as an experiment. I saw that most of the distributaries were not ready. I think that if it be settled that the zemindars have the power, they will raise the rents of the ryots when the settlement is made; they have no power to raise the rents of the Thanee ryots. These are the Mokurureedars of the country. They are the corresponding class to the Mokurureedars of Bengal. It is now believed that Government will at present assess only the land cultivated since the settlement, and the revenue on the old Thanee lands remaining as before, the rent will also remain the same.

Baboo Rungolall Bannerjee.

10 January 1867.

The right of the Thanees are identical with those of the zemindars. If Government will observe the rules of the Pathan and Mahratta dynasties, they will respect the rights of the Thanees. I have inquired into the matter from the oldest inhabitants. I find that their occupancy rights were perpetual, and that the zemindars had no power to raise their rents. But there were extortions in those days, and when Government had need of money, they made the zemindars pay, and the zemindars made the ryots pay. I think that the Ooryah ryots are more industrious than the Bengalees; but being liable to calamities of season, which occur in an average once in three years, they are poorer. I don't think that the lands would bear enhancement at present. The Pahee ryots now pay higher rates than the Thanees, for the same kind of land. In comparison with the Bengalee zemindars, with a very few honourable exceptions, the zemindars of these parts are grasping and extortionate. Few are rich, a few hoard grain and trade in it, and also advance it to the ryots for seed, &c. They advance on terms of getting one and a half for one advanced.

I think the soil of this district mostly poor in comparison to Bengal, but in some parts it is good. The up-lands, *i. e.*, the parts nearer the hills, are poor; the lower lands are better.

The permanently settled estates of the district are in a very wretched condition, and the ryots poorer than in other estates. The zemindars have great powers, and they live too extravagantly, and are mostly in difficulties.

The feeling of the zemindars of the rest of the district about a permanent settlement is divided. Most of them would like to have one, if their allowances are increased; but a section of them would not like to have it at all, because they are afraid that in that case they would get no remissions. Many of the estates have increased in value since the settlement, but some have suffered from heavier floods than were known before; some of the best lands have been converted into heaps of sand. I don't think a continuation of the present settlement would be universally liked. Some particular estates would suffer.

No. 65.—Baboo Rughoo Nath Santara Mohapatter, Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 10th January 1867.]

Baboo Rughoo Nath Santara Mohapatter.

10 January 1867.

I HOLD land yielding a sudder jumma of 9,785 rupees. I live generally in the town of Cuttack; have also a house in Tarrattoo village, pergunnah Paindah, talook Mullipoor. During the famine have lived at both places. I consider that during 1865, the yield of both Bealiee and Sarud combined, did not exceed one-fourth, and attribute the great scarcity to failure of crops following several years of heavy exportations of rice. Up to the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit in February, did not perceive any very marked sign of famine coming. In March first noticed that a scarcity was impending. Did not believe that large stores of grain were collected in the country. Paid respects to the Lieutenant Governor on his visit to Cuttack, but did not present petitions of any sort in connection with the famine. In April first observed people dying of want. At that time grain was very scarce, but people lived for a while on mangoes. When the season for these was over, deaths began to occur more frequently. Deaths were very numerous during April, May, and June. These were owing chiefly to starvation, and in a less degree to cholera and other diseases. From the time the Government grain was imported, the effects of famine became less, and fewer deaths took place. If the Government grain had been imported earlier, the sufferings of the people would have been diminished. But when the Government grain came, it was never in sufficient quantity; and the quantity sold to each person, varying from four to eight annas worth, afterwards increased to one rupee worth, was too small for those who had families. Consider that the distances to which people used to go to procure rice from the relief centres, were too great. Many people died from inability to travel so far.

I consider that the rate of five rupees per beegah per crop asked by the Irrigation Company for their water is far too high. The cultivators can never afford to pay this rate. People would prefer to be allowed to take water when they want it, and not on contract, and the rate should be one rupee per house, that is, each head of the family should pay one rupee. This would bring lakhs of rupees into the canal company's treasury.

In the last 10 years I have been allowed about 2,500 rupees remission of revenue on account of calamities of season. At the previous settlement, none of the land in my estates was kept unassessed as not being capable of cultivation; about one-eighth of the area was reckoned as waste capable of cultivation, and was lightly assessed as such. Now still more land is uncultivated; it has become sandy, about five-sixteenths of the whole. I should like a permanent settlement. I would take one, abandoning all claims to remission (except in such a terrible year as 1865) if the Government allowed me 60 per cent. of the gross assets, taking only 40 per cent. as revenue.

The Goverment must bind itself to keep up the embankments as it now does. I would accept such a settlement even if 50 per cent. were allowed to me. The rents of the Thanee ryots might be fixed as far as the land is concerned, which they had as Thanee at the last settlement in 1837; but where a Thanee ryot has cultivated some Pahee land in addition to his Thanee holding, that Pahee land must not be included in his Thanee holding, but left liable to enhancement according to the usual custom. The Thanee ryots, however, must not have the right of selling their tenures as they are now doing. No zemindar has yet made a suit against any ryot who has sold his tenure, but they have no rights whatever to sell; their utmost privilege is to occupy their tenures without liability to enhancement on any terms.

No. 66.—Baboo Radhanauth Sein and Others.

[Examined at Cuttack, 11th January 1867.]

Baboo Radhanauth Sein, and others.

11 January 1867

We first held a meeting on the 1st April 1866. Subscriptions were received and promised, and attempt made to get grain, but grain could not be got. Zemindars and others supposed to have grain were addressed, but no one consented to supply grain in considerable quantities, and the attempt was abandoned. In this district people began to die of hunger in March; few died then; some died in April; in May and June very many died. The best remedy is the canal irrigation. When the canals are ready, people will take the water if they get it at a reasonable price; they will take it when the rain is short; they will not take it when there is plenty of rain. For importations there are no large enterprising merchants in these parts, and also no roads or easy means of getting grain. The only way is to maintain a Government go-down to sell when necessary; also, a market might be established, and the Dandeedars abolished. Standard weights and measures might be used, so that people should carry on their own transactions. In the interior, there are are no Dandeedars.

No. 67.—Bagwan Dass and Golab Ram.

[Examined at Cuttack, 11th January 1867.]

Bagwan Dass and Golab Ram.

11 January 1867.

Agerwala bunneahs, merchants of Cuttack, are foreigners from the north country. There are some such settled in Cuttack. There are also Rajpore bunneahs (of Arrah district of the Jushwel and Kalwar caste). Among the Coryahs there are no proper bunneahs, but there are sonars and others who dabble in land and money. Were in Calcutta at the time of the famine, and know nothing about it. There is now no profit in importing grain.

No. 68.—Lalla Parasam Roy, Vakeel, and Zemindar.

[Examined at Cuttack, 11th January 1867.]

Lalla Parasam Roy.

11 January 1867.

Last year there was a terrible failure of the crops and consequent famine. Some had one-eight, some three-sixteenths, and some one-fourth of a crop. This year there has not been much damaged, only a little from floods; one quarter of the district may have been damaged, and the rest of the crops have been very good. The great thing required is to fix the price of grain. It would also be well to abolish the Dandeedars. Whatever settlement is made, it should be a light one; at present it is not light.

No. 69.—Baboo Hem Chunder Kur, Deputy Collector.

[Examined at Cuttack, 11th January 1867.]

Baboo Hem Chunder Kur.

11 January 1867.

I have served as a deputy magistrate since 1857. In February 1865 took charge of the Gurbettah sub-division, in the districts of Midnapore and Bancoorah. I was absent on leave in October. On returning to my sub-division towards the end of October, I found that scarcity of rice was beginning to be felt. Seeing the bad prospects of the coming cold weather crop, the mahajuns were withholding the advances of rice which they usually make at that time of the year. There is not much Aoos crop grown in that part of the district. At the end of October the price of common rice was 8 pie per rupee (a pie is the measure in use in Midnapore, and is a little more than a seer of 80 tolahs weight); the usual price at that time of the year is about 22 pie for the rupee. On the 23rd of October I reported to the Collector the state of things, giving my opinion that a famine was impending. I then expressed a belief that the cold weather crop of rice in pergunnah Bogree, in the Midnapore part of my sub-division, would be about one quarter a full crop. After a few days' inquiry I came to the conclusion that nearly half an ordinary crop would be harvested, and I reported accordingly, mentioning, nevertheless, that the scarcity was so much felt that a man had attempted suicide because he could not support his family. I urged the Collector and magistrate to make arrangements for preventing violence and plunder of grain after the crop was stored.

The Collector replied that from information derived from other sources, it did not appear to him that the time had come for starting public subscriptions for relief. The letter contained no further instructions. I induced the respectable people to do as much as they could in the way of almsgiving. Matters went on from bad to worse; and by the end of December rice was not procurable at a lower rate than 6 pie for the rupee. But rice was procurable for money. The number of beggars about Gurbettah increased, and besieged the lodgings of respectable people, asking even for water in which rice had been boiled. The paupers came in from the interior from all directions. They were principally Sonthal women and children and old men; in fact those who, under ordinary circumstances, are supported by others, or who support themselves by selling wood. I do not believe that any deaths from starvation took place in the course of December. Nothing was done in December. In January the people began to die from starvation; isolated cases only here and

Baboo Hem Chunder Kur.

21 January 1867.

there. Up to the end of May things went on getting worse. By that time the bulk of the jungle people, including bearers and labourers were living on roots, leaves and jungle produce: they eat up all the mowah flowers from which country spirit is distilled, and thus seriously affected the Government excise revenue. The ryots as a class were subsisting on rice up to June, but were much stinted; the majority of them had only one meal a day, some had not a meal every day. The mortality in May and June was considerable, but not extreme; people were not seen lying dead about the streets. I cannot remember exact dates, but I know that between January and June, I addressed the Collector of Midnapore three times on the subject, and recommended that the zemindars should be urged to help their ryots and to undertake works for that purpose. I received no replies; but I saw Mr. Herschel, the magistrate and Collector, on the 30th of April, and he told me that Mr. Terry, Messrs. Watson & Co.'s manager, complained that he could not get labourers for his works. I did not understand how in the existing state of things that could be the case. I am not aware that any works were undertaken either by zemindars or Government officers up to the latter part of July.

In my reports I brought to the notice of the magistrate (I think in April or May) that the western part of my sub-division, which abutted on the Maunbhoom district, was altogether disorganized; grain robbery, arson, and theft of cattle were of nightly occurrence. People were afraid to go to sleep at night. The police of that part of the district was strengthened; but these outrages did not cease till July; arson and open plunder then disappeared, but grain dacoities continued to be frequent; they did not cease till the cold weather crop was cut. In May and June I could get rice at the rate of 5 or 6 pie per rupee, but there was very great difficulty in procuring it, even for money. Early in June the Collector wrote to me that a relief committee had been organized in Midnapore, and he promised to double whatever I could raise from the Government donation of 5,000 rupees, which had been received.

I had no communication with the Collector of Bancoorah regarding the distress in the part of my sub-division which belongs to his district till February. In that month, Mr. Wells, the Collector, himself visited Bishenpore, in my sub-division, for the special purpose of looking into the state of things there. He attempted to raise a subscription, but failed, and then asked me to go there and see what I could do. I raised about 500 rupees for the erection of a market place to give employment to labourers. I raised the money in February or March. The work was entrusted to Mr. Fretchley, inspector of police, and began by him; but he was transferred almost immediately, and the work was at a stand still, and so it remained till I left Gurbettah in July. The work was under me, but I had no time to look after it myself, and no successor to Mr. Fretchley came to Bishenpore. The money was in my hands. Up to the time I left Gurbettah, there was no agency at Bishenpore capable of carrying on that work. In February and March a few men were employed in cutting jungle and clearing the town of Bishenpore. Mr. Fretchley superintended there. From Mr. Fretchley's departure till June, at least, and I think till August, no works were carried on at Bishenpore. I made no special report to the Collector about the necessity of works. At the end of May I found out that famine was in its height, and early in June I asked the Collector of Bancoorah for 1,500 rupees for gratuitous relief in Bishenpore. The answer came in the shape of a resolution of the Bancoorah Relief Committee styling my application one for keeping up an army of beggars, and not assigning the money. Nothing was done for Bishenpore up to the 19th or 20th July, when I left Gurbettah. Operations, however, began in August, and the committee did exactly what I had recommended, and they had disapproved.

I visited Bishenpore in February or March, and again in April. The state of the people then was not as bad as in Gurbettah itself, but I saw the people were suffering. There were deaths from cholera in numbers, and perhaps a few from starvation among the beggars and Sonthal women and children, but there was no general destitution even among the weavers. Subsequently, Bishenpore became much worse than Gurbettah, and many of the weavers died. My special report contains particulars. In the beginning of June, at the request of the Collector of Midnapore, I raised a subscription of 150 rupees a month for four months, which was doubled by the Collector from the relief fund; indeed, up to the time I left Gurbettah in July, about 800 rupees had been received from the Collector. A local relief committee was appointed for Gurbettah, and we began doling out dry rice to the people at the rate of 4 chittacks (Calcutta weight) to an adult, and 2 chittacks to a child. This went on for about a fortnight, and then we found the quantity insufficient, and raised it to 6 chittacks of kulye and rice for an adult. We were feeding about 1,000 people at Gurbettah. At the same time Mr. Jaffrey, an assistant of Messrs. Watson & Co., opened four depôts out of the money supplied to him by the relief committee and from subscriptions; he was also feeding from 800 to 1,000 mouths. Mr. Clarke, of Chuttigunge, the zemindaree manager of Messrs. Watson & Co., also opened a depôt, at which he was feeding from 700 to 800 people; these were principally weavers, from Chunderkonah in the Hooghly district. No relief had then been organized in the Jehanabad subdivision of the Hooghly district. Generally speaking, these depôts were at a distance of eight or ten miles from one another. Raw rice was distributed at all these centres as long as I was at Gurbettah. We have no works at Gurbettah till just as I was leaving, when a tank was sanctioned. We gave rice gratuitously to all whose personal appearance indicated that they were proper objects for relief. I do not believe any works whatever were going on in the Gurbettah subdivision in June and July.

In my second letter of October, I estimated the standing crop at one-half of an average crop; but subsequently the grain in the ears was attacked by an insect, and eventually the out-turn

Baboo Hem Chunder Kur.

11 January 1867.

out-turn of the harvest was not more than one-fourth over my whole subdivision. Rice was, of course, very difficult to procure. Our local committee first obtained rice from Ghatal, in the Hooghly district, to which it was imported by traders from Calcutta; but we found the transport so difficult, that afterwards we bought paddy about Gurbettah, and cooked it ourselves. We also got some Kulye, and mixed that with the rice as being cheaper. Some of those who were receiving relief daily, died at the centre. I do not consider that even six chittacks was a sufficient allowance to support a person who had previously been reduced to a state of emaciation, especially during the rains and when the individual was not properly clothed. Our committee gave out no clothes. No sheds or other shelter were provided by the committee for the paupers; but I built a shed, in which the distribution was made during the rains. There was no shelter at any of the depôts in my subdivision. I think that deaths were occasioned by the exposure, for whenever a rainy night occurred, it was followed by unusually numerous deaths. I should say that three or four was the greatest number of bodies ever removed from the streets in one day, up to the time I left Gurbettah. Probably, out of the 1,000 whom we were feeding daily, about 300 were paupers who did not return to their own houses at night; many of these had come from the Maunbhoom district.

On the 19th of July, I was relieved of the charge of the Gurbettah subdivision, and placed in special charge of the relief operations in the jungle mehals of Midnapore, and in Dantoon.

My instructions were, to extend operations of existing depôts where necessary, and to raise local subscriptions, and to open new depôts where required.

On the 23rd July, I arrived at Dantoon, about 32 miles south of Midnapore, on the Balasore road. The Moonsiff had charge of the relief centre. About 800 people were receiving raw rice, four chittacks of rice for an adult, and two chittacks for a child. I weeded out those who were not proper objects of charity, and finding some of the rest so reduced as to be unable to cook, I obtained permission to raise the allowance given from four to six chittacks, and to distribute cooked food to those who were unable to cook. This was done, raw rice being still distributed to those who could cook for themselves. The numbers soon rose to 1,600. A tank was being excavated close by, by the Department of Public Works. I sent the able-bodied to work there, and had nothing more to do with them. That work was undertaken as a relief work. Three other tanks had also been sanctioned in the district, and begun in the latter part of July.

At Dantoon I also raised subscriptions; but the zemindars about Dantoon neither fed any one, nor subscribed as they ought to have done. When I was at Dantoon in July, the mortality was fearful at the centre. Many of the paupers had come from Balasore. I should say that six or seven were dying daily in Dantoon when I was there. When I revisited Dantoon in September, the number of paupers had been somewhat reduced from 2,000—the maximum of August—partly by the introduction of cooked food, and partly by deaths, to about 1,000. The mortality was very great there; the place swarmed with dead bodies; the paupers were dying at the rate of 10 and 12 a day. In accordance with a recommendation made by me during my July visit, a native doctor and medicines had been sent to Dantoon at the end of August; but when I returned in September, I found that the doctor was absolutely without any English medicine, and I considered him too young and inexperienced for his duties. I represented this on my second visit, and then the sub-assistant surgeon of Midnapore was sent out. Small-pox was then making its appearance.

Relief was being administered on the system which I had started in July, but rice was somewhat cheaper, as the Aoos crop had come in; I think it was selling at eight or nine seers per rupee; old rice could hardly be procured.

In July, I went from Dantoon to Khosiaree, 10 miles off. I raised a subscription of above 250 rupees monthly, and started a relief centre under a local committee. The distress there was very great; people were dying of starvation at the rate of seven and eight daily, in Khosiaree. The committee refused to undertake the distribution of cooked rice there, and being non-officials, they could not be coerced. They said that they had no time to look after distributions of cooked rice. If we had had money enough to employ servants with, we might have distributed cooked rice; but it was an object to manage things economically, so the committee were left to distribute raw rice only. At Dantoon, a light labour yard had been established; but none was established at Khosiaree. I saw paupers eating raw rice through impatience and hunger, and I believe that that brought on dysentery. Throughout August and September, and part of October, I went on establishing and visiting centres of relief; where possible I introduced the distribution of cooked food, and also light labour. We drew our rice for supply for all the centres from Midnapore. About the end of August, the officiating Commissioner of the Burdwan division, Mr. Jenkins, visited Midnapore, and I was sent for to meet him. At that time, rice was just being sent out to the centres by the Collector for sale; but sales had not begun. Mr. Herschel, the Collector, had ordered the sales to be made to selected individuals at the rates of 12, 9, and 8 seers per rupee. A limited quantity was to be sold each day at each centre. The Commissioner reduced the rates to 10, 9, and 8 seers; but by that time the Aoos crop had come in, and I believe no sales were made, except at Dantoon and Khosiaree, as the Aoos was selling at the same price. Mr. Herschel told me that the Board was dissatisfied with his estimate for the district as being excessive, and that I was to open no more centres; accordingly, I did not open any more. I consider that one more centre only

Baboo Hem Chunder Kur.

11 January 1867.

was required. Things were then improving in consequence of the harvesting of the early rice crop.

I consider that many of the centres should have been opened two months earlier. By June, many of the people in the jungle mehals were dead of starvation; further, I consider that the test of emaciation which we were obliged to apply before admitting applicants to gratuitous relief was too strict. I was instructed not to admit any man or woman who was capable of obtaining a livelihood by working. I represented the hardship of this to the Collector without effect.

My objection was, that no work was provided within a reasonable distance of their homes. Besides four or five tanks, I believe that no works were undertaken in the Midnapore district till September; then, at the Commissioner's suggestion, several roads were taken in hand by the magistrate. I am not aware that the Department of Public Works took any roads.

The road from Midnapore to Balasore was not in hand in the rains.

I did not put up shelter for the paupers at any centre, because I considered that our funds were limited. I know from demi-official correspondence with the Collector, that he was aware that the paupers were dying from want of shelter. I never made any definite application to the Collector for money or rice which was refused, nor any suggestion which was not carried out on the ground of want of funds. We were never stinted for rice at the centres; it was supplied in accordance with my indents. Had I unlimited funds at my disposal, I should have distributed rice twice a day, and should have provided shelter and clothes for the paupers. With the exception of doctors, no medical assistance was provided for the paupers at the relief centres.

I do not believe that, after the centres were established, any number of people died of starvation at their own houses, rather than come to them for food.

No means were provided for relieving women who could not leave their homes. There were not many women of that class in the jungle mehals.

The highest price which ruled at any time for rice was in the month of August, when six seers only of 72 tolahs weight could be procured for the rupee.

I inferred that unlimited funds were not available for the Midnapore district relief from what I knew of the supply of funds to the Collector, and from the fact that, in Midnapore town, no more than four chittacks only of rice were being given out daily to starving paupers. Subsequently, Mr. Herschel told me that the Board had considered his estimate excessive. From the beginning of September, under the instructions of the Commissioner, cooked rice was distributed at all centres, except at those under Mr. Jaffrey.

From what I saw myself, I do not agree with an opinion which Mr. Herschel expressed to me in a demi-official letter, that 40,000 of the population died in consequence of the famine. I should say that not more than 25 or 30,000 deaths occurred, which are owing directly or indirectly to the famine.

If a practicable road had existed between Burdwan and Bishenpore, and between Burdwan and Gurbettah, and between Ghatal and Gurbettah, I believe the famine would not have been felt half as severely as it was felt. While rice was selling at Ghatal for 4 rupees a maund or less, it could not be bought about Gurbettah and in Pergunnah Bogree for less than 6 or 7 rupees a maund, the distance being 32 miles only.

No. 70.—Baboo Gouree Sunkur Roy.

[Examined at Cuttack, 11th January 1867.]

Baboo Gouree Sunkur Roy.

11 January 1867.

My house is at Assenessur, 20 miles from Cuttack, but I am now employed as Abkaree writer in the office of the Collector. Early in April, at the suggestion of Baboo Bechetranund Dass, a meeting of native gentlemen was held at the printing company's premises, to obtain grain from the zemindars if possible. It was believed that they had large stores of grain, and were keeping it out of the market. It was resolved to subscribe a fund, out of which grain should be bought from the zemindars and grain dealers, and sold to the public at cost price in 13 or 14 places in the town. Subscriptions were procured. A rough estimate was made of the grain which each zemindar and mahajun was supposed to have in store, and a letter was addressed to each, requesting him to sell one-fourth of his grain to the committee, for sale to the public. The zemindars and merchants were asked to give the grain at any price they might think proper. All refused to give any grain, saying that they had none, except Roghonauth Doss, Radasham Narrendra, the rajah of Dhenkanal, and the zemindar of Enatra. The quantity offered was insufficient, and so the project fell to the ground. Subsequently, it was resolved to import the grain from Ganjam, but the subscribers did not pay up their money, so nothing was done. I remember that we estimated that the zemindars whom we addressed, held 48,000 bhurs—about 3,84,000 maunds of paddy. The estimate was founded on general rumour only. I now believe that this estimate was too high. The people began to die in the Mofussil in March; the mortality continued increasing till August; but there was no mortality in the station from starvation till the beginning of May, when the distribution of relief attracted paupers to Cuttack. Up to April my own belief was that there were in the country large stocks of rice, and that they would suffice to carry the people through until the beallee crop could be cut. I am now convinced that I was mistaken. Among my friends and acquaintances, opinions were divided on the subject up to April. I believe that

Baboo Gouree Sunkur Roy.

11 January 1867.

that great mortality took place in the Mofussil in April and May. Government rice was not in full distribution in the Mofussil till the beginning of August. I think the authorities should have taken action to import as early as February. If the rice had come earlier, and in sufficient quantities, and distributions had commenced in March, and people had been provided with work near their own houses, I believe that no great mortality would have occurred. The sales of rice at market price were so insufficient as to be little more than nominal. I opened a shop myself for the servants of the printing company, &c. I manage a vernacular paper called the "Utkul Deepika," and have drawn the attention of the Commissioners to a number of articles published therein bearing on the famine. Those articles generally express my views. I consider that the centres ought to have been opened much earlier. Had they all been opened in April, they would have been sufficient for the gratuitous relief of the indigent. I think more should have been done in the way of providing work. The light labour was started after the paupers had got into the habit of being fed for nothing.

I think the most important of remedial measures would be a permanent settlement of the land revenue. If the demand of Government were fixed, the landholders would take a greater interest in their estates, and would try to improve them, so the produce would be increased. I consider that a temporary settlement is injurious, because, for some years before its close, they allow their estates to deteriorate, so that no increased assessment may be imposed on them at the re-settlement. I believe that this has been done lately in Orissa. The country is now improving rapidly, and I believe that if a permanent settlement were now made, the sons and grandsons of the present zemindars would be more liberal-minded than they are, and would really improve their estates. I do not consider that the zemindars or rajahs who hold the killahs or estates which are permanently settled, and which pay very little revenue, have brought their estates into better condition than the zemindars of the Moghulbundee, or temporarily settled estates. I believe this is owing to the fact that the rajahs are a different and less advanced class of men. The rajah of Dhenkanal is, however, an exception, and has much improved his killahs. I do not believe that the zemindars are exerting their influence to prevent their ryots from taking the Irrigation Company's water. I believe that the sole cause of the ryots holding back is the high price which is demanded, and the fact that they have no experience of the advantages which will ensue from irrigation.

I believe that if a permanent settlement were concluded, the zemindars would use their influence to induce the ryots to take the water.

No. 71.—Baboos Jonardun Sen and Bechetranund Dass, Sheristadars of Collector's and Commissioner's Offices respectively.

[Examined at Cuttack, 5th and 11th January 1867.]

Baboos Jonardun Sen and Bechetranund Dass.

5 & 11 January 1867.

Originally the Thanee ryots paid more, but now wherever there are many men and demand for ryots, the Pahees have been increased to a higher rate. The reason the Thanees originally paid higher is that they got their Khanahbaree trees for nothing, and they had also chosen the best lands before the others came in. The Pahee land is generally the inferior land that the Thanees would not take. Up to this time the rent of the Thanee ryots has never been altered except when on a few occasions the Government revenue, having been found too light, was raised, and the Thanee rents at the same time.

The land of this district is tolerably good, but very uniform and not so good as in other parts. It may bear two crops of rice annually, if irrigated, but would not produce such heavy crops as if cropped less often.

There is now a little sugar cane grown, and more may be grown with irrigation, but it will never be first-rate; the land is not strong enough.

Cotton was formerly produced more than latterly. Up to 1863 it was grown; but then a report got abroad that a special tax was to be levied on cotton and tobacco, and on that account the cultivation was much reduced. The cotton grown is not so good as in the Gurjat and Balasore and other places. There are two cotton seasons: one, some sow to ripen in April, the other in the rains to ripen in October. Here most of the cotton is grown in the former season, in the Gurjat in the latter. It won't be much better here from the present seed; but from the American seed, the plants of which last all the year round, it may be better. Even now the ryots don't sow their own seed, and get it from the Gurjat.

After the settlement, when prices were cheap, the Thanee rents were very high, and many of them were dispossessed. The zemindars had to get decrees against them, and execute by dispossessing, putting Pahee ryots in their place. The last seven or eight years grain began to bear a much better price, the ryots to be better off, and they have held their grounds.

Jonardun thinks that in the whole of this district the Thanee ryots may be to the Pahees about half and half, that is about equal. Bechetra thinks there may be more Pahees, but a Thanee in one place often holds Pahee land in another.

Mokaddams and Mouroosee Surburakars are in fact exactly the same. They have both transferable and saleable rights in the land, heritable and divided according to the ordinary laws. In the Pooree district it is believed that the same people are called Padham, and that it was there ruled that the right should not be divided, but they do divide among themselves, and no one has objected.

Baboos Jonardun Sen and Bechetranund Dass.

5 & 11 January 1867.

The non-Mouroosee Surburakars are those who, by long practice, had established a sort of claim to engage for the villages, but not a proprietary right. They engaged for the term of settlement, and got pottahs from Government only to last so long as the settlement. The lease descends to heirs when a Surburakar dies, and it is believed that in Pooree the right of lease for the rest of the term of settlement has been sold in execution, and for balances. In Cuttack, if they don't pay, they are liable to be dispossessed. In almost all large estates there are Mokaddams and Surburakars under the zemindars, but not in small estates. Much the largest number are Mouroosee men, the non-Mouroosee are few. In the Government estates also there are the same people, and they have universally leases; but it has been ruled by Government that they have not saleable rights, and they are not sold up, only dispossessed if they don't pay. They are called Surburakars, not Mokaddams. Generally Mokaddams and Surburakars have single villages, sometimes, but seldom two or three. The villages here are generally small, paying 50, 100, or 200 rupees. There are never a large number of sharers in Mokaddam and Surburakar rights, generally not more than two or three, more frequently only one. There may often be three or four brothers who have the benefit of the profits when only one man's name is entered. Till 1859, successions and transfers were registered in the Government offices; since then it has been given up, and they are only recorded by the zemindars.

In this district the only two-crop land was that in which beallee rice is succeeded by rubbee. The only Dalo rice grown was that in low situations, where there was too much water for the autumn crop. The crops of rice were never grown in the same land. The rubbee crops are kulye, moong, mustard, &c.

The reason why the canal water is not taken from the Irrigation Company is principally that the price charged is too high, at least that is the ryot's reason. The zemindars have still more fear about the settlement, and discourage the taking of water. The rate is decidedly the principal reason why the water is not taken. The ryots would take it if they got it cheaper, and they would prefer to take water and pay for it when they want it rather than contract to take it whether they want it or not. If the charge were one rupee for a crop, it would be taken. It is necessary to begin with low rates.

The zemindars would like a permanent settlement on the understanding that they are now to get 50 per cent. malikana. They think that for cultivated land the old rent roll should be assumed, but have no objection to taking into consideration new cultivation. On those terms, getting 50 per cent. malikana, they would accept a permanent settlement even on the understanding that there would be no remissions. It may only be necessary to raise the estates which at last settlement were refused on account of recusancy, and which have been ever since a loss to Government.

Thanee ryots and almost all others pay money rents. The Thanee ryots have paid money rents from ancient times. Before the settlement the rates were not fixed, they were liable to be raised at the will of the zemindars; now they cannot bear an enhancement. They have had difficulty in keeping their heads above water the last 30 years, and they cannot bear more now. There are very few cases in which the zemindars would put in a claim to increase of Thanee rents now.

Subsequent revised Opinion of JONARDUN, confirmed by some others.

Jonardun.

ON the whole the Pahee ryots are in the majority. In some villages there are no Thanees. Since the settlement, from dying out, over-assessment, and other causes, the number of Thanee ryots has diminished, say, by one-third. The Thanee ryots sometimes sublet their lands on division of grain, and often they cultivate Pahee lands besides. There has been no discussion of the question whether they can sell their lands, and no register of such transfer is kept unless in the regular Registry Office.

BECHETRANUND DASS.

[Re-examined, 11th January 1867.]

Bechetranund Dass.

11 January 1867.

THE tenures of Thanee ryots are sold. The last eight or ten years, in consequence of the rise of prices, they have become valuable, and the Courts have been selling them by auction in execution. They also sell among themselves. They are always sold in execution of decrees. One occasion, the ryot of a khas mehal had sold, and when he came to enter the name of the purchaser, the Collector objected that you have sold without my sanction, and refused to register. The Commissioner confirmed the order. There has been no objection to the sales by the Courts, and I also know well that many sell of their own pleasure without asking permission of any one. During the famine, in consequence of want of means, many tenures have been sold and mortgaged, and the transfers have been registered.

The settlement of this province was made under Regulation VII. of 1822, and under that settlement was first made with the Thanee ryots, afterwards with the superior holders. The Thanee ryots may be reduced in number since the settlement by one-fifth or one-sixth.

There

There are still many estates held khas, and they are a loss. There was not sufficient regard to the chance of calamities of season. The zemindars refused; this is excepting Khoorda. All the khas mehals are settled with Surburakars, but remission for losses is very frequently given. Except in two or three villages of Khoorda, the settlement is never direct with the ryots. They are managed by Tehseeldars.

Bechetranund Dass.

11 January 1867.

No. 72.—Mr. De la Gatinais, Merchant.

[Examined at Cuttack, 12th January 1867.]

I am agent for Mr. Fressanges, who is himself agent for Messrs. Robert, Charriol, & Co., of Calcutta. I was in Ganjam district, not here, last cold weather. I came here in April; Mr. Fressanges was here. He did not export any rice last cold weather; on the contrary, some rice which Mr. Fressanges had at False Point was brought back and sold at Cuttack. I went to False Point at the end of May or beginning of June; I went to land rice, *i. e.*, to land the cargo of the "Jacques Forestier." After I arrived, the "Count Hey" and "Jacques Forestier" came in. I had some boats, and landed the cargo of both ships. The grain out of the "Count Hey" was sent up almost at once. After the cargo of the "Jacques Forestier" was landed, I sold part of it to private parties, and Government bought the rest. There was no delay about bringing into use the cargo, because, while I was selling, Government and Messrs. Charriol & Co. came to terms. So far as I can remember, eight or ten days passed after the landing of the "Count Hey" cargo had gone, before I had orders to deliver the cargo of the "Jacques Forestier;" there was, therefore, this much delay in sending it into the interior; some of it might have been sent eight or ten days earlier. Had it been bought at once, Government had very little means of sending up rice. There was great difficulty in sending up the small quantity of 3,000 maunds received by the "Count Hey" in small boats. If the people whose business it was to bring boats and make arrangements had been at their proper places, I think the Government rice might have been sent up better and quicker. I did not assist in sending it up to Taldunda; we gave up the trade. I returned to Cuttack after the cargoes were sold.

When the "Charles Moreau" came to False Point, I went down again; she was sent to sell her rice at a certain price; I went down expressly about it. I had received orders from Calcutta to sell in any quantities at the price fixed. When I got down I found that the captain had offered his cargo, but there were no purchasers. The captain had spoken to the agent of the Famine Relief Committee, who had written to Cuttack, and he waited many days for an answer. The answer came that a message had been sent to Calcutta, and urgently requesting him to wait for an answer to that. Meantime, I received, through the Commissioner (to whose care it was addressed) a telegram of Messrs. Robert Charriol & Co., directing me to make over any quantity that the Commissioner might require, but neither price nor quantity was mentioned, and the telegram was sent to me without any other communication whatever. I showed it to the captain, who refused to land rice upon it; he waited a day or two; at last Mr. Burgess brought him a letter from the collector, desiring him to land 500 bags a day as long as there was no Government vessel; neither price nor actual quantity was fixed, though I had orders to sell any quantity. The captain was not bound to obey me; in fact, he had himself a large share in the ship and cargo. He refused the conditions offered, and went away, I don't know where; but he was bound for Bourbon.

I am sure that there were no considerable quantities of grain in the country in the early days of the famine. I heard some baboos say that there was plenty of grain, and others that there was none. I think that Mr. Fressanges had communication with the collector. I know that his opinion always was that there was no grain; that it was a great mistake to suppose there was; I have heard him say so repeatedly. Before I left Gopalpoor, rice was being imported there by private merchants. Cargoes can be landed at Gopalpoor at all seasons, but from June and July with difficulty. Rice was scarce in Ganjam, and suffering there was still earlier than in Cuttack; there was no rice to spare for Cuttack. I came here late in the month of April; the state of the country through which I passed was very bad; I saw people dying all the way along the road. When I went down to False Point, things were very bad on the road, and when I came back it was horrible.

Mr. De la Gatinais.

12 January 1867.

No. 73.—Mr. S. Wauchope, C.B., Additional Judge.

[Examined at Cuttack, 12th January 1867.]

I went to Midnapore from Hooghly on the 26th March 1866. At Midnapore I noticed that there were many starving and emaciated people about the station picking up berries, and living on what they could get. This was the state of things immediately on my arrival, and people said that they had never seen such a thing before. I was only at the station three weeks, and knew little of what was going on there. I had before me at that time a number of dacoity cases, in which the crime had evidently been committed by starving people. That also was the opinion of the Commissioner, who was in the Circuit House with me, having come expressly to make inquiries on the subject. Many of the prisoners admitted the robberies, pleading want of food. The persons tried principally belonged to the

Mr. S. Wauchope, C. B.

12 January 1867.

Mr. S. Wauchope, C. B.

12 January 1867.

the jungle tribes. On the 17th April I went back to Hooghly; I did not there notice particular appearances of famine. I left Hooghly again for Balasore on the 19th May, and went back to Balasore, arriving on the 22nd May. There was nothing, so far as I recollect, that particularly attracted my attention between Calcutta and Midnapore; and at Midnapore I was only a few hours in a house. On the road from Midnapore to Balasore, from about 20 miles out of Midnapore, I saw real signs of famine. The villages seemed to be nearly deserted; the men, women, and children seen on the road were literal skeletons; and whenever I stopped I was surrounded by hundreds of these skeleton beggars. This increased in intensity from beyond Dantoon, all the way to Balasore; I saw nothing but starving skeletons all the way; I never had seen such scenes in my life. In passing through the villages, the men seemed to have despair in their countenances. I can't say when I first saw dead bodies; I saw so many eventually that I can't say when I first began to see them. At Balasore there were several thousand starving people collected, and they were fed daily at the dhurmsala; they were relieved from local subscriptions collected in the station, one of the smallest in Bengal, and from something received from Sykes' Fund. As far as I could judge, the Relief Committee had then no expectation of getting assistance from other sources, and they were therefore obliged to restrict themselves to giving just as much rice as would support life. I saw Mr. Ravenshaw there the day I arrived; I saw him only for a few minutes, and can't remember what conversation I may have had with him. But the state of things about Balasore was literally horrible. Every road and every part of Balasore was covered with living skeletons, picking up bits of sticks to cook the rice given to them; hundreds of them were lying on the side of every road; they seemed as if black parchment were stretched over bones. Every one at Balasore saw this; they could not move out of the house without seeing it. Unquestionably, the chief want was rice rather than money; at least, I know that about the beginning of June my servants were unable to procure almost the smallest quantity of rice in the bazar. In the first few days of my stay at Balasore I had a great deal of work, and saw very little of the people at the station. There must have been some rice for sale when I arrived, as the Committee were buying rice to distribute to the people at the dhurmsala. As time passed, starving people kept pouring in from the interior, nearly all skeletons, and things got worse; deaths became numerous. It seemed to me that the greater portion of these people were beyond aid before they came in; that they were, in fact, at death's door. When the Government rice arrived, it was distributed, and many people were kept alive, but at the same time others came pouring in from every part of the district, I imagine. The supply of rice was so limited that it could not be sent out, except to a few places. I remained at Balasore till the beginning of July; there was no amelioration; things continued to get worse; great numbers of people were found dying in the roads in spite of everything that could be done. On the 2nd July I left Balasore, and returned to Calcutta. The roads were almost impassable from the rains, and horrible as were the sights I had seen on my previous journey, they were ten times more horrible on my return. I saw numbers of people lying in the mud at the side of the road dead and dying. The worst part was between Balasore and Jellasore. As I got towards Midnapore, after passing Dantoon, the appearance of the people in every respect improved. I was not well, and not out at Midnapore, and can't speak to the arrangements there. After what I had seen in Balasore, I did not see in the rest of my journey anything that appeared to be of any importance, comparatively speaking.

I went again to Balasore in the end of August by sea, the magistrate being unable to lay a dawk. Things were in some respects better—in some worse. All the officials were knocked up with over-work and anxiety. There were an enormous number of people receiving relief, and their condition was considerably improved, although I believe that the number of deaths was greater; I think about 1,300 in the first week after my arrival. I was there till the end of September. Things were improved, and the neck of the famine was, I think, broken, but the whole air was saturated with horrible effluvia. There was, in fact, no great improvement in the appearance of the station while I was there, except that the relief was so organised that private houses and private persons were not so beset as they had been during my first visit. While I was at Balasore I was made President of the Relief Committee, and saw what was doing on both my visits. I think that the executive officers did everything that man could do in their situations. There was, of course, at first some mismanagement and shortcoming on account of want of means and ignorance, but certainly no want of will, and eventually the arrangements seemed excellent. I think that Mr. Muspratt was wholly overworked, but he did all that he possibly could; and I think that Dr. Jackson deserved especial praise; when he was not among the dying, he was always engaged in distributing food. But I ought not to distinguish any one, for all did their utmost according to their means. When I say that there was some shortcoming from ignorance, I mean that no one at Balasore had ever seen a famine, and all were ignorant of the details of management necessary in a famine till they learnt by experience. Sheds were being built when I was at Balasore, but one great want was want of money, that is, during my first visit, and I think that when the sheds were built, the people refused to sleep in them. I believe that the very last people to come for relief were the ryots, the cultivators of land. Mr. Terry told me, that though the ryots were reduced to one meal in two days, he believed that not a single ryot had left his land.

In November, after a visit to Madras, I landed at Gopalpoor, and came up by Ganjam to Cuttack, arriving there on the 22nd November. I was not struck by remarkable appearances of famine in Ganjam, but I was only there a few hours. The roads in that district were admirable; in Cuttack they were execrable; in one, the best of metalled roads, in the other,

other, the worst of mud roads. In the Cuttack district I was several times detained for want of bearers. I found very few people in the villages; many of the houses were broken down and deserted, but I did not see dying people there, nor, in fact, did famine seem then to exist. The crops seemed excellent all the way.

Mr. S. Wauchope, C. B.

12 January 1867.

No. 74.—Dr. N. Jackson, Civil Surgeon.

[Examined at Cuttack, 12th January 1867.]

Dr. N. Jackson.

12 January 1867.

I was a Medical Officer in charge of Balasore civil station. In the beginning of the year 1866, the gaol began to receive an unusual number of prisoners; in March it was very full—most of them were convicted of grain dacoity; those who came in were in very bad condition. The number of beggars about the town was also large in March; they increased to such an extent that a committee was formed to supply them with grain—this was in March or April. They used to receive six chittacks of 80 tolahs weight for an adult, and three for a child; the rice was distributed at the dhurmsala. Some of the paupers used to eat the rice raw then and there, and died immediately afterwards at the side of the road; many whom I dissected had their stomachs full of raw rice. After two or three meetings I undertook to superintend the distribution of cooked rice. The weakly persons used to be sent to me to the hospital, where I fed them. Soon after, the committee began distributing cooked rice to all. I recommended the gaol labouring diet, and used to give this at the hospital. At the dhurmsala rice and dhal only were given. I began the distribution of cooked food at the hospital at the end of May with about 500; at the dhurmsala about 2,000 were then fed. In April people were dying about the streets; but at first the hopeless cases were not sent to the hospital, and consequently the deaths were not recorded in my hospital returns; I believe a record was kept by the police. Towards the end of May the mortality was so frightful that it was resolved to send all the worst cases to the hospital. I put in a figured statement showing the number of admissions, discharges, and deaths from May to October. Out of 15,831 patients, 11,969 were cured and 2,782 died in the hospital premises.

In my opinion sufficient nitrogenous food was not given at the dhurmsala. I mentioned this several times to the committee, and proved it by books; but the committee did not seem to take to the suggestion. The people themselves indicated the want by always searching for and eating snails and crabs. I remonstrated very strongly in a public letter against the way in which the paupers were being fed. It was after this that dhal was served out with the rice and vegetables. I believe that many more might have been saved if this diet had been adopted earlier. In June people used to lie down under the trees at night to sleep, and to be found dead there in the morning. Cases occurred in which people fell into the water from debility when they went to drink. I have seen a woman lift up her arm and let it drop, while a dog was pulling at her entrails and eating them. I cannot say whether at that time Government relief had been received or not; but I know that there was a disposition to niggardliness on the part of the committee, at first. I was a member of the committee. We had no certainty at first as to what funds we should eventually have at our command, or where they would come from. Sheds were erected from nearly the beginning of this state of things in which the homeless might have found shelter if they had chosen; but the paupers had a strong objection to going into them. I believe the objection was founded on considerations of caste. The conservancy was very bad, both in the committee's sheds and in my hospital. Mehters are the only caste in the district who would touch the dead bodies. The mere occupation of throwing away the bodies into the pit behind the hospital, and covering them with earth, was more than enough to employ every mehter whom we could get. We paid them 10 rupees each per month. My hospital was almost unapproachable from filth, which I could not get men enough to clean. When the rains came, the pit into which the bodies were thrown became a seething mass of corruption, and on my recommendation the bodies were thrown into the river and so floated out to sea. This improved matters, and the stench in the town was abated. I think that the conservancy difficulty at the hospital and sheds might have been diminished if the paupers had been distributed over more places.

I do not believe that at any time it could be said that every man who required the relief obtained it. There was always a crowding and struggling at the dhurmsala which made it impossible for all to get food; the maximum fed at the dhurmsala was about 7,500; at the same time about 3,000 were being fed at the hospital. The struggling became somewhat less latterly when the people had confidence that they were sure to be fed. At first they were ravenous, and, having no confidence in us, perfectly uncontrollable, thinking that they had better fight for each meal, as it might be the last they would ever get.

I learnt, in private conversation, that many people who had money to buy could not get rice; so I offered to sell 20 bags a day at my own house; two native gentlemen also sold 10 bags a day each; this was Government rice which had come from Calcutta. I sold one anna worth only to each person (15 chittacks). I sold to women principally; to all women who came. I avoided selling to the men as much as possible, telling them to work for their livelihood. There was plenty of work to be had under the Department of Public Works, certainly within 10 miles of the town; but they would not go to live in the huts. An able-bodied man could have earned four annas a day; the rate of pay allowed was very high,

Dr. N. Jackson.

12 January 1867.

high. Some of the men worked at tanks about the town. I employed some about the hospital. A road was also being made through the town of Balasore.

The Relief Committee endeavoured to exclude from gratuitous relief all men who were capable of supporting themselves by labour. Mistakes may have been made in the application of the principle, but I should say generally that no man was refused gratuitous relief who was not able to earn his own living by working at the liberal rates which were then being given. The women and children were never refused gratuitous relief. I do not think that a large proportion of those who came in were capable of work. At first I do not think that all who came in had the opportunity of getting food either with labour or without. We were taken by surprise at first; but from about the middle of May, I should say that no one was refused. The return put in by me represents only the mortality in my hospital, but not a tithe of the total mortality. People died in the roads and fields all about; many died who never were seen; one man died in my own compound with a crowbar in his hand, trying to work, that is, he fainted and never spoke or swallowed; he was kept in the verandah all night and died in the morning. In my opinion the cause of the excessive mortality was that the people were gone too far before they came in; they all died from starvation, not from sickness in the ordinary sense. Caste prejudice also interfered, as many people would not eat the food most necessary to their condition, *e. g.*, soup. When people are reduced in weight beyond a certain point, they almost invariably die. I do not think that there was any private importation of rice in the earlier part of the famine, except one ship which foundered at the mouth of the port. Some rice was imported from Calcutta by a baboo late in the season.

From the time when the importation of Government rice commenced it never ran short except once. It was both given and sold. It was only sold for a limited time in the day; it was limited in that way, in no other; within that time it was sold to all comers. It was so sold at four places. I don't think that the time allowed for sale was sufficient; there was terrible struggling at the place of sale. At my place of sale I saw it every day. During most of the time I did not sell much to men. I generally sent them away to work, and sold to women. I have had the door of my own house broken in, and the coat torn off my back by women eager to purchase. Some of the work was paid in rice, some in money; and those who fared worst in the struggle to buy rice were those (the very poorest) who had to go to work and could not spare time. I think there was fear that we should run short of rice. I could only get 10 bags per day, and afterwards 20 bags. I think that the disposition to niggardliness continued throughout; there was always a desire to make the rice golahs pay; that was the prevailing idea, and there was special niggardliness in the matter of clothes—they were not issued except to the extent of 500 rupees, which I got, and some given by a baboo. I sold rice at one anna for 15 chittacks—that is below the market rate. If I had had plenty of rice I could have sold twice the quantity that I did sell. I could have sold that much in my own presence. At other places I know no other reason than the fear of rice running short for limiting the time of sale. I think that the famine reached its height in June and July. The rice imported at that time had done good to the comparatively well-to-do people in the town, but on the mass of starving people it had made no serious impression, and never did. They died sooner or later, that is my impression. The mortality outside, I should say, almost rose and fell with that shown in my hospital returns. It gives a good idea of the relative rate of mortality from 1st June onwards, but not earlier, as the people were not sent to the hospital. On one occasion, the rice very nearly ran short; issues were shortened, and my sales were stopped altogether for one day; but the distribution of cooked food was never stopped. That was when the "Tubal Cain" was blown away. I did not know that there was any marked difference in the famine scenes at that time as compared with other times. The famine continued at its height in August. In September it began to decrease a little. It was not till about the middle of October that I had as much rice as I should have liked to sell, and then only because people then ceased to wish to buy to the same extent as before, as the new grain was coming into the market. When I left, the mortality had very much diminished. I came to Cuttack in the beginning of November. I found here mortality going on in the hospital, but I have seen some outside. Both at Balasore and Cuttack the gaols have been in a terrible state, and as much as anything show the state of the country. Many people died immediately after coming in; and in Cuttack six-sevenths of the deaths occurred within a fortnight of coming into hospital. Latterly, we discovered that a great part of the famine mortality is due to an extraordinary tendency to frightful worms, which produce false appearances of cholera and other diseases.

I had nothing to do with the despatch of rice into the interior at Balasore. I cannot tell of my personal knowledge how far that was sufficient.

I don't like to give an opinion as to whether the prisoners ought now to be released, but I cannot hope to save them if they are kept in the gaol. I have recommended that they should be cleared out and sent into camp, in which case, I hope to save a large number of them; but I have received no answer, and don't know what has been done.

The Arracan rice is differently prepared from that of Orissa, and at first the people did not know how to clean it, but it did not cause serious harm.

If the relief had been commenced two or three months earlier, thousands of lives might have been saved; but no one seemed to appreciate the gravity of the situation. I did not myself. I don't think we thoroughly understood all that was going to happen till the beginning of May. There were starving people in April; but we did not realise that they would afterwards come pouring in in such thousands as they did. I don't remember dates exactly;

exactly; but when we were aware of the severity of the famine, we did not know where money was to be got, that is, we were not quite clear how much money we had at our disposal.

Dr. N. Jackson.

12 January 1867.

Abstract of Sickness and Mortality in the *Balasore* Charitable Dispensary for the Months of May, June, July, August, September, and October 1866.

Diseases.	Remained on 1st of May.	Admitted.	Total.	Cured.	Result unknown.	Died.	Remaining.	Total.	Deaths to treated per cent.
Ophthalmia	–	2,832	2,832	2,706	114	–	12	2,832	–
Fever	2	1,928	1,930	1,665	128	68	69	1,930	3·50
Diarrhœa	–	2,809	2,809	2,602	15	155	37	2,809	5·45
Cholera	–	20	20	10	–	10	–	20	50·00
Dysentery	1	6,350	6,351	3,668	89	2,514	80	6,351	39·58
Lung Diseases	3	249	252	221	27	3	11	252	1·19
Other Diseases	17	1,620	1,637	1,107	470	32	29	1,637	1·90
Total	23	15,808	15,831	11,969	842	2,782	238	15,831	

Deaths.	
May	14
June	398
July	573
August	819
September	644
October	334
Total	2,782

Cuttack, 5 September 1866.

Put in by Dr. *N. Jackson*, M.D., Civil Surgeon.

No. 75.—Mr. H. Muspratt, Magistrate and Collector, *Balasore*.

[Examined at Balasore, 18th January 1867.]

In the autumn of 1865, I knew that the early rice crop had almost entirely failed. The reason was that the people could not sow, owing to the early rains being too heavy, but the early rice crop bears a very small proportion to the whole crop. Subsequently there was too much rain; *i. e.*, in August and September. Then the rain stopped, and we had no more rain, causing the out-turn of the main crop to be very small. In some parts, however, in the north and south, it was better than in the centre, and the rice near the salt lands was worse. My estimate of one-eighth was founded on what the zemindars told me. I had not then myself been out in the district. Afterwards, I had reason to modify this estimate, and visited the north of the district, and in some places—large maidans—I estimated the crop to be a half, perhaps a three-quarter crop. My next tour was in the neighbourhood of Balasore, where there is a good deal of high land; the crop thereabouts I should estimate to be from a quarter to a half crop. My next tour was down the salt road, and there the crops had been reaped on all the fields; from what I could guess, it may have been from six-sixteenths to a half crop. The yield of the whole district, I should now say, was from eight to nine-sixteenths, nearer to eight than nine.

Mr. H. Muspratt.

18 January 1867.

Q. You were aware, and have reported, that when there was a good crop, this district was able to export an enormous quantity of rice; you have also reported that, on the failure of the crop of 1865, exportation ceased; if then there was a crop of from eight to nine-sixteenths, how do you account for the frightful famine which occurred in April and May?—*A.* There were exportations of the crop of 1865. These exports were by land from the northern pergunnahs to Midnapore and Hidgellee. There were no exports of the crop of 1865 by sea. The proportion of the crop of 1864, which was exported, though large, was not large relatively to the out-turn of the district.

In December and January, had you any reason to apprehend famine?—No, I formed this opinion not only on my own observations, but also from what I heard from zemindars and persons resident in Balasore. A meeting was held in consequence of a letter from the Commissioner in December, at which the opinion expressed by everybody was that there would be distress for three months, beginning in February, but not longer. About the end of January, however, about 200 beggars came in from Mohurbhunj.

Did you receive any orders, one way or other, relative to inquiries into the state of the crops?—I applied for permission to send out my assistants and deputies to make inquiries, but I did not receive permission.

In February had you reason to think that there was more severe distress?—Yes, on the 2nd February we began to collect subscriptions. There was then great distress, but not what I should call famine. Even towards the end of February, the proportion of the beggars about the station belonging to the district was small as compared with that coming from Mohurbhunj and the Gurjats.

Was Mr. Crommelin right in saying to you, in his letter of the 27th February, which you have just put in, that there were frightful objects about the station; and if so, do you believe

Mr. H. Muspratt. believe that these people were reduced to that state by starvation?—Yes, but they were almost all people from the Gurjats.

18 January 1867. What do you call famine as distinguished from distress?—I call it famine when the ryots, who are in the habit of cultivating sufficient land to support them and their families throughout the year without having recourse to other means of livelihood, become so poor as to be obliged to work as labourers. When those who only hold three or four beegahs of land, and also work as labourers for the richer ryots, suffer from want of food, I do not call it a famine, *i. e.*, speaking with regard to the Balasore district.

Was anything done in consequence of Mr. Crommelin's letter before May?—I can't say; but I sent him an answer, saying that I thought it would be a great mitigation of the distress if extra assistance was given by the Government.

In March did the distress very much increase?—No, not so rapidly as it did afterwards.

Is it your opinion that the description given by the district superintendent of police on the 27th, and forwarded on the 2nd April, was an exaggerated one?—I did not think that the district superintendent exaggerated wilfully what he saw; but I thought, from what I heard and saw, that the description was too highly coloured, and one taking too desponding a view of affairs. From the information subsequent events have afforded, I now think he was right. None of the leading zemindars or native residents even then led me to suppose that the famine would continue over so many months.

It appears from the proceedings of the relief committee of the 4th March, and their president's and secretary's letters to your address of the 22nd and 23rd March, that they made an urgent appeal to you for Government aid; what was the result of that application?—An application for Government assistance had been made by the Public Works Department, and I had been informed that the Irrigation Company wanted 2,000 persons for their works in the northern portion of the Cuttack district. I did not in consequence think it necessary to apply to Government, as zemindars of an estate yielding not more than 25,000 rupees a year, for a monthly donation of 500 rupees. At that time zemindars who held estates of more than double that value were prevailed on with difficulty to subscribe a fifth of that sum. Added to this, application had been made for extensive relief works to be undertaken on the Government estate, to be paid for out of the revenues of the estate. I have filed my official answers to the above applications.

What are the extensive relief works to which you allude?—Application to cut a khall through the estate was made, I think, in January or beginning of February, certainly before Mr. Shortt went to Bhudruk; but the project fell to the ground because it was found when the levels had been taken that there was not sufficient fall.

Do your remarks as to the niggardly subscriptions of the zemindars apply to the people of the town or not?—No; the people of the town subscribed liberally, but scarcely anything was collected from the interior.

In April did things get much worse?—Yes, the distress in the town increased more rapidly than in March.

In the Government letter No. 2367 of the 7th April to the Commissioner, it is mentioned that the Lieutenant Governor was in possession of late demi-official accounts regarding the state of your district; were any such accounts furnished by you, or are you aware by whom they may have been furnished?—I am not aware; I had no demi-official correspondence, to the best of my recollection, with the Lieutenant Governor or his secretaries.

In the month of April did you appeal to the outside public, and in what shape?—Yes, by advertising in the Calcutta papers. I can't recollect the exact date of my first appeal. As long as we could furnish relief to all applicants, we did so from local subscriptions.

When you appealed to the public, did you appeal to or expect aid from Government?—I expected to receive aid from the balance of the north-west famine relief fund. I believe I applied to Mr. Chapman about this; but I can't recollect the exact date, and I can't say whether I was the first to think of it. I incline to think that not very long time after I wrote about it, I saw that application had been made. I wrote to Mr. Chapman merely as a private friend, to ask him to collect subscriptions for me. I merely, in my advertisement, called Mr. Chapman secretary to the Board of Revenue, that people might know who he was, and feel sure that the money would be properly applied.

In April had you any reason to suppose that people were starving because they wouldn't work?—I haven't a doubt about it; if we spoke to applicants about work, the number of the applicants diminished on the instant.

Do you think that the greater proportion of the applicants were then capable of work?—About one-sixth were capable of doing able-bodied work, and fully one-third of the remainder were capable of doing the light work which the Committee then required and provided, viz., to carry a basket holding two double handfulls of earth.

In May did things get much worse still?—Yes, very rapidly; on the 12th May the Committee found themselves unable to cope with the distress, and it was resolved to make a more regular appeal to the public through the papers, the British Indian Association, and the Mahomedan Literary Association.

In the early part of the season you had shown how the stocks in the district had been reduced by exportation; will you explain on what you founded the opinion expressed in your appeal to the newspapers "that the stock of rice in the district, aided by imports received and expected shortly, will suffice to feed all the inhabitants; all that our Committee needs is money"?—The principal mahajuns in the town came to me, and said that they were prepared to supply me with as much rice as I required, provided I paid for it.

They

Mr. H. Muspratt.

18 January 1867.

They said they would send down large orders for imports from Coringa, and they were at the same time supplying the Committee from their stores.

Did you soon find reason to suppose that the mahajuns misled you?—They came to me a few days after having offered to supply me, and said that they found they could not supply the Committee, as they were unable to make their contemplated purchases to the northwards, and adding that there would be delay in the supplies from Coringa.

As a matter of fact, up to this time had rice always been procurable in the bazaar by all comers?—We the Committee managed to get rice; there was some difficulty, and supplies were smaller than usual, but the difficulty was not so great as I heard it had been in Pooree and Cuttack. Purchasers could not buy in anything like large quantities. I am not aware that public works were stopped up to that date because the coolies could not get rice.

When did you first experience the necessity of importing rice?—About the time that the telegram offering to send attah for sale was sent (17th May).

Shortly after that, did the difficulty of procuring rice become extreme?—Yes, it did.

When was Mr. Shuttleworth, district superintendent of police, transferred from this district?—He left about the 2nd or 3rd September.

Are you aware why he was transferred?—He was suffering from fever, and had been for some time previously, but he wasn't altogether incapacitated for work. In my opinion he ought not to have left before his successor arrived, but I think his health rendered it necessary for him to go away. If I remember aright, I gave my consent to his sending a telegram to say that I should not offer any objection to his going away if he got permission. This I did after consulting with the civil surgeon. Still I think it would have been better if he had not gone.

Was any reference made to you when he was transferred?—I can't recollect.

Throughout the famine, had you a sufficient staff of officers?—Speaking from my present experience, I should say not half enough. I had no joint magistrate. Mr. W. E. Ward, an assistant with full powers, was authorised to try criminal cases. I allowed him to go at a time when the criminal file had been very much reduced. I did this because no joint magistrate is allowed for this district, and by keeping him here I was depriving him of promotion.

Re-examined, 21st January 1867.

21 January 1867.

Q. In your opinion, was the suffering and mortality in the district very excessive before the Government rice arrived?—*A.* No, I think not.

Were the numbers receiving relief in the station then large, and were they in a bad state?—I can't speak from memory as to the numbers, but many were in a bad state. Up to the date of the arrival of the Government rice, we had never refused help to the deserving poor who came to the town for relief.

In your opinion, when did the distress become excessive?—In the middle of June; about the 10th or 12th June.

When the Government rice first arrived, did it arrive in sufficient quantities to afford efficient relief in the town and district?—Yes, I think it did, as the arrival of the Government rice caused the prices of rice to fall, and the dealers to sell.

With reference to an answer given by you above, the Commissioners remark that it was resolved by the Committee on the 3rd May that no relief be given to any man unless a cripple or blind; how do you reconcile that with the statement that no deserving person was refused relief?—Because, previous to that, work was provided for those who could do any work at all. The work demanded was exceedingly light.

When were centres of relief established in the interior exclusive of Bhudruk; and how many of them?—29th of June, Meetropoor; 5th of June, Jellasore and Santipoor; 11th of July, Sobroh; the rest at different dates. I think there were 10 altogether.

From the time they were established, had you sufficient grain to supply them with?—No, not always; but I can't recollect the precise time at which there was difficulty.

Were you at any time able to sell rice freely?—Yes, about the beginning of July I had plenty of rice, but very soon after that supplies again fell short, and in fact, except at that time, I never was for more than three or four days together fully supplied. Later in the season, when the new rice was beginning to come in, the Telingees were importing rice from the south, and purchased from them. From that time there has been plenty.

To what do you attribute the short supply of Government rice?—To the "Tubal Cain" having been blown away.

Before that time, do you think that more rice could have been imported by steamers of light draught from Calcutta?—If one steamer could supply a given quantity, I suppose three steamers could have supplied three times as much.

Were you consulted about sending a vessel of such large draught as the "Tubal Cain" here?—I think I was; and that, after consulting with Captain Bond, I urged that vessels of large draught should be taken into the mouth of the Hidgellee river, and the cargo transhipped thence and brought round in light steamers and sloops.

What arrangements were made, when the "Tubal Cain" was expected, for landing her cargo?—I had vessels, native sloops, ready at the mouth of the river, capable of containing 12,000 bags; but these vessels could not get out or come in unless they were towed by a steamer. Our only steamer, the "Nemesis," was not available. I don't recollect further particulars.

Do you know why there was delay in communicating with the "Tubal Cain" on her arrival?—

Mr. H. Muspratt.

21 January 1867.

arrival?—As soon as I heard what time the "Tubal Cain" might be expected, I gave notice to the master attendant. He proceeded at once to the mouth of the river, and after waiting there some days, fell ill with fever, and had to return. Besides this, we had no boats that we could send out. We had nothing but two jolly boats. We had no signal boat; it was lost many years ago, and the "Tubal Cain" lay eight miles out; too far for the signals to have been seen, had there been a signal boat.

When it was determined to send rice to Balasore, were no arrangements made to supply proper boats and appliances?—I had applied for surf boats from Pooree, but the Collector replied he had none to spare. There are no surf boats in this district; this is a port which is usually closed from March to November.

Do you remember if anything was done to attempt to unload the "Tubal Cain" between the 23rd July, when you announced her arrival, and the 31st of July, when you telegraphed to the master attendant, Calcutta, begging him to send the "Nemesis" back, as cargo boats couldn't get out?—Nothing could be done until the "Nemesis" returned from the Dhamrah. We expected her daily.

Throughout the famine, was the "Nemesis" the only European vessel that came into the Balasore river?—The "Nemesis" was the only steamer that came into the river with rice; but the "Conqueror" came in and coaled once, and the "Mary Grant" came in December with blankets. The "Agitator" came to the mouth of the river, but failed to get in. The "Dolphin" sailing vessel was towed in.

Were native vessels towed by steamers able to come in all through the monsoon?—Yes, if towed.

If steamers had dropped the native brigs and sloops outside, and the "Nemesis" had been merely employed to tow them in and out, would not a sufficient supply of rice have been furnished?—Yes, if a sufficiency of native sloops could have been obtained for the purpose.

Could they have been obtained?—I can't say; there were 300 in this port, but I should have been very sorry to have travelled in any but two or three; they have been high and dry for three years.

As a matter of fact, were all available native vessels kept constantly in use, or did they ever lie idle for want of steamers to tow them?—The vessels I had here were lying idle for days and days.

Did you apply for more steamers?—To the best of my recollection, yes. I cannot say why I did not get them.

Do you know why the "Feroze" unloaded at Gopalpoor instead of Balasore?—No.

Do you know why the guide was delayed in getting into the Dhamrah on her first trip?—Not exactly, but to the best of my recollection the "Nemesis" took the guide down as soon as she found her ready at Hidgellee.

Were any Europeans sent from Calcutta to assist in landing and marine operations?—Mr. McNeile was sent to assist in landing operations, but no one was sent to Balasore for marine operations. Captain Bond was the only marine authority here. Captain Bond is, I should guess, about 65 or 66, and is not fitted, single-handed, to cope with the hard work and exposure of such a time as we experienced last year. I believe Captain Harris was sent to the Dhamrah, but very little information was given to me about the Dhamrah, as the Board corresponded direct with Mr. Shortt.

Were not some Europeans sent from Calcutta; for what purpose were they sent, and how did they turn out?—They were sent to superintend works at the relief centres by Colonel Nicolls; one left immediately; Mr. Bancroft, he wrote to say that the sights he saw were quite sufficient, and that nothing would induce him to stay. Another got ill and left about a week afterwards, and the third was too old to do more than superintend the feeding at one centre.

How were your centres superintended, and, in your opinion, how did they work?—We obtained the services of every one who was willing to superintend; at Jellasore and Santipoor, Mr. Phillips and Miss Crawford superintended. The other centres were visited by European officers as often as possible, and they each had a native superintendent. I think the centres were efficiently worked in the sudder subdivision. Mr. Shortt detected some abuses amongst the minor subordinates at his subdivision, but I do not think these abuses were excessive.

Do you think the relief really reached the great mass of people in the interior?—Yes, I think it reached the larger proportion. If we could have got trustworthy agency, we should have opened more centres. In that case, I should have written more strongly for more rice in proportion, as I found my requirements greater.

Did you get all or nearly all you asked for?—No, I think not.

Can you fix at all the date when private rice came in, and the market became easier?—About the middle of September.

Had you not a difficulty again in October, when there was a demand for supplies at Bhudruk?—I had sufficient for Balasore, but not enough to supply Bhudruk with.

Throughout the famine, did you get any Government supplies by land, or was there any private importation by land?—We did not get any Government supplies till the end of October, when we got some from Midnapore; I think that must have come from Hidgellee. Rice was being imported privately into the north of the district from the beginning of March from Hidgellee and Midnapore. This continued throughout the year, except when the roads were too heavy for bullocks to move. When the Board proposed that we should import

import by land, I said that we could not get sufficient supplies by that route for Government relief, and that if Government took up the bullocks, private importations would stop.

Was the conduct of the zemindars throughout as bad as you have represented it at the beginning?—I do not think that they did their duty; but I think that if there had been a remission allowed for the kist of November 1865, that they would have done much more, both by importing rice and assisting their ryots.

How did the ryots fare?—Better, I think, than any other class. There has been a considerable mortality, however, amongst them. By ryots, I mean ryots who hold sufficient land to support themselves and their families in an ordinary season. In some villages the ryots showed considerable pluck and self-reliance. The Thanee ryots fared better than the Pahee ryots.

At the end of May there was some correspondence between you and the Board on the subject of importations of rice on private account if the Government would furnish a steamer to tug the sloops down; had that correspondence any practical result?—None. The merchants could come to no agreement on the matter.

How long were the shops for sale of Government rice kept open daily?—Three or four hours daily.

Why so short a time?—Because between these hours we could sell to all applicants, when our sales were not limited.

How long were the relief committee shops kept open daily?—Until the supplies allowed to each shop were exhausted. There was no doubt struggling here, but this was because there were generally 5,000 applicants at each shop, and only 2,000 could be supplied; we were selling much cheaper than the bazar. There were four shops at which rice was sold to all deserving objects in small quantities, not exceeding one seer, and two shops for sales to ticket holders. We sold at these shops enough to feed 17,000 daily. Some persons tried to forge tickets.

On the 8th August there was heavy rain and great mortality consequent on it; up to that time what shelter had been provided, and how far did the people avail themselves of it?—Several huts had been specially built for the paupers, and the dhurmsala is capable of holding (with the huts) about 5,000 persons. The people did not avail themselves of the shelter to a great extent, but many went there. I know that about a dozen people of mixed caste lived under a bamboo clump in my compound for months, and would go nowhere else. I don't think one of them died.

At a meeting of the 27th June, it was proposed to break up the mass of paupers at the dhurmsala, and distribute them in camps of 500 to 1,000; was this carried out, and if not, why?—Before any resolution was arrived at, we heard Mr. McNeile was coming down with special instructions, and we delayed coming to a conclusion in consequence. When Mr. McNeile came, we applied for the three European superintendents from Colonel Nicolls. Before we heard of their coming, we had the camp at Akatpoor in course of erection. The camps at Akatpoor and at three other places, were afterwards erected to lessen the crowd.

With reference to what you have said as to the difficulty of getting trustworthy agency, and also as to the difficulty of inducing the people to work, do you think the Ooryah character is much inferior to that of other natives of India with whom you have had to deal?—Yes, I think they are much inferior in their own country.

Will you be good enough to give your opinion of the conduct of the police officers and men?—The officers of police have given us every assistance, and as a rule the inferior police have done tolerably well.

Was there a difficulty about the conservancy of the town and dhurmsala?—It was impossible to compel the poor to abide by sanitary rules; it was impossible to keep the place clean; you could smell it three miles off.

Did this affect the health of the station injuriously?—Yes, I think it did.

How were the bodies disposed of?—Endeavours were made to bury as many as possible until the river rose, and afterwards they were thrown in and floated out to sea.

Do you think any violence was used towards the paupers?—Some degree of violence was absolutely necessary to prevent the people crushing one another to death during the distribution of food. There were always Europeans there to prevent any unnecessary violence. In fact the violence was on both sides. The crowd fell on the Commissioner and rifled his pockets of pice. On another occasion, I and Mr. Shuttleworth were nearly thrown down and trampled under foot.

Did you consider that there was anything in the orders or action of Government which deterred you from applying for Government aid in the early part of the famine, or had you any other reason for not applying?—Yes; it was my impression that we were not to look for the importation of grain by Government, and that it was expected that relief for the distress was to be provided from local subscriptions alone.

Whence did you derive those impressions?—I should say, from what I had seen in the newspapers, but I am not sure about this.

In this district, what proportion does the early rice crop bear to the main or Sarud crop?—The early rice two fifteenths, the late rice thirteen-fifteenths; that is the result of my inquiry.

In your diary of December 1865, you speak of coarse rice as selling in certain places, at 24 and 28 seers per rupee; is this husked and unhusked rice?—It was husked rice; but I afterwards found that the seers were cutcha or small seers of 13 or 14 chittacks, and almost immediately after, the rice became dearer, about as dear as in Balasore.

Mr. H. Muspratt.

21 January 1867.

Had you any difficulty about money, or reason for restricting your operations for want of money enough during the famine, or rather after you got the first 10,000 rupees of the north western famine relief fund balance?—No, I think not; but in October and November, there was delay in receiving money applied for, and I made advances from the treasury to the relief committee.

Why was nothing done to give work when the relief committee first suggested it?—I applied for money from the unnochatro fund, in order to give work, but without success, as there were no funds, and Colonel Rundall offered work to 2,000 people, either in Cuttack or Midnapore, but the people refused to go. We were also trying to get 7,000 rupees to dig the canal in Noanund estate, which fell through because the levels turned out bad. I also fully expected that an extra grant would have been received in the Public Works Department.

Do you think that stamers drawing somewhat more than the "Nemesis," might have done any service towards supplying you with rice?—I think that the "Agitator" could have come into the river at certain times, and that steam vessels could have towed sloops close to the bar, and they might then have come in.

[Re-examined, 22nd January 1867.]

22 January 1867.

Q. On the 8th October you explained to the Board the causes of the delay in unloading the "Royal Bride" in September, one of the causes being that the "Nemesis" was obliged to proceed three times to Hidgellee; for what purpose was she called away to Hidgellee?—*A.* Once to obtain a supply of coal for her own use; once to ship stores for her own use; and once to fetch dhal for our relief. As far as I can remember, these were the objects. I had only six sloops available then, of which three had been sent to Hidgellee to unload vessels. I had also some lighters. Delay was also caused by heavy floods during the unloading, which made it impossible for the sloops to come up the river to Balasore unaided; the "Nemesis," therefore, lost time in towing them all the way up. While she was absent, the sloops could not come in from the slip across the bar on account of the weather and wind. I was first informed that the "Royal Bride" was coming to Balasore. I then heard that she had gone from False Point to Hidgellee, and she had to be towed back from thence.

On the 21st September Mr. Shortt proposed to check the theft of grain during transit by introducing a regular system of weighing each bag when it was landed from the ship, when it was handed over to the police for transport inland, and when it was delivered up by them, &c.; was the system carried out, and with what effect?—It was carried out, and with great success. After that, on one occasion only was there any loss of grain in transit from the landing-place to its destination at Bhudruk.

On the 26th of October, Captain Bond wrote to me that a grab with rice from the "Royal Bride" had been towed by the "Nemesis" to the mouth of the river, and that there were no boats to unload her. The reason was this. All the available small craft were then up at Balasore unloading. I sent down boats as soon as possible.

The Bustah centre was opened in June; it was then under the charge of Mr. O'Flaherty, assistant to the executive engineer. Gratuitous relief only was given at first. Mr. O'Flaherty left Bustah about a month afterwards; the centre was then left in charge of a committee of natives; Ramlal Baboo, Public Works Overseer, a sub-inspector of police, and a Canango were in the committee. In the course of July, near the end, Mr. Rampini visited Bustah, and made a report to the Balasore Central Committee.

Mr. Rampini again visited Bustah at the end of September; he found that the Sub-Committee had not carried out the orders which the Central Committee had passed on the 11th September as to feeding the paupers twice a day, and as to the varied diet which they were to receive. We found the arrangements to be generally bad as detailed in his report of October 6th; that report was read at the Central Committee's meeting of the 10th. Mr. Rampini had himself passed the orders which were necessary to put things to right.

I cannot say whether the Bustah centre had been visited by any European officer, or by any officer from the sudder station, between Mr. Rampini's visit at the end of July, and his visit at the close of September. I think it probable that it was visited more than once by the district superintendent of police or the executive engineer and his assistants; but I do not now remember their bringing any abuses to notice. If there are any reports from them among the records, I will send them in.

At the end of September, Mr. Rampini also visited the relief centre at Patna, near Jellasore. He reported the arrangements to be excellent; but that the native doctor had only visited the pauper hospital once in two or three weeks, and did not treat the sick there himself. The native doctor had been specially deputed to Jellasore for the purpose of looking after the sick paupers. To the best of my recollection, the native doctor's misconduct was brought to the notice of the civil surgeon, but I do not know that I ever heard the result. I relied on Dr. Jackson to do what was necessary.

The Jellasore centre was under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Phillips, of Santipoor. The Bustah centre was not in the direct charge of any European after Mr. O'Flaherty left in July. I did not make over the supervision of the Bustah centre either to Mr. Rampini or to any other person. Whoever happened to be going out into the neighbourhood of any centre used to inspect it. I sent Mr. Rampini out whenever I could find time to do his work.

Was not Mr. Rampini relieved of all duties except those connected with relief; and if so, how was it that he did not more frequently visit the mofussil centres?—He was relieved

Mr. H. Muspratt.

22 January 1867.

relieved of all other office duties. After consulting with Mr. McNeile, I placed him in charge of the receipt, storeage, issues and sales of Government rice; he was also secretary and treasurer to the relief committee; it was therefore impossible to spare him more frequently to visit the relief centres. I sent Mr. Manson out to Soroh about the 15th of July for the purpose of starting the centres in that neighbourhood and procuring changes of bullocks on which to forward the rice from Balasore to Bhudruk. He was out there, I think, more than two months. The centres which he started—Tooreeghurria and Basdebpoor as well as Soroh—were under his special supervison; in the Bhudruk subdivision the centres were under native management, with the exception of Bhudruck and Dhamrah, at which Mr. Shortt and Mr. Woodward were generally present. They also frequently visited other centres when they could do so.

About November some old rice came into the market, and some indeed is still being sold. In fact more or less old rice (that is, rice of crops previous to 1865) has been sold in the Balasore bazar all through 1866. I do not believe that the quantity held was sufficient to feed half the population through 1866.

In the latter part of the season, when the Bhudruk subdivision was short of rice, had you or could you have got the means of transit for keeping Bhudruk more fully supplied from Balasore if you had had rice to spare?—Yes, I could have sent more across. I sent as much as I could spare, and telegraphed to the board to send rice direct to the Dhamrah.

On the 22nd of October, Mr. Woodward, the deputy magistrate of Bhudruk, reported that some rice which had been sent to him in a sloop towed down by the "Nemesis" was of the dirtiest description, and that the average of short weight in each bag (which nominally contained 80 seers) was 30 seers, was this inquired into, and with what result?—The rice in question had originally been taken out of the "Royal Bride," and about half the bags had been loosely filled with the loose rice which had leaked out of the bags into the hold of the "Royal Bride." The sloop in which it had been placed was at the mouth of the river at a time when I received most urgent applications from Bhudruk; I, therefore, to prevent delay, despatched this rice in tow of the "Nemesis," and requested that the "Conqueror" might be sent from the Dhamrah to Balasore to take down another sloop which I was having filled from our rice store.

No. 76.—Mr. J. A. Windle, Executive Engineer, *Balasore*.

Mr. J. A. Windle.

18 Jan. 1867.

[Examined at Balasore, 18th January 1867.]

I joined this division on the 27th October 1865. I have been in charge continuously ever since. During the year 1865–66, I was frequently out in the district, fully two-thirds of each month, with the exception of January, when I was laid up with illness. At the commencement of 1866, the ordinary works of my division were in progress: these were unconnected with relief measures; but my subordinates used every effort to induce people in want of employment to seek it on the works. Labour was greatly wanted, and we could have employed almost any number of workpeople that came to us. The rate then prevalent for earthwork was *Rs.* 2. 8. per 1,000 cubic feet for land of about 100 feet; this was insufficient to provide a proper quantity of rice when grain was at famine prices, and on the 27th May, I applied to the superintending engineer for permission to raise our rates. The superintending engineer, on the 31st May, replied that he could not sanction an indiscriminate raising of rates, but directed me to mention specifically what rates I desired to increase. He also laid down the rule that work should be so arranged that an able-bodied man should be enabled to earn money enough to buy ¾ seer of rice per diem; women and children in proportion. In a circular letter of the 13th June, the superintending engineer ordered that the above daily quantity of rice for an able-bodied man should be increased to one seer. On the 28th June, I issued circular orders to my subordinates, confirming verbal orders previously given (about the 20th June) by me during my tour through the division, laying down enhanced rates as follow: earthwork, 3 annas a day to an able-bodied man doing 50 cubic feet, equivalent to *Rs.* 3. 12. per 1,000 cubic feet; turfing, 2½ annas for 100 superficial feet: both these payments were to be direct to the labourers. These rates were double the ordinary rates. The superintending engineer approved of these rates on the 17th July, and they continued in force until the 1st November, when, owing to the improved state of affairs, both as regards cheaper food and better condition of the workpeople, the rate for earthwork was reduced to *Rs.* 2. 8. per 1,000 cubic feet. This, however, was a much higher rate than its comparison with the ordinary rate of *Rs.* 2. 8. per 1,000 cubic feet would indicate, inasmuch as it went direct to the labourer, while the latter rate used to be paid through contractors, who, of course, retained a portion, at least 30 per cent., for their own profits. Subsequently, a further reduction has taken place, on imperial works the rate now is *Rs.* 2. 12. per 1,000 cubic feet; on relief works the rate of *Rs.* 3. 2. is still maintained, *e. g.*, on the Bhudruk tank, on which there is a large proportion of women and children, the rate is as high as *Rs.* 8. 2. 6. per 1,000 cubic feet. Task work, and not payments by daily labour, has been the rule on imperial works throughout. An experiment was made in September 1860 to pay by daily labour on the branch road to the old town, and it was found that the work cost 32 rupees per 1,000 cubic feet, which was fully sixteen times what work of that nature would cost if given on contract in ordinary times. This was not owing to defective supervision, for both Mr. O'Flaherty, my assistant, and myself spent daily six to seven hours on the works.

Mr. J. A. Windle.

18 Jan. 1867.

During the months of February, March, and April 1866, I had no work in the station beyond repairs to public buildings; my works lay entirely on the trunk road and in repairs to embankments. I am quite certain that I could not in three months obtain all the labour I required; the work was then all task-work, in the hands of petty contractors. Rice ordinarily is very cheap in this district, and while such is the case, workpeople can, at our ordinary rates, earn more than sufficient to support themselves and families; men bring their wives and children with them to the works. When rice became dearer and people became emaciated, they could not support themselves at those rates, and in consequence of this being so, the application for higher rates was made by me as above stated. I have no official intimation that the superintending engineer applied early in the season for special relief works, but I believe he did; on the 28th May he wrote to me on the subject. By the time that letter came, however, I had already reported (20th May) that rice could not be obtained, and that to keep the people on the works at Bhudruk and Jajpoor, I had sent rice in small quantities on my own responsibility. I continued to send rice with the approval of the superintending engineer, dated 31st May 1866, to these special works, until their completion; but I was not permitted to adopt this course with the ordinary works of my division. The superintending engineer's orders were approved by Government in Public Works letter, No. 112T, of the 11th June 1866. It was not until the 17th July (circular memo. No. 8.) that the superintending engineer wrote to me that Government had authorised the Public Works Department to purchase rice from Collectors, and sell it to workpeople at cost price, carefully calculated "on all losses for carriage, guards, and selling agency." The special works for which I was authorised to purchase rice early were urgent bridge works necessary to keep up communication during the rains; they were finished in about a month. Rice was not sent for the workpeople employed on the special relief works. The people were paid in cash; but when the Government rice arrived, the civil authorities supplied rice at Bhudruk only for payment of workpeople.

In the months of February and March I could see that there was distress in the district, and that people were suffering; but I had no notion then that a great famine was impending. From about the middle of April the distress began to be excessive, but even then we did not imagine, and could not imagine, the extremities that would be ultimately reached. Judging from my own experience, I did not realise the whole truth until the relief centres were opened and the starving people flocked to them. I had seen bad cases here, but I had no notion that distress was so general. After the extent of the famine was realised, I consider that, bearing in mind that it was the rainy season, very considerable relief was afforded by the works under my charge. These provided daily for about 2,700 people during the months of August to December inclusive. The floods and rain-fall during August, September and October were unusually heavy. I should say that when the famine was at its height, it was one of unprecedented severity. As regards relief operations, I helped to supervise and carry out works for the relief committee. The committee made all those work whom it was possible to induce to do so: there was great difficulty in this, the women especially would not work and were greatly in excess of the men. No man capable of doing work was relieved gratuitously. I think that about 20 per cent. of the women were in a condition fit for work, if we could have found the means of making them work.

As far as I recollect, works were never actually stopped from failure of rice, although we once or twice ran very short. The number of starving people in the station was at times enormous, especially during the heavy rains. When the rains became heavy, sheds were built for the workpeople wherever there was a sufficiently large number to warrant it. There was not much mortality among the people on our works at any time. My opinion regarding the people of this country is, that they are so thoroughly apathetic and indifferent to their own welfare, that they prefer a daily dole of two or three pice for doing nothing, to earning two or three times as much by honest and steady labour. On the branch road to the old town, where I was employing people as daily labourers, I had as many as 750 at one time; as soon as I put them on task-work, for which payments were to be made to themselves direct, they dwindled down next day to 300. This was in August or September. I wish to add that, in my opinion, the Salindee river, which runs through Bhudruk, should be bridged; this would complete the communication between Balasore and Bhudruk. Roughly speaking, a timber bridge might be put up for about 15,000 rupees, a small sum as compared with the expenditure on the whole line of road. I mention this because the bridge is not included in the estimate for completing the road.

I have seen a good deal of the land which was inundated in the past rainy season. In some parts the damage done is very heavy; in some parts the crops have benefited from the deposits without being drowned. The floods generally are said to have been the highest known for many years, and they are severe in the south of the district. In some places the rice is washed out of the ground; in some places, after the floods subsided, the rice grew again better than ever. I believe rice does not suffer from being two or three days under water, but when very long under water it is drowned. It has been reported to me that on one river, the Kansbans, in which one flood succeeded another, the crops were totally destroyed for fully three-fourths of a mile on each side of the river. I think that is the river from which there has been most absolute destruction. I should guess from the reports which I have received, that in the southern part of this district about one-fourth of the crops may have been destroyed by floods, but I can't speak with any certainty. It is necessary also to remember that much land has not been sown this year on account of the famine, and much not cleared, which makes the country look worse.

Ordinarily I think that the ryots do what they can to make the most of their fields. This year

year they did not clear them properly. I have had difficulty in getting the people to work at the repairs of the embankments. In conversation with some of them, they said that when the rent before the construction of the embankments had been 1 rupee, since their construction it was raised to *Rs.* 1. 9.; at the same time stating that the zemindar paid no additional rent, and that they thought it hard that they (the ryots) should pay. In the year of drought it seemed to me that the ryots spared themselves no expense and labour in getting water to save their crops. They worked night and day, and it is the only occasion on which I have seen real energy in them. At first there might be difficulty in making them see the benefit of a system of irrigation new to them, but if they were properly given to understand the benefit of it, and got water at moderate rates, and did not think that their rents would be raised, I think they would take it. Much high land too, now uncultivated, might be brought into cultivation.

Mr. J. A. Windle.

18 Jan. 1867.

No. 77.—Baboo Nitoy Churn Doss.

Baboo Nitoy Churn Doss.

[Examined at Balasore, 20th January 1867.]

20 Jan. 1867.

I reside in Balasore; have an estate paying 700 or 800 Government rupees in pergunnah Dusmulling, six miles south of Balasore. In October 1865, I became aware that there must be a famine, and that the rice in the district would not suffice to support the people till the Beallee crop came in. The cold weather crop in my estate was not more than one-eighth of an average crop. Over the whole district the out-turn was about one-fifth of an average crop. In the month of Pous (December) the poor labourers and men of low castes began to die of starvation, both on my estate and in Balasore town. In Maugh (January) beggars were flocking into the town. I cannot specify instances, but am certain that the people began to die of starvation in December. The mortality increased till August or September; the greatest mortality was in June, July, and August. In September 1865, I gave a petition to the Collector for remission of revenue. Many other zemindars did the same; we represented the scarcity, but did not suggest importations. I had no rice or paddy with which to help my tenants. I had only enough for the consumption of my own family. I subscribed to the relief fund. The Government rice was first imported in June 1866.

From the 4th of February local subscriptions had been raised, with which rice was bought in the bazar from mahajuns of Balasore. At first, cooked food was distributed; but there was such a rush, that we were obliged to discontinue this, and to issue uncooked rice; six chittacks a day were given to each person. When Government rice came cooked food was distributed, and rice was also sold. Rice was at first distributed in Balasore, Bhudruk and Soroh; subsequently in many other places; some of the centres were within my estate. At first there was only one centre in the town at Dhurmsala; some 8,000 or 10,000 were fed there daily. Subsequently, in July or August, two other centres were started in the town.

From the first establishment of the distribution every indigent person has been able to get food. In August the harvesting of the Beallee crop reduced the numbers of applicants for relief. The greatest mortality occurred after the Government rice arrived, because the people had then become wasted away by the want of the previous months, and had been living on roots and other unwholesome things. The higher castes did not come to the unnochatros; many of them died in their own houses. The Government rice ought to have been imported in November or December, and it should have been distributed in many centres about the district. If this had been done, the people would have been able to remain in their houses and follow their occupations, and half the mortality might have been avoided. Sheds were erected for shelter in Balasore; some remained in them, others did not. I have been to the distributions, but have never seen any maltreatment; some force was absolutely necessary to keep the crowd in order. In my estate the mortality has been 50 per cent. of the population; details are given in the answers to the questions which I have put in. The inundations caused some damage on my estate, but no deaths. The corpses in Balasore were at first thrown into a pit; subsequently into the river. For eight months no one could drink the water of the river. No emigration from my estate has taken place.

No. 78.—Baboo Muddun Mohun Doss.

Baboo Muddun Mohun Doss.

[Examined at Balasore, 20th January 1867.]

20 Jan. 1867.

I am a resident of Balasore, and a merchant; hold estates in pergunnah Mobaruckpore, 20 miles south of Balasore. The Amun crop of 1865 was about one-eighth, or rather more of an average crop. From October 1865, it was evident to us that the rice in the district would not be sufficient to carry the people through till the next crop. In December a few people died of starvation both in Balasore and in my estate. My old stock of rice was all given out, lent, or sold by the month of November 1865. The mortality went on increasing till September, and then diminished. In April I imported two sloop-loads of rice from Arracan. I also brought one ship-load from the south before the Government rice was imported. After that, I also imported about 17,000 maunds of rice; this was in August and September. I bought the last instalment at Coconada at 8 rupees a bag; it cost

Baboo Muddun Mohun Doss.

20 Jan. 1867.

me 1 rupee a bagto import. I had to sell it at *Rs.* 6. 8. and 7 rupees a bag; prices had fallen in consequence of the harvesting of the Beallee crop, and also because the Government rice had come in and was being sold on relief tickets, at 16 seers per rupee. From February a local subscription had been raised and rice distributed. Government rice was imported in June. At first this increased the mortality; people died from eating after having been so long without food.

From the time when the Government rice came, all the indigent who required food got it in Balasore. Centres were opened in the interior later. Government rice should have been imported in October 1865, three-fourths of the mortality would then have been saved. I am not aware that it was ever suggested to the officials that it would be necessary for Government to import rice. At first, in the town of Balasore, food was given out at the dhurmsala only; about a month after the Government rice came, two other centres were opened in the town. I was a member of the relief committee. I went to the distributions of food four or five times. As long as the food was distributed at the dhurmsala only, there was crowding and confusion. Subsequently the numbers were reduced by death and by the opening of two other centres, and then the distributions were orderly. I never saw an unnecessary degree of force used towards the people by the chuprassees or police. The mortality in my estate has been ascertained to amount to 7-16ths, or half the entire population. I have given details in the written replies which I have put in. The inundation in my estate caused no mortality.

Many ryots, both Thanee and Pahee, died of starvation, as well as the daily labourers. One centre was established in my estate at Soroh. Many people died there. Cholera was not worse than usual, but the mortality was caused by starvation. After the Government rice came, all that was possible was done; but the rice should have come earlier. We merchants could not import rice easily after the south-west monsoon set in. I lost one ship. Baboo Shamanund Dey imported before the monsoon; Baboo Puddolochun Mundle also imported three or four ship-loads. No other merchant imported rice then by sea.

Baboo Puddolochun Mundle.

21 Jan. 1867.

No. 79.—Baboo Puddolochun Mundle, Zemindar.

(Examined at Balasore, 21st January 1867.)

I reside partly in Hooghly and partly in Balasore town; but during 1866 was here only during the months of November and December. I cannot, therefore, speak of the famine from personal knowledge. I have a zemindaree in the Balasore district, with a sudder jumma of between 16,000 rupees or 17,000 rupees. I consider that over the whole district, about 6-16ths of the people have died, consisting chiefly of the working classes. The principal village in the zemindaree is named Basoodebpoor. An unnochatro was established there in September, but by that time great mortality had occurred; when relief was given, it did some good, but it was afforded too late.

If there be irrigation, I believe that water will be largely taken, but consider that the rate of 3 rupees per acre is far too high, 1 rupee would be enough. Water would be valuable in this district in consequence of the irregularity of the rainfall; but no irrigation would produce more than one crop in the year; the soil is too poor everywhere.

I remember in Mr. Ricketts' time, when there was great calamity from inundation from the sea, rice was bought at Calcutta and brought here. Houses of relief were established every three or four coss, and such arrangements were made that everyone could eat and then go to sleep at home. Things were better arranged than this time, so people did not die in any numbers. It was not such a calamity as the present, but there were 6,000 or 7,000 people to feed here. It was in 1831-32. For the future, the best remedial measure is to let off the revenue, and save alive those who are left; also to improve the embankments; they are all in a bad state the last 10 years. We also need a road to Seenglah Haut, where much rice is produced; now there is no practicable road.

Baboo Muthoora Mohun Parbee.

21 Jan. 1867.

No. 80.—Baboo Muthoora Mohun Parbee, Zemindar.

[Examined at Balasore, 21st January 1867.]

I am a resident of Aukoora pergunnah; my chief zemindaree lies in pergunnah Balikhund; it is of 3,000 rupees sudder jumma. During 1866 I resided partly in that pergunnah and partly in the town of Balasore. In my zemindaree about half the inhabitants have died, and over the whole district about 6-16ths. I consider that the importation of Government rice has done good in the town of Balasore, but none whatever in the district. The rice came in June, before which great mortality had occurred; and of those who obtained rice at the unnochutios established in the district, nearly all subsequently died, because no one got as much as was required to preserve life. In November 1865 I observed that famine was coming over the country. I had stores of rice saved up, out of which I fed my own ryots; all of these, whose lives were saved, with the exception of a very few fed with Government rice, were preserved by myself. Of my land, 10-16ths were cultivated for the Sarud crop, and 6-16ths were left uncultivated from want of hands, so many of the people having died. Of the cultivated portion, 3-16ths were destroyed by floods from

Baboo Muthoora Mohun Parbee.

21 Jan. 1867.

from the Kansbans river; and of the remaining 7-16ths, one-half was ruined from want of labourers to look after the growing crop. Thus, of the whole area, only 3 to 4-16ths yielded a crop. In my zemindaree only about 3 per cent. of Beallee is grown. Cattle have died to the extent of 2-16ths. If canals be made, water will be largely taken, especially during the Rubbee, when crops not cultivated now may be grown, as sursoo, mory, vegetables; cotton and sugar-cane may be also cultivated. During the rainy season water would be taken only when the rain failed. The rate should not exceed 4 annas an acre. Navigable canals are very much wanted, and would be extensively used by the people, who would gladly pay any reasonable tolls for the power of conveying their goods towards Madras and Calcutta.

No. 81.—Baboo Shamanund Dey, Zemindar.

Baboo Shamanund Dey.

21 Jan. 1867.

[Examined at Balasore, 21st January 1867.]

I am a trader and landholder and resident of Balasore. I had reason to believe that there would be famine on the failure of the crop in November 1865. In December I sent to Arracan for rice and paddy. It arrived in February, 3,600 maunds. I also got rice, &c., from Calcutta. Modhoo Mohun Doss also imported; no one else, as far as I know. There was no export except of some of the previous years or crops which the Telingees had. I belonged to the original (Native) committee, which was got up in January 1866. In Cheyt and Bysack people began to starve to a greater extent. In February there was less distress. In the mofussil I heard people began to die from starvation in July. Things got worse in June and July up to October. I wasn't one of those who told the Collector on the 12th May that money was wanted, not rice. At the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Cuttack, I was there, and told the Lieutenant Governor that Government aid would be needed, and presented a petition through the Commissioner. Nobody imported rice privately in May, June, and July, but in August or September merchants from the south did. The reason why there was no importation in June and July was that the wind then was too strong, and some of the ships foundered. The Government aid did not come soon enough. When the Government aid did come, it didn't go into all places in the interior; where it was given, it was well given. In the Government shops it was only sold till 10 a.m., but the relief committees' retail sales were kept on till later. There were two Government shops in Balasore. All who wanted rice got it, that is all who came before 10 a.m.; the only people who were injured by this were those who came from a distance and arrived late. Government shops were never closed till the new crop came in, and relief distribution was never stopped. There should have been more centres to do effectual good; but had there been, it is probable that the rice would have run short. The Government couldn't control the winds, but they might have sent it in steamers.

In my estates 12,000 have died, and 19,000 are left alive. As a conjectural estimate, I should say that about a third of the population have died. Many of the zemindars' ryots are dead, and much of their land is uncultivated. Here many of the people find employment on the public works.

No. 82.—Baboo Rash Beharee Kur, Zemindar.

Baboo Rash Beharee Kur.

1 Jan. 1867.

[Examined at Balasore, 1st January 1867.]

I am a resident of Balasore, trader and landholder. I was a member of the relief committee. When the crop of 1865 failed I had reason to believe there would be a famine. The crop was a terrible failure; there was only about one-quarter of it saved. From Poos the paupers began to flock in, and the numbers went on increasing from Magh. From Magh people began to die in small numbers and gradually increased; but I can't specify the months exactly in which it was severest. The committee applied for Government aid, but we were told that Government couldn't assist us at present. Before any Government aid came a great many people had died, and many more were so reduced that they died from eating the rice that came, but many were saved by the Government rice; had it not come, very few would have been left alive.

The mahajuns imported small quantities; but the south wind rendered it impossible for them to import more, and there are no very considerable mahajuns who could have imported in large quantities.

When the Government rice came there were good arrangements made. The Government shops were not closed at 10 a.m., but they were opened till 2, 3 or 4 p.m. They were also open on Sundays. The only defect was, that the Goverment assistance came too late, otherwise it was well managed.

I should guess that 6-16ths of the population of the district have died, but in some places almost the whole population has disappeared; where there were 500 houses, 10 are left, and there was a great deal of mortality caused by the floods, which interrupted communications and prevented people getting out of their houses.

Abdool Ghunnee.

22 Jan. 1867.

No. 83.—Abdool Ghunnee, Zemindar.

[Examined, 22nd January 1867.]

I am a resident of village Esufpoor, suburb of Bhudruk, pergunnah Randea-wurgurrah, district Balasore, zemindaree of 8,300 rupees sudder jumma. I reside chiefly in the above village, and occasionally in the town of Balasore. During the visit of the Lieutenant Governor in February 1866, I visited Cuttack, and was present at the durbar. When the sarud crop of 1865 failed, people did not entertain fears of a great famine such as has since prevailed. No one had ever seen or even heard of such a famine. Frequently scarcity had occurred, but rice had never been dearer than 10 or 12 seers the rupee in the town, and 16 seers in the district. We thought that, what with the savings from the sarud crop, the produce of the dalo, and the hope that as prices rose, those who had stores of grain would bring it out and sell it, distress and high prices might be expected until the beallee of 1866 was reaped; but we never anticipated famine. It was not until April, when the dalo, too, having failed, prices rose very high, husked rice being sold at 10 seers in the district, that the fear of famine arose. The famine then rapidly increased until the end of May, the price was 3 to 3½ seers the rupee, and so continued until the end of August. The arrival of Government rice had no effect on prices in Bhudruk; No Government rice was sold there; it was used entirely in feeding people at the unnochatros. At the town of Bhudruk, two unnochatros were established by Mr. Shortt, who worked in a way that I never saw any one work. Altogether from 16,000 to 17,000 people were fed at these unnochatros daily. The quantity of rice, however, given to each person was very small, in consequence of the very limited supply; not more than six or seven chittacks to a grown-up man or woman, and five chittacks to a child. Small as this quantity was, it was often taken home, and divided with those who had either been unable to attend the unnochatros, or had remained behind to work in the fields. At no time was the supply of rice nearly enough to meet the great demand. At first rice was given entirely raw; afterwards the plan was introduced of giving as much cooked rice as it was possible to prepare, chiefly to those who came from a distance, and raw rice to those who lived near and had the means of cooking it. I should say that about one-fourth of the poor people fed at these unnochatros died from first to last. Besides this gratuitous relief, other relief was afforded by public works, carried on either by the Public Works Department or by the District Committee. The workpeople so employed were paid partly in raw rice and partly in money, the latter to enable them to buy wood, salt, &c. Shelter was provided for the people as fast as it could be; but it was July before the whole was under cover, and many died from exposure to the rain. I think that the importation of Government rice should have commenced much earlier. If it could have been commenced in January or February, many lives might have have been saved. When the rice came, the season was in every way unfavourable; there was difficulty in landing, in consequence of the sea being rough, the grain suffered greatly by exposure to wet, and the roads were so heavy that distribution, carried on chiefly by transport on bullocks, was slow and uncertain. Great peculation, too, prevailed, from want of trustworthy people to look after the rice when it had been landed. I never saw a single bag that weighed two maunds, and I have had, as a member of the Bhudruk Committee, a great deal of experience; some bags were reduced to even one and a half maunds.

For the future, I think that a railway should be made in this province; the passenger traffic to and from Juggernath would be enormous, and no doubt the merchandise and grain traffic would quickly develope. I know that a navigation canal is being made to connect Cuttack and Calcutta; when this is completed, great facilities will be offered for conveyance of goods, and if roads be made, bridged and metalled, all over the province, I do not think that such a famine can again occur. Water from irrigation will be largely taken, if the rate per acre be reduced; it is much too high, I think 1 rupee per acre per crop will be sufficient, and at this rate water would be in great demand.

There were about 18,000 people on my estates; of these about 4,700 have died during the famine. We, zemindars, could not carry them through such a terrible calamity; nearly all the zemindars are in debt; the large zemindars and the rajahs of Killahs are even more involved.

With respect to the future settlement, I think that if the zemindars in the higher lands get 50 per cent. malikana, they will accept a permanent settlement. I do not think they will accept it unless they get these terms; if they get less than 50 per cent., I think that a 30 years' settlement on the old terms would be better. As regards the lower lands, I think that they have suffered so much from inundation of late years, that they should not come under a permanent settlement, until proper arrangements for embankments have been carried out.

Mr. R. B. Smalley.

22 Jan. 1867.

No. 84.—Mr. R. B. Smalley, Assistant Superintendent of Police.

[Examined at Balasore, 22nd January 1867.]

I joined this district in August 1863; I went on leave in December 1865; I had not been out previous to my going away in December, nor had I seen any of the crops; I returned from leave on the 23rd February 1866; when I returned (by sea), I didn't observe any

Mr. R. B. Smalley.

22 Jan. 1867.

any signs of famine; in March and April I was in the station, and saw several paupers straggling about the station; I was not out in the district. The paupers looked as if they were starving; they were chiefly from the Gurjats; I didn't then see any dead bodies about the station; I used to go out in June to make inquiries into cases; I saw a number of skulls and bones lying about the fields, and on the roadsides, and I gathered there had been great mortality. I have seen in the station people lying down to die, who came from great distances; but this I think was later than May. I think the greater number of deaths were in July and August; I was a member of the Relief Committee for some time in May; I kept a relief-ticket shop. A certain quantity was allowed me by the Committee, and I used to sell it all off daily; I also had the management of the Supply Committee at the dhurmsala, that is to say, of the arrangements for the supply of cooked food; it was supplied to all comers who were really paupers; I judged those to be paupers who were very emaciated. Work was made for those who could work. The greater proportion could not work at all, because they were so reduced; they had just strength to crawl and keep life together for a time, but eventually I don't think that these people survived, that is, those who came in in May and June; I don't think that there is one of them left; they had come from a distance and were in a very bad state. As respects those who came later, things were then more in order, and arrangements were better. At first we could give only one meal a day, the number was so great; afterwards we gave two. The number was then somewhat diminished, and I think that those who came in July and August pulled through better. I can't say whether most of them survived, there were many deaths, but some did; I think that the arrangements made as respects Government rice were as good as they could be. As long as there was rice, it was sold every day, except Sunday. At my shop, I know that a larger quantity was sold on Saturdays; I sold only to ticket-holders, and at cheap rates. The members of the Committee gave tickets. It was but seldom that I was obliged to send away ticket-holders for want of rice; the number and amount of tickets was limited. Once only my sales were stopped altogether for want of rice; I believe that was when the "Tubal Cain" was blown away. I had nothing to do with the centres in the interior. In September and October there was always plenty of rice. Great assistance was given by the police inspectors, Mr. Green and Mr. Underwood.

The man who ate human flesh and was sent in by the Commissioner from Bunna, was found to be a lunatic, and sent to the lunatic asylum. But another man was found by Mr. Shuttleworth behind the dhurmsala, tearing the flesh from a human body and eating it. He was sent to the Pilgrim Hospital, and found to be quite sane. He came from Jajpoor, and said that he had resorted to human flesh from extreme hunger. He was fed for two or three days, and then ran away; we do not know what became of him after that.

No. 85.—Mr. R. F. Rampini, c.s., Assistant Magistrate and Collector.

Mr. R. F. Rampini, c.s.

22 Jan. 1867.

[Examined at Balasore, 22nd January 1867.]

I have been in India since December 1864; I joined my first appointment in August 1865; I arrived here on the 20th June 1866; I did not then understand the Ooryah language; I had passed by the lower standard in Bengalee; I was appointed Secretary to the Relief Committee, but not relief manager, though I had certain relief duties assigned to me. I had also at first current duties; but on the 6th July I was relieved almost entirely of ordinary duties, and I took over the selling of rice at the Government shops, and the despatch of rice into the interior; I had also charge for some time of a relief shop; I had the accounts and the returns, and charge of the godowns, and I used sometimes to visit the centres in the interior. When I first commenced relief operations in June, there was enough rice for supplying the dhurmsala, but not sufficient to supply the interior adequately or for sales. The supply in July became more plentiful, and for a week or two I think it was adequate; we were able for two or three weeks to send rice freely into the interior, to the centres then established, which were not numerous. Afterwards, when the "Tubal Cain" was blown away, supplies of rice fell short, and continued short for about a month. About the middle of August we got supplies, and since then have been pretty well supplied. I think that if the importations had been larger the relief could have been more extended; but as it is, I think the relief has really reached a considerable proportion of the people. I think that the sales and the gratuitous distribution each did good, though to different classes. One class had no money to buy, and the other class, had they not had the opprtunity of buying, would have been gradually reduced till they fell into the lower class. At Balasore I think food was given to all who really required it; but I can't speak positively as to the interior. The test of requirement was personal appearance; but a very liberal interpretation was put upon that rule.

As a matter of fact, a large proportion of those who received relief died. I attribute this to the fact that the majority had come in from the interior, and before they could reach Balasore, were so reduced that nothing but the most anxious tending and medical treatment could have saved them, and that with such an enormous mass of people was impossible. I have been often struck by the want of help afforded by natives to the weak. The strong would take the food from the weak if they possibly could. There was a good deal of mortality during the rains from want of shelter. The erection of sheds was delayed somewhat by the scheme for the camps being deferred till Mr. M'Neile's arrival. At the same time a good many sheds were erected, but we found the paupers were constantly

Mr. R. F Rampini, c.s.

22 Jan. 1867.

pulling them down for firewood. The people who came in late in the season were, as a rule, in better condition than those who came in earlier, being probably persons who had some property on which they had supported themselves up to that time. I formed a very bad opinion of the character of the Ooryahs generally. I think July and August were the worst months. The famine began to abate in September. Of four centres visited by me two were well managed, another indifferently, and one badly at first. I think as many centres were established as could have been established with the means at our disposal. If there were another famine, I should apply for more rice, more European agency, and more supervision of the centres. I think the system of unnochatros demoralizes the people to some extent; but I do not think that a system of out-door relief was possible with the small staff of officers we had here.

When I arrived, there were relief centres at the following places; Jellasore, Santipore, one being established at Bustah, and one at Bhudruk; Meerapore was established afterwards.

No. 86.—Mr. A. Manson, c.s., Assistant Magistrate.

[Examined at Balasore, 22nd January 1867.]

Mr. A. Manson, c.s.

22 Jan. 1867.

I have been in India since November 1864, and in this district since 7th September 1865. I was out in the north of the district in November and December 1865. In some parts, the crops seemed very much dried up; but I had never seen an average crop, and can't judge of the out-turn. In January I remember that the Collector of Pooree asked us to buy rice, and that being known prices began to rise. Shortly after that, starving people began to come in; in February and March there was a great deal of cholera, as well as starvation, and then the general distress seemed to be very great. In February, or early in March, I was in charge of the sudder station, and there people were being publicly relieved near the road, and the cholera was so bad that the doctor wished to have the distribution removed to a distance. When the magistrate came in it was removed to the dhurmsala; in April I went to the examination at Cuttack; there, so far as I saw, things were certainly not so bad; I think the famine became excessive towards the end of May, a little before the Government rice arrived. The worst I saw was at Soroh, 22 miles from Balasore, in the middle of July; I established a centre. People were dying on all the cross roads, apparently trying to get to the main road; they were dying in very great numbers. When the Government rice came it made a decided difference; but in the interior I don't think it was at first known that rice was available. Before the rice came it was reported that a great deal of rice, 50,000 maunds, was coming to be given away, and the market became easier; but when it turned out that only a small quantity came, and much of that was required for the jail, there was great disappointment. In Balasore also things were, I think, very bad when I went down to Soroh; I stayed at Soroh two months. There, as long as I could keep open a shop for sale, things were better. I kept it open for about a fortnight, and then was obliged to close for want of rice; it remained closed for 16 or 18 days. It was then re-opened and kept open. At first I sold in small quantities as much as was asked for; afterwards I sold as much only as could be spared, 20 to 30 maunds a day. These were sales at market prices; if I had sold to all comers, I should have sold about 40 maunds; I was not able to keep open beyond 10 days a shop for cheap sales; I could not get the tickets given to the right persons; I gave gratuitous food to all who were unable to work, so far as I could carry out the principle. So long as the rice was plentiful none were refused; when it became scarce I limited the number to 800, and selected those who seemed most emaciated. On that principle I gave to men, women, and children indiscriminately. For those able to work there were public works going on under the Department of Public Works. The people worked in gangs, and were paid in rice.

When I returned to Balasore on the 22nd September things were better than I had left them, and they continued to get better; but in October I had to go again to Cuttack to the examination. All the time that I was at Soroh there was great mortality, partly because the people came in too far gone, and partly because I could not give rice and shelter enough. The shelter was not sufficient; the people pulled the thatch off as fast as it was put on; they took it to lie on and to burn. It might have been prevented to some extent by supplying them with straw and firewood. I was not stinted for money. The people were not in a condition to get firewood for themselves, but the food was given cooked. They burned the thatch to keep themselves warm in the rains, and besides they would not generally live in the sheds, but preferred any deserted houses or other shelter. They were more their own masters, and could keep more together in families. Under the hills the famine was very bad. I had three more centres under me; two of them, however, were only established just before I came away in September. In none of those places was the famine much less than at Soroh; they were all very bad. It was almost impossible to get about on account of the state of the roads.

Throughout the famine I believe that every one was stinted in respect to food, except the very rich and the prisoners. I think that the numbers said to have died have been much exaggerated as regards the north of the district, which I have since visited. Of those who do little cultivation, say under five beegahs there, I should say that only an eighth or a ninth have died or disappeared; there are few who don't cultivate at all. Of the better class of cultivators,

cultivators, I think that comparatively few have died from famine. In some places many of the lower classes have run away. Soroh is in the south of the district, and the mortality there must have been very much greater. The famine was less severe in the north of the district; people went to Contai and Hidgellee.

Mr. A Manson, c.s.
22 Jan. 1867.

No. 87.—Reverend A. Miller.

[Examined at Balasore, 22nd January 1867.]

In November and December 1865 I was itinerating in the south of this district. In January and February I was itinerating towards the sea-shore. I came into Balasore on the 1st March, and was there till the 22nd August, when I went away ill to Calcutta, and was away till the beginning of October. I noticed the failure of the crops during my tours. Taking good and bad together, I should estimate that the crop did not exceed one-eighth of a full crop. I observed particularly that, though there was often a good deal of straw, the grain did not come to maturity; it died in the milk and came to nothing. I do not think that the natives generally appreciated correctly the extent of the failure; they knew of the failure each in his own neighbourhood, but did not know how general it was. In the month of January I think that the prospect of a famine became very apparent to the natives. In this district, the idea of a famine did not occur to people till it forced itself irresistibly upon them. In January rice was difficult to get; starving people were to be seen, and the thing did force itself upon them. In February things were worse. There was then a general crying out, and people were rushing into the towns, saying that they could not live; but I saw very few people suffering from actual starvation during my tours. When I came into Balasore in the beginning of March, I found that quite an army of starving people had congregated, and that a committee had been formed for their relief; principally a native committee, with Captain Bond for president. A few natives of the town had come forward very nobly, but very few. The relief at that time was nothing approaching to sufficient for the starving people congregated; there may have been 3,000 people in an actual state of starvation. I am not sure that there were so many in the beginning of March, but there certainly were eight or ten days before the Commissioner came, and starving people were still flocking in. Some were in a very bad state, and some not so bad; those from the Mohurbunj and Neilgherry territories were the worst, the land there being high. Deaths had then taken place, but few from actual starvation, principally women and children. There was fearful cholera besides, and many died from cholera caused by famine, as they had taken to live on roots and such like. I do not think that the relief was sufficient in this period till the Commissioner came. Mr. Muspratt was out in the district. Captain Bond, the president of the committee, was generally absent in Calcutta, and the natives wanted order and arrangement. When the Commissioner came, the suffering was great. A meeting was held. A new committee was formed and subscriptions obtained. The Europeans and some residents of the town were liberal. Some of the residents of the town who behave well hold land, but the proper zemindars of the interior did absolutely nothing, and, so far as I can learn, have done nothing to the present day. Still the new arrangements afforded nothing approximating to sufficient relief, because every day a fresh supply of starving people came flocking in like passengers from a railway station when a train comes in. I then constantly met the local officers. They were then quite convinced that an unprecedented famine was upon us; all classes, European and native, official and non-official, were quite convinced; the fact was as clear as the sun in the heavens; no one could ignore it. At an earlier period they thought a famine probable, but they then fancied that there was rice in the country; even when the meeting was held, Mr. Muspratt said so. I was under the impression that Mr. Muspratt had made some discoveries within a few days, and had formed an independent opinion to that effect. I did not agree with him, and publicly said that I thought he was quite mistaken. I recommended a committee of inquiry on the point. I think that Mr. Ravenshaw was just then awakening to the reality of the famine. It seemed to have come suddenly upon him, and he seemed much impressed and, as it were, overwhelmed. The question of seeking the aid of Government was mooted at the meeting; I suggested it myself, but the suggestion was not acted on. I thought, from the manner in which the suggestion was received, that there was some good reason for not adopting it. The next day the committee met and organised working arrangements. I was a member of the committee. After that some of the members were out, and there was not another meeting for, I think, about two weeks. When we met we found that our funds were entirely exhausted, the distress had increased, and the price of rice also; but rice was still procurable for money from Shamanund Dey. The subscriptions were increased and paid in advance, and we were thus enabled to give small quantities of rice to each person in hopes of keeping them alive, but we discovered afterwards that we were only killing them by degrees, as the quantity was insufficient, and they had no firewood or cooking utensils. When our fences were all burnt up, they ate the rice raw. We then made a change and gave cooked rice. An appeal to the public was made by Mr. Muspratt through Mr. Chapman, and on the 2nd May I received a first instalment of relief from Messrs. Sykes' fund, and handed it over to the committee. There was great distress at that time in the interior, in the parts of which I had information, and the poor were dying, and selling their houses, bullocks, and ploughs. Throughout May the distress continued. Towards the end of May people were dying very rapidly about the station, and I think that June, July, and August were the worst months.

Rev. A. Miller.
22 Jan. 1867.

Rev. A. Miller.

22 Jan. 1867.

I think that the mortality was greater than was reported. Hundreds died in fields and out-of-the-way places, where no one saw them. If one chanced to cross the country, one saw the bodies lying about, and the jackals eating them. I should say, to be within bounds, that about one-fourth of the population of Orissa has died. In this neighbourhood I think the mortality has been about one-third; but I believe that in other parts of the province it has not been so severe. As to the number of deaths in a certain day, I have seen some exaggeration in the papers; it was said that 1,000 had died in the streets of Balasore in one day; that was an exaggeration. I think that the worst day we ever had, about 290 or near 300 were carted off dead from the station and thrown into the river. But as respects the general misery and suffering, I do not think that it has ever been fully described; it would have been almost impossible to exaggerate it. The people bore their misery with an extraordinary quiet and submission. Nothing that I have ever read has enabled me to conceive anything equal to this famine. I have known no instance of the Hindoos eating dogs, or cats, or cows, but they did eat their own children when they were dead. I heard a well-authenticated instance in which a mother and son were found eating a dead child. I know of nothing to surpass this famine either as to extent or severity. I think that the statements made by the local officers, so far as I saw them, were faithful, except that they did not know the extent of the mortality. I don't think that in this neighbourhood there were floods which added very materially to the distress, but I heard that towards Bhudruk there were serious inundations. I do not think that even there the floods could have added very seriously to the mortality at that time; the damage would chiefly affect the present year.

When the Government rice arrived, it was not in sufficient quantity; it was soon exhausted. All through June, July, and August, we were not sufficiently supplied; towards the end of the rains the supply became better. I think better arrangements might have been made by the employment of small steamers to land the rice. In Calcutta I gathered that there were there quite a number of small river steamers which might have been sent, and which might have done the work. The rivers, the Subunreeka and others, might also have been used to send up rice during the rains. I also gathered that it was a mistake to send here such a heavy vessel as the "Tubal Cain." I think it possible that more might have been locally done to land rice, &c., if there had been more aid from nautical persons; but I am sure that Captain Bond did his very best. He was a man who thoroughly sympathised with the people, and fed hundreds at his own expense. The rice was sent into the interior by carts and bullocks, principally by pack bullocks, especially in the rains. There was then, of course, much difficulty. Sometimes there was delay about bullocks. At other times, when there were plenty of bullocks, there was no rice. If much more rice had been sent, I think we would have managed to get it into the interior. In one sense we were all to some extent taken by surprise by the famine, that is, by its magnitude. Although I had good opportunities of seeing the signs of its approach, I did not at first imagine its ultimate magnitude. If in January and February we had made arrangements, everything would have been much more efficient. As it was, we were unprepared. Even in the early part of the actual famine, the committee did not contemplate sending the food to the interior; we were grappling with the distress at the stations, and thought that all the very poor would come in to be fed. In March I hoped that the more independent ryots, &c., would have weathered the gale. I think that there was every willingness to do everything that was possible, and that the relief arrangements were as good as they could be under the circumstances. We have, of course, learned by experience. We should now, in such circumstances, have asked for more officers and established more centres and hospitals. The overcrowding at the dhurmsala was an unfortunate mistake. There were differences of opinion on the subject. We at first feared that people might have got double supplies from different places, and that other abuses might have crept in. It was well on in the season before we divided the masses and sent them to different places. I have been seven years in Orissa, never in other parts of India. I think the Ooryahs a very bad race of people, very deceptive and indolent; but I do not think that it is the case that a large proportion of them died because they would not work. I was in the Working Committee. I had no difficulty in getting those to work who could work. I think that the Executive Engineer has been deceived in the matter. The people said that on the public works they were required to work by contract and paid weekly on Saturday night; that they were too weak to keep soul and body together on the rates allowed, and could not subsist during the week till paid. I made inquiry at the time, and was convinced of the reasonableness of what they said. The mortality has chiefly fallen on the labouring classes. The old women and children have not, I think, suffered more than others; rather the contrary, I should say, because any man who had a little muscle upon him was refused food, although he was starving; that is, when the quantity of rice was limited. Work was given to the able-bodied, but people came in from the interior in a starving state, and before they could find work they often died. I think that a large proportion of the ryots also have died. The poorer died most, and the consumers of opium and gunja. The Ooryahs consume a great deal of such drugs. The larger ryots survived better than the smaller ones. As cultivators, I think that when the people have their own interests to serve, they work well. They have some local irrigation, and all understand it on a small scale, but I doubt if they will at once appreciate irrigation on a larger scale; it will require a few years to enable them to see its adaptation to their wants. I myself think that irrigation and roads would be of the greatest service. I think that the rice would be decidedly the better for irrigation, and that much untilled land might be brought into

Rev. A. Miller.

22 Jan. 1867.

into cultivation. At present I should judge that about a fifth of the land before cultivated has not been sown on account of the famine and decrease of population, and that some part of that which has been sown has not been weeded and cultivated to maturity.

The ryots must have kept enough rice for sowing; the sowing rice is usually, from the time of harvest, separated and kept distinct and sacred as it were. Many ryots who have survived by alms are now totally without agricultural means, and it will be very difficult to arrange the means of setting them up again. I do not think that the zemindars, as a rule, have any idea of any mode of improving their estates except by raising the rents as much as possible. They show considerable energy in resorting to tricks and schemes to effect that purpose. They bring in farmers and such like persons to take the lands in order to frighten the ryots to consent to higher rates. I had experience of that myself. A zemindar offered to rent me 300 beegahs, and in perfect innocence, I was on the point of accepting the offer, when I discovered that a body of ryots claimed the land and objected to be turned out, having their houses and homesteads there. Eventually the zemindar succeeded in getting them to agree to 4 annas a beegah increased rent, and they were glad to make the compromise. As to improving their lands by irrigation or roads, or anything of that kind, I do not think that it enters into the plans of the zemindars. Cotton grows well in this district, and sugar-cane also. They could be much increased by irrigation; oil-seeds the same; trebled they might be, I should say. I think that the rates mentioned, as demanded by the Irrigation Company, are unreasonable. I think that they would be inoperative, in fact, prohibitive; no one would pay them. They should be lower at first. After a time the rates might be worked up when people more appreciate the new mode of irrigation; the rates mentioned might probably be reached eventually. I wish to bear testimony to the zeal and earnestness of the Europeans of the station in doing all that they could do in this famine.

I believe that the Bhudruk centre was well managed, but that the Bustah one was badly managed after Mr. O'Flaherty left. I don't think that the relief ever reached the great mass of the people, but it did reach a great many and save a great many. Some people died at home rather than go to the relief centres.

No. 88.—Bengalee Rahmatoollah Khan, Zemindar.

[Examined at Balasore, 22nd January 1867].

Bengalee Rahmatoollah Khan.

22 Jan. 1867.

I have been in Government service 30 years, have heard of the famine of 1200, and believe that it might have been as severe as in the past year, but there was not so large a population in those days, and the suffering was not so great. I remember the cyclones in Mr. Ricketts' times when the country was inundated. Mr. Ricketts sent for rice, established houses of relief, and gave tuccavee advances to the zemindars, but the present calamity was much the most severe that ever occurred. About seven-sixteenths of the population have disappeared, especially the poorer labouring classes. Many ryots have died, and almost all have been reduced to poverty. Those zemindars, who had the power, assisted, and those who were in debt and difficulty couldn't. About three-fourths of the zemindars are in debt and difficulty. I believe the Ooryahs are inferior to other people of this country. Firstly, they are poor, which is the chief of their defects; they have no industry except agriculture. They are good agriculturists so far as their knowledge goes. They are not more fraudulent than Bengalees. The zemindars spend more than they receive, and they are improvident. The land is average land, but is subjected to injury both from too little and too much water. The last settlement was a fair one, and those who had the means of increasing their cultivation have profited; those who have not had the means have fared worse. What Government has done in the famine has been well done, but it should have been done earlier. The officials were new to the district. If Mr. Ricketts had been here I think more would have been done, and it would have been done earlier. I am not aware of any other failure in the arrangements except that the aid came too late. After the Government rice came it was sent everywhere to the people, but notwithstanding many continued to die, some from sickness, and others because they were too far gone. I and others did what we could to alleviate the distress. I think that about one-eighth of the actual morta ity was caused by the floods. In this district the great injury to crops was caused by draught, not by floods. This year people couldn't cultivate their lands, and a great deal has been left uncultivated; on what has been cultivated the crops have been good. In the present state of things people can't pay their revenue, and the Government must make some allowance for them, and the zemindars and ryots who have been ruined by the famine must have some tuccavee, and there must be Government go-downs to supply rice to those who have nothing at all. For the future the revenue must be settled with reference to the actual cultivation. Unless the bunds are repaired some of the zemindars won't be able to get on. Of late the Government bunds have fallen into disrepair, and now the zemindars who used to repair their bunds are unable to do so. Since the last settlement the zemindars may have got some little increase on the rent of the Pahee ryots, and some increase from increased cultivation, but what they may have gained is now all lost by the famine.

Rev. J. Phillips.

24 Jan. 1867.

No. 89.—Reverend J. Phillips.

[Examined at Jellasore, 24th January 1867].

It is 31 years since I first resided in Orissa; but I was away about 10 years and returned in 1865. During the famine I was at Santipoor and Jellasore. I noticed the crops hereabouts in the end of 1865. There was a partial failure, but at the time I should not have supposed that more than half the crop had failed; when it came to be threshed out I judge that it proved to be somewhat less, much grain not being filled. I believe that among the Sonthals the crop was not very much less, but they are a good deal oppressed, and have small cultivations, and suffered more than the Hindoos. About the end of February and beginning of March, the Sonthals and other poor people were driven to great straights in regard to food, and were going about collecting roots and such like. I had then serious apprehension of extensive famine. By the 1st of April the distress was very severe; we were then pressed by the poor who were about us, but there were then very few deaths from starvation, though in April the people began to look very much emaciated. I addressed an appeal on the subject of the distress to the "Friend of India." I think my letter was written about the 7th April. I had no connection with Mr. Sykes in regard to his appeal, but he afterwards communicated with me regarding the expenditure of the funds received by him. I received from him in all 1,820 rupees. In May and June the famine became very severe. Those were the months in which there was most suffering for want of adequate aid. I was at Balasore on the 1st June, and the famine scenes there were terrific. I am not sure that the distress was less in this part of the country; I should rather think that it was equal, but there had not been the same public aid to draw the sufferers together. As soon as I opened a regular relief centre the people flocked in great numbers. In June I received some money from Mr. Muspratt for relief, and opened centres at Santipoor and Jellasore, but I received no grain till, I think, about the middle of July. I distributed the money I got. I believe that the recipients were able to buy at exorbitant prices, but I think that grain was never quite so dear here as at Balasore. I recollect one trader bringing grain from the north or east, but there was very little. I think that the famine was most severe in July and August. Little suffering in these parts was due to floods, it was almost entirely due to the drought of the previous year. But the heavy rains in August caused a great mortality among the people, who were then in a very reduced state and badly sheltered. Throughout the famine my supplies of grain at Santipoor were very small; it was difficult to transport it across country, and it appeared to me that the relief committee at Balasore expected to have more grain than they really were able to supply. I sent down bullocks, which were kept several weeks waiting for the grain to be landed. I believe that the Jellasore centre, while Mr. Brooks was there, was more regularly supplied. I think that if grain had been better supplied the suffering would have been much less, and what came, came too late. After the new crop had begun to come in, and the prices to come down, we then got a good supply; old grain was sent to us by way of Midnapore, and a portion of it is still in store. I doubt whether the relief touched the larger proportion of the starving people. I think it was principally confined to those living near the centres. But many Sonthals came in and remained with us through the season; we were not denied supplies, but the delays and difficulties in getting supplies were so great that we were compelled to give applicants a very insufficient supply of food. Mr. Brooks was an honest, industrious, kind-hearted man, but in his dotage and in continual ill-health; he was, in fact, physically unfitted for such duty. We were not stinted for funds, but it was difficult to get them. The question of providing shelter was not thought of soon enough, and shelter was not provided on a sufficiently extensive scale, when we did undertake it. Some sheds were erected, and I do not think that the people had any prejudice against using the sheds that I know. I could have done a great deal more, if, in the months of May, June, and July, I could have had the assurance of a continuance of supply; but as neither Mr. Sykes nor Mr. Muspratt could guarantee the continuance of large funds, I was obliged to economise. In September and October, we had supplies of money in abundance; there was then no want of money. The early crop in this part of the country is very small, and affected our prices very little—less than at Balasore; prices here were later of recovering.

In September and October the suffering was still great. I distributed money then more liberally, but did not buy grain except for the orphan children. I gave as high as four pice (one anna) per diem to adults. In November things improved. I have no sufficient data to estimate the degree of mortality, but it has been very great. Most of the mortality was among those who came in from some distance. The mortality has been principally amongst the labouring classes. There was no work available on the spot in the early part of the famine. A few people went to Midnapore to the irrigation works, but generally returned dissatisfied, and said that by the time the pay reached them, it would not fill their bellies. The people have great objections to leave their homes for work, they are very ready to take it near their homes. Near us many of the people are very laborious. The better classes of ryots have generally pulled through I think. From all inquiries that I have made, I cannot learn that the zemindars have in any instance come forward to assist their ryots, nor have they remitted rents; on the contrary, I am told that they are this year trying to collect the balance of last year, the crops here being good. One man did, I believe, subscribe 100 rupees to the relief fund, and one trader of the bazaar near Jellasore fed the starving to some extent. The people here have no artificial irrigation to any considerable

extent

Rev. J. Phillips.

24 Jan. 1867.

extent. During the famine, I undertook relief works to supply irrigation. I think the people would readily avail themselves of irrigation. I hope by my works (damming a stream) to secure eight or ten villages from famine. I think that the soil is splendid, fit for sugar-cane, cotton, tobacco, date, &c. The zemindars are so narrow-minded that they will not undertake any efficient works of irrigation. The jute here is decidedly good, and the cotton, I should say, superior. I have seen also very superior specimens of foreign cotton grown here. Sugar cultivation might be carried on very extensively. The largest zemindar about here is an absentee, a resident of Calcutta. My impression is that the results of the famine are not yet over, and local works are very desirable, as many families are reduced to destitution, all their property being exhausted, and their prejudices are still such that they will not leave their homes for work. Although the harvest has been good, it is being rapidly exported generally to the south, and prices are rising again. The Ooryahs are a very perverse and deceptive people, and difficult to deal with.

No. 90.—Mr. W. J. Herschell, c. s., Magistrate and Collector of *Midnapore*.

[Examined at Midnapore, 25th January 1867.]

Mr. W. J. Herschel, C.S.

25 Jan. 1867.

I have been in this district since January 1865. In the Hidgellee and Tumlook parts of the district, very much of the crop of 1864 was destroyed by the cyclone. There is very little cold weather crop in that part of the country, and no early rice crop as a rule. There is only one heavy crop. In the central part of the district, the early rice is about one-sixteenth of the whole, and the cold weather grain less than that. In the Jungle Mehals, the early rice is more considerable, say one-fourth of the whole rice cultivation, and Indian corn and other grains of the rainy season are grown to some small extent. Cold weather cereals are also there grown to a small extent more than elsewhere in the district. In the part of the district not affected by the cyclone inundations, the crops of 1864 were a fair average. The early crop of 1865 was, I believe, a failure; but I am not at this moment prepared to say exactly why. I estimate the main crop of 1865 to have been about half a crop for the whole district; in the Jungle Mehals I should say about six-sixteenths, in Hidgellee better. In the Jungle Mehals the cold weather crops completely failed. In the latter part of 1865, I reported the existence of distress in Tumlook. When the new crop came in, things were better. But in January and February, crime broke out violently in the Jungle Mehals. I had reason to believe it to be connected with the failure of the crop. No general report on the state of the district was then made; but special reports of violent crimes were made, as they occurred both to the Deputy Inspector General of Police and to the Commissioner through me. A large proportion of the violent crime had for its object the plunder of grain. The extent of crime attracted the attention of Government, who directed the Commissioner to come over and report on the subject. The Commissioner came about the early part of April, and was in personal communication with me and with the police officers. I then expressed to him the opinion that the crime was caused by hunger, and he was well aware of the fact. I did not press on the Commissioner any measures as in my opinion desirable. In the end of 1865 I had realised some subscriptions, about 1,800 rupees, which had not been expended. I did not, when the Commissioner was here, think extraordinary measures of relief necessary, nor did I even up to that time think it necessary to expend the local subscriptions which had been realised. I did not think that the hunger which prompted crime, had reached to that degree that interference in the way of charity was necessary. I fully expected that it would be eventually necessary to interfere; but I had all along made up my mind not to move till the market fell to 8 seers per rupee, and I had expressed this opinion to my subordinates. My reason was, that the market had fallen to 8 seers before the harvest without any deaths occurring in consequence. I soon after had reason to change my mind; when I wrote my report of 25th April, I had not changed my mind.

Q. You then reported great alarm in the minds of the people; did you think that this alarm was not well founded?—*A.* I thought it was well founded; but I did not think that there was then existing such distress as to call for measures of relief.

Q. You further reported, "the old and infirm are beginning to die from insufficient food," did you not think that such a state of things called for measures of relief?—*A.* No, I did not. The only instance of approach to famine which I had seen, was at Tumlock in the previous October, when I was followed by crowds of hungry people. I then thought relief necessary, but the famine passed off without material injury. When I was at Dantoon, there were no such signs of general distress, and the mere fact that the old and the weak were dying, did not seem to me to call for interference from the Government officials. My impression then was, that the dry weather was the worst part of the year for the poorer classes, and that with the rains, relief came. I therefore thought that April and May would be the worst months, and that things would then improve.

Q. Did you communicate the opinion expressed in your present answer in any shape to Government, and had you any demi-official correspondence about it?—*A.* No, I did not; and I do not remember to have had any demi-official correspondence on the subject.

Mr. W. J. Herschel, C.S.

25 Jan. 1867.

I intended to go on a tour in the Jungle Mehals, but Mr. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, recommended me to go to Bareepoda, the chief town of Mohurbhunj, for consultation with respect to the deportation of one of our subjects. I went out by dawk to Bareepoda, stopping one day at Gopeebullubpoor. On my route, I did not notice excessive distress in this district. This was about the 15th May. The Mohurbhunj country through which I passed is not mountainous; it is of the same character as our Jungle Mehals, but somewhat more undulating, and much less cultivated. In the Mohurbhunj country, I noticed very great distress; to judge by the appearance of the people, I should think that many must have died. The Rajah seemed to be doing nothing at all for them. Mr. Ravenshaw was feeding some 400 starving people, and it was the sight of the Mohurbhunj people that first put the idea of the necessity of relief into my head. I had conversation with Mr. Ravenshaw regarding the Orissa famine. He read me extracts of some of his reports to Government. One of them gave a very bad account, particularly describing a scene of famine. I do not know that I had any consultation with Mr. Ravenshaw as to the measures proper to be taken in case of famine. I do not remember what relief he had asked of Government, nor that we talked of the duty of the Government under such circumstances. I came to the conclusion myself that if such a state of things occurred in my district, it would be necessary to move. On my return journey, I inquired more particularly. I called together the poor people at Gopeebullubpoor, and distributed rice. I was surprised to find how many people came at the call. I only stopped at the place from morning till evening, and in that time 250 persons were assembled, who bore on their persons the marks of starvation. I do not remember that any one had previously reported to me the extent of the distress; in fact, I am certain that no one had. As soon as I returned, I opened relief operations, and soon after, I both reported fully on the subject, and had a meeting for the purpose (on the 28th May) of organising a regular system of relief. I returned on the 19th, a Saturday, and on the Monday I reported, in a note on the weekly price current sent to the Board, that deaths from starvation had occurred. My full report was dated the 26th. On the 25th May, I received an official letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, bearing on the top the name of Mr. Schalch, and dated Calcutta, the 23rd May, in which 5,000 rupees were assigned to me for relief operations. The day before, I had received a demi-official letter from Mr. Grote, which was cancelled by the Secretary's letter, and I tore it up. The purport of it was to inquire whether my report of the deaths having occurred referred to a greater number of deaths than in ordinary years, and asking me to explain this point. There was, however, nothing in it affecting my action which it was necessary to cancel. I received a telegram of the same date also from the Board to the same effect as the official letter; but in consequence of interruption to communication, it did not arrive until after the letter.

From that time I carried on regular relief operations. We distributed raw rice at several centres, I think four at first. I turned my attention principally to the Jungle Mehals. Within three weeks I think we had nine centres opened. At that time I think there was difficulty in getting rice, at least some of the local committees experienced difficulty. At Midnapore, we could buy rice. Eventually, however, all the committee suceeeded in getting rice at that time. I think that in the month of June, I applied for an additional 5,000 rupees, and I hoped that that would suffice to meet our wants. I do not remember that I ever said that I was "sanguine" on the subject. On the 20th June, I had sent out Mr. Mann to report especially on the distressed pergunnahs, particularly Dantoon. Early in July, his first report came in, and I was then more seriously alarmed. I thought that we should want more money, and I also found that there was an actual difficulty in procuring rice in the Jungle Mehals. We had a special meeting of the relief committee to consider the subject. The result was that we asked the Government to place Dantoon and the Jungle Mehals under Mr. McNeile. We also asked the Board of Revenue to import 4,000 maunds by land from Calcutta for our use. I remarked that that would be only a first instalment. Throughout the rains the land route from Calcutta is practicable, but from Naraingurh southwards to Dantoon, the road is impracticable for heavy traffic, at that season. The Board declined to import the rice on the ground that the import trade would be interfered with. Private funds were not very large; but we were using our funds, both private and public, in the purchase of rice in Calcutta and getting it up. My object in applying to the Board was that the grain might be sold at ordinary market rates, as in Orissa. Government did not import rice throughout the famine for sale at cost price. We had not much difficulty in making our own arrangements for importing rice for relief purposes. In this district, Hidgellee apart, there is no class of enterprising traders; travelling traders come and buy up the grain; the resident traders do scarcely anything beyond their own villages. Local traders store up grain for the benefit of the ryots, to whom they are in the habit of making advances. Zemindars also are in the habit of hoarding up grain. More or less we managed to supply Dantoon, Keshearee, Nyagaon, and Rohinee by sending rice in carts to Naraingurh, and thence on bullocks. In July we applied for much larger funds, and early in August, I sent up a still larger estimate, desiring them to establish charitable sales in lieu of my former propositions, which had been disallowed. Up to that time we had only distributed rice gratis. Till the 5th September the rice given at Midnapore was always raw. Until the 17th July only four chittacks or ½ lb. was given to an adult; all the centres were authorised to give this quantity, but one of them, a very small centre, gave only half the quantity. It was a debated point whether this was enough; the civil surgeon thought not, but the majority thought it was. Afterwards it was raised to

six

six chittacks of rice without *dhal*, and to that we adhered until close to the end of the operations, when we authorised 10 chittacks to be given. On the 11th August we had 23 centres open. On the whole, we managed to keep the Jungle Mehals supplied with rice; there were only two centres that at any time actually ran out of it. I think that even when we had all the centres in operation, the relief did not reach half the starving population: the centres might with advantage have been doubled. We found out only by trial that the number of centres was insufficient to do all that we desired. We had great difficulty in finding trustworthy agency for additional centres. We have very little education in this district, and have not such good agency as might have been got in any of the Nuddea districts. But after my experience, I should not now hesitate to trust more largely to local committees for simple purposes of relief. As a rule they did very well, and I think that our difficulties about agency have been somewhat over-estimated. If at first we had frankly thrown ourselves upon the people, I think there would have been little difficulty; we should have found ample assistance. The official establishment was sufficient, as far as I knew, at the time. I should have sent out another officer, if I had known how much he was required. The transport of rice was entirely in the hands of the police; they worked well, and their numbers were sufficient. In the distressed parts of the district there was no considerable aid afforded by the Public Works Department's ordinary operations. Relief works were undertaken in June in the severely and intensely distressed parts; they were effective as far as they went, but the result was small. The works executed by the Public Works Department from their special grant of 30,000 rupees were along the Trunk-road, with one small exception; people did not resort to these works in any large numbers. There was a want of proper supervising agency. The works were selected by Major Swayne and myself at a special meeting, to which I called three natives. In September a sum of 7,400 rupees was divested from the public works grant, and placed in my hands for construction of jungle roads; this was because the money was not being spent on the works near the Trunk-road. Payment was made for daily labour, and the only reason that I could find why people did not go to the works in larger numbers was that the overseers rejected those who could not do a full day's work. I did not press that point on Major Swayne until July; we then measured the work on a certain tank that was in progress to ascertain what rates we should give for piece-work. The alternative was, whether we should raise the rate of daily wages, irrespective of the quantity of work done, in order to attract labourers to the work, or whether we should give a remunerative rate of piece-work. We both thought that it was best to give out piece-work, and not to raise the rate of daily payments, which might be afterwards quoted as a precedent all over the district. I am satisfied that it would not have done to try to get over the difficulty by allowing the ordinary rate of wages to be paid for a very insufficient amount of labour; a system of that kind would require very careful supervision and the exercise of discretion, such as we could not expect from native overseers. We afterwards tried the plan of paying the ordinary rate of wages, and selling rice to the labourers at cheap prices; that plan succeeded well. Up to May, there was nothing in the way of relief, except what was afforded by the local district funds, the ordinary works of the Public Works Department, and the Canal Company's works. These latter were all in the eastern part of the district, which was but slightly affected by the famine.

On the public works women came much more than men, and in the ordinary mode of working women can only work in a certain proportion to the men. Consequently, women were rejected to a considerable extent.

The only special arrangement made was that in laying out the local district roads, I gave as much simple earth-work as possible. I think that if the special relief works had been undertaken earlier, more good would have been done. When the famine had thoroughly set in, those who came to distribution compounds were not fit for labour.

When first I began the jungle roads, I ordered the overseers to allow each person to do so much work as he could, and to pay a full day's wages to each; besides this, I subsequently allowed the labourers to purchase rice at low rates. Until I did so, the overseers very unwillingly paid a day's wages for less than a day's work. When the boon of getting rice at low rates was given to the labourers, the effect was to impress on the overseers that our principal object was practical charity, and then the overseers carried out our views more willingly.

The light labour, which was performed under the superintendence of the relief committee in the district, was almost nominal. The only piece of real work done was in the station. Notwithstanding the instructions of Mr. Commissioner Jenkins to insist on labour from all who could do it, the heart of the relief committees was not in the measure.

The only shelter provided was in the station, where we had six rest-houses, and at Dantoon, late in the season. There are, however, plenty of trees, under which the people lived. Of the six rest-houses, the paupers only used four. I do not know that shelter was provided near the public works.

Shops were opened in some 16 places about the district for sales at low rates, but they met with no great success. The first three were opened on the 27th August, which was too late; the Aoos crop came in soon after, and in the course of September all our shops, except two, and the three shops for the Public Works Department labourers, were closed. We sold altogether about 7,100 rupees worth of rice, principally at 10 seers per rupee. In that work it was that the local committees broke down. They were very unwilling to take the responsibility of selecting the persons to whom the tickets for cheap rice should be given.

Prices became much easier towards the end of September, and somewhat later, in the

Mr. W. J. Herschel, C.S.

25 Jan. 1867.

southern part of the district. I attribute this entirely to the harvesting of the Aoos crop. There was no private importation into the district in September or October, and indeed earlier, but it did not go west of Midnapore. When the Government refused to import, the central committee tried to encourage trade into the Jungle Mehals; they published price lists, and I spoke to mahajuns, offering police escorts; but after a fortnight's trial, in spite of their promises, I found that they had done nothing except one solitary despatch of 100 maunds. They then declared that they could not do it, that it was not in their line.

In the town of Midnapore the test for admission to the benefits of the relief committee's operations was inability to do a fair day's work. Any person able to do a smaller amount of work only was employed on light labour under the labour committee, and in return for such labour received his food or his day's wages, as the case might be. In October the Board of Revenue sent us a cargo of rice from Rangoon, by the "Feroze," for the use of this district. It came from Diamond Harbour, *viâ* Koila Ghaut. Very little of it was used; it came too late. The rice had been ordered on my estimates of August, when I expected that it would be necessary to continue relief operations much longer than was actually found necessary. We also got some Government rice for the south of the district out of the ship "Tubal Cain."

The mortality was heaviest in July, August, and September. I have put in the best estimates I can frame of its extent during the famine. The people came in to the centres in such a state that many of them could not be recovered. I estimate that in the mofussil centres about half who came to the centres died. In Midnapore town and for 10 miles round, the proportion of deaths was much less. There was a large mortality among those who did not come to the centres.

Almost the whole of this district, except Hidgellee, is permanently settled. I did not see that the fact of any particular tract being permanently settled gave it any advantage over tracts which were not permanently settled. As a matter of fact, the greatest suffering was in the permanently settled parts; but I attribute this entirely to the crops.

I think the natives, as a body, did not show the slightest desire to relieve, until officially pressed to do so; there were, of course, exceptions. A good many zemindars, several of the residents of the town, and in one instance a chowkeedar, relieved many spontaneously at their own expense.

I believe there was no mortality whatever among the superior class of ryots. On one occasion I took a classified census of about 3,000 persons who were being relieved in Midnapore, and out of the whole number there were only two or three who had any land.

The planters of this district are all assistants of Messrs. Watson & Co. Mr. Terry, the representative of Messrs. Watson & Co., employed a good deal of labour, which he would not otherwise have employed, in order to give relief. I know of no other large measure of relief being given by the assistants in charge of factories in the interior. Mr. Terry himself subscribed liberally. His assistants gave great help in managing the centres and administering the funds of the Committee.

The Rajah of Mysadal gave some relief to the poor in October 1865, and got credit for it in my reports; but he stopped as soon as the Deputy Collector's back was turned. This year there has been no occasion for him to do anything in his part of the country. I wish to state that relief commenced in this district as soon as it was certainly known that deaths from starvation were occurring. Up to the time when I visited the Jungle Mehals in May, no one had brought to my notice that deaths were increasing abnormally. The expression in my letter of the 25th April that the old and infirm were beginning to die was an English rendering of the vague and general statements of the natives. I have still no reason whatever to suppose that 500 people had died of want of food in the district before the 24th of May when relief operations began. There was one instance of charitable relief commenced before this. Mr. and Mrs. Grant opened an asylum by public subscriptions in March during my absence in the ofMussil. On my return I inspected it, and from that drew the conclusion that the distress in the district could not be very severe. I don't think that any native had commenced any charity. When public relief commenced, prices were not below 8½ rupees Calcutta seers anywhere in the district; and when we closed relief sales, they were at 10 seers. They have since been up to 32 seers in the Mofussil. Since the crops came in, this has been the cheapest district in Bengal. A very excellent crop has caused things to be very much better than we had previously anticipated. I think that no extraordinary measures are now required.

[Continued, 28th January].

A number of ryots from Jambornee (Messrs. Watson's estate) came to me in a body, about the middle of September, to complain that they had been forced to subscribe for the sufferers by the famine. Each gave an identical petition to say that Hemchunder had forced them, set the police at them, and threatened to tie them to the legs of an elephant. They asked to have the money refunded. These men had all paid up one month's subscription early in July, and not a breath of complaint had then reached me against Hemchunder, though he had raised such subscriptions at many places before. They had paid a second time in August in accordance with promise and without complaint. It was not till after a sharp correspondence between Mr. Sheffield and the committee on the subject of his preventing subscriptions, that these men came in a body a full month after paying their second

second monthly subscriptions. I appealed to the men themselves whether they really expected me to act on such petitions, and whether they really claimed their money back. They one and all made their salaams and walked away.

Mr. W J. Heirschel, C.S.

I wish to state that the Brohmo Somaj branch at Midnapore fed from 100 to 120 persons for many weeks. It is the one instance in this district, during the famine, of charity privately organised on a considerable scale. Mr. Terry also sold a considerable quantity of rice at 12 seers to all comers.

28 Jan. 1867.

No. 91.—Major J. D. Swayne, Executive Engineer, *Midnapore* Division.

[Examined at Midnapore, 26th January 1867.]

Major J. D. Swayne.

I came to this division in February 1860, and was present here throughout the years 1865 and 1866. My charge comprises the following works—the Imperial line of road from Midnapore towards Raneegunge, 36 miles, completed before the famine commenced; the Trunk-road from Midnapore towards Cuttack as far as the Soobunreeka River, 49½ miles; the Imperial road from Midnapore towards Calcutta as far as Panchkoora Ghât on the Cossye, 25 miles, also finished some years ago; the embankments on the Cossye and Kullinghye Rivers, called the Culunjole and Midnapore zemindaree embankments; and public buildings in the station of Midnapore. My present chief work consists in remodelling and metalling the imperial line of road towards Cuttack. On this line all the heavy earthwork and bridges had been completed previously to 1865, but during 1865–66 metalling and sectioning were continuously in progress. No special relief works in connection with the famine were undertaken until early in May. While out in the district, I received a telegram, dated 30th April 1866, instructing me to put in hand a large tank required for the central prison, which it was contemplated to build at Midnapore. I had the necessary levels taken, and the site was selected in conjunction with the magistrate and civil surgeon. Excavation commenced on the 17th May, and it was publicly intimated that any one in want of work might obtain it on the tank in question. On the 4th June I received an order from the superintending engineer, Cuttack circle (No. 2498, dated 30th May), to the effect that the Government of Bengal had allotted 30,000 rupees to my division for works on which the distressed population might be employed. I was directed to decide, in communication with the Collector of the district, what works could be advantageously undertaken. The superintending engineer suggested excavation of tanks and improvement of local roads. I was informed that the cost of excavating the central prison tank was to be defrayed from this grant. The Collector convened a meeting of zemindars to ascertain what works would be of the greatest benefit to the community, and would at the same time afford the greatest measure of relief. At that meeting it was resolved to excavate the following tanks: at the village of Samla, about four miles south of Dantoon, on the Cuttack road; at the village of Doyjooree, about 16 miles west of Midnapore; at the village of Satbancoorah, 20 miles north of Midnapore, on the Raneegunge road, and at the village of Gurbetta, 10 miles further up the same road. On these, and the central prison tank, as well as a few minor works in the station of Midnapore, from the 17th May to the end of November, about 484* men and women were daily employed. At first I used to employ daily labour payments, viz., 2½ annas for men, 2 annas for women, and 1½ annas for children; but this plan was found to give so little work for the expenditure incurred that, to avoid excessive rates, I resorted to task-work. The rates were proportioned to the stiffness of the soil. As the excavations proceeded, the difficulty of digging increased, and I have given as high as *Rs.* 7. 8. per 1,000 cubic feet. Even this rate will be increased at greater depths. I estimate that the rates throughout enabled an able-bodied labourer to earn from 3 to 3½ annas per diem, and women about 1½ annas each. The average rate at which rice sold between May and November was 7 seers the rupee, which, taking the average amount earned by men and women together at 2 annas each per diem, gave nearly one seer of rice per head daily. I never paid my workpeople in any other way than in cash, but at each place where work was in progress, the Collector had a depôt of rice, from which the labourers were supplied. When the rains set in, the excavated portions of the tanks filled with water, and the labourers could no longer dig; but as far as possible they were employed in working and dressing the banks.

26 Jan. 1867.

Out of the above grant of 30,000 rupees I then made over to the Collector 7,400 rupees for the purpose of constructing certain jungle roads, the expenditure on which was kept in his hands.

No other relief works were carried on under my orders. I consider that if the relief works had been commenced earlier in the season, they would have done much more good; as it was, the people who applied for work were frequently so weak and emaciated that they were not fit for labour. After I commenced work on the central prison tank, the applications from women became much in excess of those from men, and as the women could not dig, and I required not more than two women to each man, I was obliged to refuse the women

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* From 17th to 31st May - - 7,235
In June - - - - 10,736
„ July - - - - - 14,157
„ August - - - - 16,852
In September - - - - 16,525
„ October - - - - 13,262
„ November - - - - 3,474

Major J. D. Swayne. 26 Jan. 1867.

women who were in excess. At first I got men in larger numbers; but as soon as agricultural operations commenced, many of the men went off, leaving the women. There was, however, some employment for women under Mr. Verner, assistant magistrate. When the contract system was adopted, people often worked in families, men and women together; but women who had no men belonging to them, probably had difficulty in obtaining employment. It was only at the commencement of agricultural operations that the number of women seeking work was in excess of the men. I did not observe this to be the case later in the season.

No. 92.—Juggunnauth Doss, Paharaj.

[Examined at Midnapore, 28th January 1867.]

Juggunnauth Doss. 28 Jan. 1867.

I reside at Belyabera, 24 miles west of Midnapore. I hold an estate paying 800 rupees to Government in that neighbourhood. Although it was evident that the Amun crop of 1865 would fail, there were no deaths from starvation, nor was there much suffering before that crop was cut; the Aoos crop of 1865 in my estate was a full crop; the Amun crop was one-third only of a full crop. In December and January, the poorest people supported themselves by gleaning the ears of rice which had been bitten off by the insects which had attacked the crop; these ears remained in the fields after the ryots had carried away the crop. In February and March, the poor subsisted on what they had gleaned and stored and on the cold weather crops. It was not till April that distress began to be felt. In ordinary years the poorer people begin to obtain their food from the mahajuns in April, and rely on them for support till August, when the early crop comes in. In 1866 the mahajuns had very little in store, and therefore could only supply the people scantily.

Their stores were very low, because, in consequence of the failure of the crop of 1865, the loans of rice which they had made in anticipation of being repaid with interest out of the crop of 1865, were not repaid to them. In February I began to dig two tanks in my estate, and to repair six embankments; 1,500 or 2,000 men were thus employed each day till April, when they found occupation in agricultural operations. At that time no one was dying in my estate; but in Mohurbhunj, on which my lands abut, deaths from starvation began in April. In May a centre of relief was opened at Gopeebullubpore, four miles from my house. A committee was appointed, and they gave out raw rice; some time afterwards they gave cooked rice. About Gopeebullubpore people had died of starvation in April; notwithstanding the distribution of rice, they died in numbers till August. The people died to an unusual degree from cholera; they were so reduced by want of food that they succumbed to the slightest attack. Many people died of mere starvation. The Gopeebullubpore committee had at first to buy rice in the local market; it was very difficult to procure, not only on account of the scarcity of the crop, but because in January, February, and March, the houses and stores of rice merchants had been plundered and burnt down. The dacoits used to carry off the rice if they could, but if opposed would set fire to the granaries.

In consequence of the scarcity of rice, the Gopeebullubpore committee could get but little rice, and therefore could give but little to each; they gave six chittacks to an adult and three to a child. Some days the rice was very short, and then all those who were deserving objects of charity could not be supplied. I did not hear that distribution was altogether stopped on any day. In July the Gopeebullubpore committee were supplied with rice from Midnapore. Then the committee gave six chittacks of rice cooked; from that time there was no want of rice; all deserving objects received it. After that time the people did not die of starvation, but they still died in numbers from bowel complaint, caused by eating after being so long starved.

Mohapul is in my estate; it is four miles from my house, and four miles from Gopeebullubpore. The relief centre there was not established till the month of Bhador. Up to that time the poor used to go to Gopeebullubpore, or used to take food at my house when I was distributing cooked food. The people about Mohapul never died of starvation; but many died from illness. At the Mohapul centre about 200 people were fed. There was no confusion. There was a committee, of which I was the president. Six chittacks of old rice were given cooked; that was enough to support life; but when the new rice came in, the paupers used to get some by begging, and this made them ill in their then state, and caused them to die. We fed only those who were evidently not in a condition to earn their living by labour. No work was carried on by Government within 24 miles of my estate till the month of September; then some roads were started, but the people did not resort to them in great numbers, for they found employment in the harvesting of the Aoos crop. Good would have been done, if employment had been provided for the people in January, February, March, and April, because in those months there was no demand for labour in the fields; but I believe that from May the people found as much employment as they required. No light labour was started at the Mohapul centre. The centre was closed in November. By that time the new Amun crop was coming in, and as the Aoos crop had been very good, distress had ceased. There was no emigration from my estate, but many emigrated with their families from the country round about. My estate has a population of about 6,000; of these about 350 are known to have died during the famine; besides this, about 50 families have emigrated, and I do not know what their fate has been. Rice ought to have been imported and distributed at the end of March or beginning of April, then much of the mortality would have been prevented. The famine was much worse in the territories of the Rajah of Mohurbhunj than in the Midnapore district.

No. 93.—Baboo Nobeen Chunder Nag.

[Examined at Midnapore, 26th January 1867.]

Baboo Nobeen Chunder Nag.

26 Jan. 1867.

I reside at Churuka, eight miles east of Midnapore. I hold estates, paying about 10,000 rupees to Government, situated in the east and south of the Midnapore district. In 1865 the Aoos crop was full. The Amun crop of 1866 was about one-eighth of an average crop. The stores in the hands of the mahajuns were not replenished, as usual, by repayments from the crop of 1865 of the rice which they had lent; thus the stock in the district was very small in February and March, as compared with the corresponding period of other years. In the country about my residence, the labouring class began to suffer from want of food in April; in that month a few died of hunger; the mortality was at its height in August. No centres of relief were established in any of my estates. To my residence, Midnapore was the nearer centre. I doubt whether six chittacks is sufficient to support life; 16 chittacks is the ordinary allowance for a man. Of course the distributions did good and saved lives, but they were on a very insufficient scale. There should have been many more centres opened, and the relief should have commenced in April. The daily labourers were not the only class who suffered excessively from the famine; artizans and the class of ryots who had no other cultivation than rice also suffered much. Those who grew mulberry and who reared silk-worms did not suffer; they were very well off. Those who grew sugarcane did not suffer so severely as those who only grew rice. I have filed a statement of mortality in my estates, but cannot now say how much it was. The Deputy Collector, Hemchunder Kur, went about parts of the district collecting subscriptions from the ryots, but not in my estates. One of my tenants, by name Ramdhun Rai, who is well off, has a house in the Jungle Mehals to the west of the district. I asked him to subscribe a rupee; he said that he could not do so, as Baboo Hemchunder had forced his brother to subscribe 80 or 100 rupees in the Jungle Mehals. He was dissatisfied, and talked of giving a petition to the authorities on the subject. I advised him to speak to Hemchunder on the subject, instead of giving a petition. I do not know what he did.

From what I have heard, I am of opinion that many of the subscriptions were not given voluntarily. Some pressure was put upon the ryots to subscribe. The police, as well as the servants of the Rajah of Kullianpore, who is a landowner in the Jungle Mehals, assisted in the matter of raising the subscriptions. I did not hear of any specific instance of oppression except that mentioned by Ramdhun. I did not attend particularly to his story; but he said that they had threatened to place one of his family in confinement if he did not subscribe properly. I have no doubt that there was a good deal of undue pressure put on the ryots in the matter of these subscriptions.

No. 94.—Mr. F. Adams, District Superintendent of Police, Midnapore.

[Examined at Midnapore, 26th January 1867.]

Mr. F. Adams.

26 Jan. 1867.

I have been in this district since July 1863. Last cold season I was on leave for a part of the time, and did not then see very much of the country. In April and May I was out in the Jungle Mehals, from Gurbetah to Gopeebullubpore. In April the people were distressed; there were many beggars, but I don't think actual famine. The people said it was hard to get rice, complained of exports, and wanted to have a fixed price; but they said that people were not actually dying of starvation. Even the beggars did not appear to be starving; most of the women and children were in tolerably good condition. In May things were worse; but I don't think that what can properly be called the famine commenced till June. In May things were worse at Gopeebullubpore than anywhere else that I had seen. That was when Mr. Herschel returned from Mohurbhunj. I met him there. I was not out in the district in the worst famine months; I was employed in managing the transport operations. Rice was principally sent out on pack bullocks; we succeeded in getting it out with very little failure. In the Jungle Mehals I think that there has been a very great mortality. In Dantoon, from its appearance since the famine, I doubt whether any very large proportion of the resident population have died. I should say that most of the deaths there were people from beyond the subdivision itself.

In Midnapore I think the labour given was useful so far as it went, but it did not seem to be on a very extensive scale.

I feel certain that it is not possible to estimate, with the least approach to certainty, the mortality in the district.

Excessive crime burst out in the district in January. When I returned on the 27th January the office was swamped with cases. This went on steadily for several months. The Jungle Mehals was the part chiefly affected. It was not till much later that there was serious crime in other parts. The tracks where we generally look for most crime—down on the Tumlook side—were in that season almost free from it. That was because the people down there had good crops and high prices. I attributed the crime in the Jungle Mehals purely to want; it was principally plunder of grain. On the 1st February 1866, I represented the state of the district, and said that more police would be necessary; I explained that all the dacoities were grain dacoities. The Deputy Inspector General, Major Gordon, had been down to Pooree, and came up this way in March. I told him the state of things, and he has always copies of all our dacoity reports. He did not adopt any very special

Mr. F. Adams.

26 Jan. 1867.

measures except increase of gaol guards; but he was with me, knew all that I had done, and probably approved of it. I had patrols and other arrangements. He afterwards, in April, called for a return showing how rice was selling in 1865 and 1866, and was in constant correspondence with me about extra police, &c. The Inspector General did not come here at any time before or during the famine. In fact, since I have been in the district, since July 1863, the Inspector General has never visited it up to this time, and I don't think that any Inspector General ever was here before my time.* I believe that the Inspector General was in the hills in the hot weather of 1866. I do not remember that he made any special inquiries regarding the state of the district before he went to the hills last year. The Deputy Inspector General of this Circle has his head-quarters at Barrackpore.

No. 95.—Rev. O. R. Batchelor, American Mission, Midnapore.

[Examined, 22nd January 1866.]

Rev. O. R. Batchelor.

22 Jan. 1866.

I have been located here four years, and was previously 12 years in Balasore. I find the Bengalees more intelligent and less prejudiced than the Ooryahs. I don't think that there is much difference in point of industry; if anything the Bengalees have the advantage, they have more enterprise. In principle I don't think there is much difference, but the Bengalees are more proficient in dishonesty. The Ooryahs have more obstinate adherence to their own ways. As cultivators and mechanics, they are both tolerably industrious. Among the higher classes, the Bengalees are decidedly in advance; but in this district, during the famine, I don't think that the zemindars have done much in proportion to their means; it has been matter of general complaint that they have done so little. But the complaint has chiefly been as to what they have done publicly; I can't say what they may have done privately. I should say that a good deal has been done by Baboos and others in the town; but this is not in the character of zemindars that I am aware of. In the permanently settled parts of the district, it seems to me that the rents of the ryots are heavier than in Orissa; that they are more heavily taxed.

I was about the district last cold weather. In the north I think that there was a three-fourth crop; in the west less than a half. This last is the Sonthal country. The Sonthals have suffered much. They are usually oppressed, being practically the slaves of the mahajuns and zemindars, and I believe they have none of the superior rights in the soil, but they generally cultivate on their own account, and sell wood, &c. They are in their way independent, but are generally in debt. They are more ignorant than other natives, and more at the mercy of owners.

There was a good deal of suffering, in one sense, in the cold season; but I think it was not till April that there was serious starvation, and I do not think that there was very serious starvation before relief operations commenced, say before June. Some may have died of starvation, but not many. A good many were no doubt emaciated and much reduced. The worst months were July and August. By the middle of September there was very general relief afforded. Before that I don't think that the relief reached the masses throughout the district. From September there was relief from three sources—the early rice, the rainy season crops of the hill people, and the relief centres. At an early period there was also decided relief from the commencement of agricultural operations. According to the customs of the country, rice was stored for the purpose of advancing to cultivators, and when the cultivation commenced they got advances. Those able to labour were also employed as agricultural labourers, and received their pay in rice. Comparatively the Government works afforded very little relief except in certain localities. This form of relief only reached those who had left their homes. If work sufficient to reach the masses had been afforded early in the season, before the agricultural season commenced, it would have been much more effective.

I can form no definite opinion as to the extent of mortality. In the Sonthal districts it has certainly been great.

In the early part of the season I had not heard the idea advanced that Government would come forward in such a crisis. My impression was that whatever was done must be done by private subscriptions. When relief operations were undertaken, I should judge they were efficiently conducted, with this important exception, that it was a mistake to withhold relief from those who had not actually become skeletons. The distributing committee also thought the food given not enough, but they did not formally represent this to the central committee. I think that many people died because they were not fed sufficiently early; when they became skeletons and were fed, many of them died, many also recovered. As respects both quantity of food and selection of applicants, a discretion was nominally left to the distributing committee, who were all natives except myself (I was one of them); but practically the influence of the central committee prevailed. Money was sent from the Sykes' Fund, and a little before aid was sent by Government. It came at a very appropriate time, and was so far very useful, but it was limited and sufficed to relieve comparatively few. It was mainly applied for the relief of starving families and children; they were allowed enough to feed them with about half rations.

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* In my time there have been three Inspectors General; none of them have ever come.

I am sure that Mr. Herschel was very anxious to do what could be done; but I don't see how the famine could have been anticipated, nor do I now see how measures could be organised sufficient to meet such a calamity. I should doubt the propriety of having undertaken relief much earlier, unless it had been known that Government would be prepared to supply funds to feed all the sufferers. In that case, no doubt, there might have been decided improvements in the relief.

Rev O. R. Batchelor.

22 Jan. 1866.

No. 96.—Mr. W. Terry, of Messrs. R. Watson and Company.

[Examined at Midnapore, 26th January 1867.]

The company to which I belong has large landed property in putnee and farm in this district. I have resided in Midnapore for 26 years. The district has much progressed within my knowledge. It was in a prosperous state before the famine. The body of the people were well to do. Looking to the last few years, I should say that the price of grain has risen more rapidly than the wages of labour, consequently a mere labouring man would not be so well off as before. We were obliged to increase the wages of all our coolies before the famine, because rice was dear, and they could not support themselves so cheaply as they used to do; still I do not think that there was want among any considerable classes before the famine. Our estates are in the jungle tracts west of Midnapore. I think that the crop of the autumn of 1865 was certainly above one-half, and in most places a three-quarter crop. I do not think that there were any considerable tracts in the district in which it was less than a half. I think that in this district there was no real famine among the ryot classes, but only among the proper labouring classes, and among people who habitually live upon others. The Sonthals cultivate largely as ryots, and even have leases of villages. I do not think that excessive suffering was general among them, though, of course, there have been cases. The labouring classes are a lower class of Sonthals called bhoomeez, also domes and such like, weavers, stone-masons, and iron-melters. All these classes have suffered severely. They are generally not cultivating ryots. Early in the year there was a great deal of violent crime. I think that all classes joined in it, including many who were not driven by want. In the early part of the year it did not strike me that any extraordinary measures to give employment to the people were necessary. I did not think that the people were so badly off as it afterwards turned out. In May and June, when a number of deaths occurred, I thought that such measures were necessary.

Mr. W. Terry.

26 Jan. 1867.

I think it was not till about June that I became aware of the severity of the distress, though I knew that in places the people were hard pushed. I think that the mortality was greatest in August and in September. We saw most clearly the state of the people when we commenced manufacturing indigo. In July we saw that the people who came to us were very much reduced, and it was necessary to get rice for them. I found it necessary to buy imported rice. A sufficiency of rice, the produce of the district, was not to be got. I imported from Calcutta and bought from private proprietors at Ghattal, which is on a tidal river. There was generally plenty of grain to be got at Ghattal. Things began to improve early in October, and about the 20th of that month starving people almost ceased to come in. The early rice crop is large in this district, and was this year an exceedingly good one. I attribute the improvement to that. The worst suffering was in the parts of the district adjoining Maunbhoom. There the stone-masons and the iron-melters one and all died. I do not think that any relief reached them. They kept to the hills and jungles, and never came to us. Some relief was sent to a place called Bul-Baharee for them; but it was too late, and when it was sent was insufficient in quantity; they did not get enough. I was on the relief committee here. I think relief operations were commenced as soon as might reasonably have been expected. When it was commenced, I do not think that the relief given was sufficient in quantity. The quantity allowed to each person was not sufficient. The committee was formed very late, and the arrangements had then been made. I always thought the six chittacks allowed wholly insufficient, and said so. I think that the majority of the committee thought so too. I do not think that the Government officers then realised the severity of the distress; in fact, it was very difficult to get at the truth; accounts are very contradictory to this moment; we cannot get at the truth. Even when the rations were increased to six chittacks I do not think it was enough. We gave to the people working for us 12 chittacks of rice and four of dhal, besides two and three pice per diem. I think that a labouring man might eat that himself. Throughout the famine, I think that the women held out the best. We of the committee wished to give relief in larger quantities, and my assistants in charge of centres repeatedly wrote in for it. The fact is, that in the committee the matter did not go by majorities. I only know of about three meetings of the central committee, and those were late in the season. I was, however, a good deal on for the district, and did not attend all the committee's meetings. The Collector was the ruling man in the committee, and my impression is that it was not a question of majority. I should have liked to have given 10 chittacks to the paupers. I think that those who got the smaller quantity generally died in the end. I think that centres were established at a sufficient number of places, and as early as might have been expected; the only error was, that enough food was not given. The relief was altogether confined to those who were very reduced in flesh; there was a great mortality among those who were fed; they eat their rice uncooked—it was gone in two minutes. I do not think that relief could have been

Mr. W. Terry.

26 Jan. 1867.

given more generally with safety; if it had been, all rich and poor together would have come for relief. I saw that myself. I imported 2,000 maunds of rice and some dhal, and sold it at 12 seers per rupee. I found it impossible to discriminate between rich and poor; people sent coolies and women to buy, and it was all snapped up. This was in the station only. My impression is, that if the system of importing rice in such quantities as to serve all comers at say 12 seers per rupee had been followed, more good would have been done than by the relief system. The famine could not have been altogether tided over by this system alone; but to a great extent it might have been so in this district. I have no doubt that there was a great deal of rice in the country, and ryots got advances from the mahajuns; where they could not, we gave advances to our own ryots. I know that the mahajuns made advances throughout the famine, because I see the grain now being repaid. Grain was advanced, to be repaid with 50 per cent. addition. The same rule was followed, generally speaking, in the famine year as in other years, because it was the custom, although it must have been a loss to the mahajuns. I know two or three mahajuns who could have made a fortune by selling their rice at the worst time, but they advanced to their clients just as much on the usual terms.

I think that a moderate importation on the part of Government would have been sufficient to keep down prices to 12 seers.

I gave the Collector a statement showing the mortality in one of the largest villages in each of my estates. I think those may be taken as fair specimens of the general rate of mortality in the parts of the district which suffered most. I should judge the rate thus shewn to be as near correct as can be.

I think that the people employed on the public works were amply paid, and they could always get rice for their labour. Many worked on the tank here at first, but afterwards the tank got full of water, and work could not be carried on. The coolies disappeared, and are not now to be found. Labour is now very scarce. I am obliged to import coolies as monthly servants. My opinion is, that the labouring people are dead, and that this is the chief cause of the present scarcity of labour.

I have made inquiries about coolies who were working as late as September, and I now find that one-fourth of them are dead. Our work ceased about then. I think that the people were all along weak, and that when work ceased, they went to their houses and laid down, and eventually many of them died.

At present, I think that the district is perfectly well off. I can recommend no remedial measures for the future. The native is as wideawake to the advantages of irrigation as we are. There is much irrigation in this district; if a man cannot accomplish irrigation himself, he asks me for it, and we give it. There is a system of bunds in the district, and I have made many. I cannot say that the ryots get much assistance in other estates.

I have seen other seasons in which there were as great apparent failure of the crops as in 1865, but no such disastrous results followed. In many places in 1865 the appearance of the crops was no doubt better than the reality, there being eventually more straw than grain.

It is in the jungle tract that irrigation is most wanted.

I cannot say why the result of the partial failure of crops was so much more disastrous than in other years. I do not think it was generally due to exportation, but in places, no doubt, there was over-exportation. I think the ryots, as a body, are decidedly industrious and very much alive to their own interests. The Sonthals are in some respects about the best; but they drink, and live beyond their income, and cannot keep accounts. We have had no indigo difficulties here. We grow no indigo on paddy land. We only grow it on our own estates, and charge no rents for lands in indigo. We give the indigo lands for nothing, and pay a certain rate for the indigo. The indigo land here is principally high land, and has been brought into cultivation specially for the purpose. The system is quite different from that in any other district. The laterite soil bears first-rate indigo. The ryots have had an enormous indigo crop this year. We have also silk business, but not to a large extent, on our estates. Sugar-cane is very largely grown in the district, and there is a very large crop this year. Sugar-cane requires a peculiar kind of land and a considerable capital.

I believe that the part of Maunbhoom adjoining my estates was worse than this district. To the west, south, and north of this district there is not a rajah or zemindar who is not irredeemably in debt in spite of the permanent settlement, and they cannot give the least assistance to their ryots. I do not know about the east of the district; I have no interest there.

I was very much dissatisfied with the way in which Hemchunder Kur, deputy collector, raised subscriptions. He levied them through the police; that is to say, he got the ryots of Jampona, through my naib, to put down their names for subscriptions, and then sent police constables to collect the money. I believe that many of the ryots were unwilling to pay up, and would not have done so unless the police had been sent to collect. I was informed that some of the ryots were put to difficulties to meet the demand, and actually sold their bullocks for this purpose. My assistants, Mr. Shelfield and Mr. Falks, gave me the information, and they could particularise the instances. Thirty or forty of the ryots gave a petition to the magistrate to the effect that the subscriptions had been levied from them by intimidation, and asking for repayment. The petition was thrown out by the magistrate without any inquiry, as the petitioners were said to be out of time. I dismissed the whole of my establishment on that estate for the part they took in the matter; they took advantage of the opportunity to reap a harvest for themselves. I heard of the police using threats to enhance payment, but I know of no definite instances.

No. 97.—Captain G. B. Fisher, District Superintendent of Police, *Tipperah*, formerly District Superintendent of *Cuttack*.

[Examined in Calcutta, 2nd February 1867.]

Captain G. B. Fisher.

2 Feb. 1867.

I was in the Cuttack district from November 1864 to the 3rd August 1866, that is to say, I gave over charge on the 3rd, left Cuttack on the 5th, and left False Point on the 23rd.

I was out in the district in the latter part of 1865. In the early part of 1866 I only made hurried tours, because I could not get provisions for a camp. I noticed the crops on the ground; many of them were left uncut because there was nothing but dust in the ear, the grain having dried up. This was the case on all the higher lands where water for irrigation could not be got. I think the crop was a complete failure so far as I saw, but I did not see the lower lands. I visited Jajpoor and Kendraparah, and parts of the district in that direction. I did not understand the Ooryah language, and Bengalee very little. I could not converse with ryots. I did understand Hindoostanee, and used that language as far as people understood it. I do not remember that people then said to me that there would be a famine; they only pointed to their dried-up crops, and said what should they do? I visited Kendraparah, Patamoondee, Jajpoor, &c., later in the season, on the 30th and 31st March and 1st April. I then particularly noticed that the palkee bearers were scarcely able to carry me. I had to walk a great part of the way. The men looked emaciated and starved, and really unable to carry me; they said they could not get anything to eat. At the police post there were constant complaints regarding the scarcity of provisions. I did not then hear that people were actually dying of starvation; it was towards the middle and end of May that this occurred. I was out again twice in April. I did not observe any very marked change. In the beginning of May I was at Jajpoor. I thought that the people there looked in good condition. I was at Kendraparah on the 19th May, returning on the 20th. Things were then very bad there. My men complained much of the difficulty of getting rice. The palkee bearers were very weak. I had to walk the greater part of the way. I saw no actual cases of deaths by starvation at that time. On the 23rd May, in Cuttack, I was mobbed by my own men because they could not get rice. Up to that time I was in almost daily communication with the magistrate, and told him everything that I saw. I can't remember exactly when my reports first led me to believe that the people of the district were dying of starvation in large numbers. I am aware that by the end of May there was the most serious alarm of famine. I was not out in the district in June. I am aware that, on account of the famine, grain was sent down to False Point, for Cuttack, in the early part of June. The magistrate, in the end of May, applied for my assistant, Mr. Crouch, to assist in bringing up the grain. I could not spare him. He and I were both hard at work in office, working 10 or 12 hours a day, writing reports consequent on the increased crime, and in fact carrying on the routine work of the office, which was much increased by the famine. Dacoities had been very numerous in the district. May and June were, I think, the worst months in respect of dacoities. I could not send Mr. Crouch out to inquire into dacoity cases; there was so much office work. The work was so heavy that in June I applied to be relieved. I was ill from hard work, and applied to be exchanged to some other district in Bengal. I did not then say that I must resign if not transferred, but I afterwards did demi-officially say so; that I think was some time in July. The work continued very heavy in July. I believe that at that time I forwarded an application for privilege leave, from Mr. Crouch, with my recommendation that it should be granted, and a statement that he could be much better spared in the rains than at any other time; but I think that the application was for leave from the 1st of September.

Q. Do you think that your action in that matter was consistent with what you have said of the state of the criminal work, and the fact that a famine of unprecedented severity was then raging in the district?—*A.* Yes; because I was of opinion that as Government was sending rice as fast as possible, and relief was being organised, crime would greatly diminish. I thought that the duty of the police would only be to guard the rice against robbery and cope with crime, there being a staff of officers on purpose for the other famine duties. Mr. M'Neile and Mr. Kirkwood were sent for the purpose, and I think some deputy collectors. I cannot call to mind that any general order was given by the superior police authorities throughout the famine, directing the police to assist generally and not to confine themselves to their own proper duties; at least, I do not at this moment remember any such order.

I pressed the matter of my own transfer. I was ill from overwork. I was directed to furnish a medical certificate. Dr. Coates, who had attended me, was then temporarily absent from the station; but I was in a hurry, being ill, and hoping to catch a ship, the "Charles Maureau," at False Point; she was expected to sail on the 6th; I therefore got a certificate from the doctor of the regiment and made over charge the same day. I got to False Point, going down the stream of the Mahanuddee, on the 6th, but found that the "Charles Maureau" was delayed by a hurricane which had sunk the boats. She did not leave till the 23rd. I went in her. My health was not much better or worse for my stay at False Point. I had fever constantly. I was eight days in getting to Calcutta. When I got there I was better. I applied for leave, but stated that being better I should be unable to procure a medical certificate there.

When I left Cuttack I considered that my health was such that it would be impossible for me to await the arrival of a successor, the more so on account of the excessive work

Captain G. B. Fisher.

2 Feb. 1867.

work going on, and because I thought that if I did not get away by the opportunity of the "Charles Maureau," I might not have another opportunity for some time.

I wish to add that, when I found myself unable to spare Mr. Crouch, I sent Mr. Hall, an inspector, but when I found that he did not carry on the work satisfactorily I sent Mr. Crouch, at considerable inconvenience to myself. I thought that Mr. Hall, drawing a high salary in the department, should be competent. He was a European sergeant; he understands Hindustanee but not Ooryah; nor does Mr. Crouch understand Ooryah. I sent Mr. Crouch myself on my own motion; I never was ordered to do so either by the magistrate or the Commissioner.

No. 98.—Mr. H. Leonard, C.E.

[Examined at Calcutta, 22nd February 1867.]

Mr. H. Leonard, C.E.

22 Feb. 1867.

I officiated as Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Circle, for the months of August, September, and October 1866. I left Calcutta about the 7th August. I went to Cuttack by the Trunk-road, stopping at Midnapore a week; four or five days at Balasore; a day at Soroh, and a day at Bhudruk. I reached Cuttack about the 24th August. The first signs of the famine that I saw were at Oolaberriah, but they were not great. Between Oolaberriah and Midnapore I noticed constant symptoms of famine. In Midnapore itself there were what seemed to me excessive signs of famine. Between Midnapore and Balasore things wers very much worse than they were on the other side of Midnapore. Dantoon was excessively bad. Between Dantoon and Balasore it seemed to me that nine-tenths of the people whom I saw were famine-stricken, but some did not appear to be in that condition. I saw dead bodies constantly lying about. At Balasore I found the state of things very bad, but not much worse than at Midnapore. I do not think it could have been much worse. Between Balasore and Cuttack the state of the country was the same as I had seen between Dantoon and Balasore. In the town of Cuttack, things did not seem to me so bad as at Balasore, but I had no great opportunities of judging. I remained in Cuttack until about the 3rd or 4th September, and then went to Pooree. On the road to Pooree the state of things was much the same as I had seen before; but at Pooree itself I thought the state of the starving people was worse than any thing I had before witnessed. I do not myself know why they were worse off, but I told Mr. Barlow that such was my impression, and he seemed to be greatly astonished, as he appeared to anticipate that the contrary was the case. I believe he called a meeting of the committee on this subject. I formed an opinion at the time that Mr. Barlow and the European officials at Pooree had their time so much occupied with the landing operations, and all the arrangements connected with the storing and forwarding the rice, that they had not sufficient leisure to look after those relating to feeding the starving people. But I wish to add that this was merely a casual opinion formed by myself, and that I am not prepared to support it with facts. I stayed five or six days at and about Pooree, and then returned to Cuttack, where I remained some time. About the middle of September, on the occurrence of the second high flood, I went again to the Pooree district, sailing down the Burgoree River into the Chilka Lake, and up the Dia River back to Cuttack. I remained there about a week, and then came up the Trunk-road again by Balasore to Calcutta, where I arrived on the 1st November.

When I first travelled from Balasore to Cuttack, the great floods of the early part of August had occurred; on the line of road between Soroh and Jajpoor some damage to the crops had been done, but it was insignificant as compared with the whole extent of the crops. During the course of my tour in the Pooree district, I saw great damage to the crops, especially in the vicinity of the Chilka. Between Cuttack and Pooree the proportion of the country injured was not very great. About the Chilka, however, that is, over a margin of eight or ten miles round the lake, I should say that three-fourths of the cultivation were destroyed. I wish to add that these statements in regard to proportions are made purely on guess; I have no accurate data to guide me. While I was in Orissa, public works in any department were not in progress on a very large scale, partly because during the whole of that time it was the rainy season and the country was more or less under water, and partly because the majority of the people were not in a condition to work. At that time no great relief, compared with the extent of the distress, was afforded by the public works. I think that as a general rule all the public works officers did their best, during the time that I held charge of the circle, to afford relief, by pushing on works. I did find fault with some of the executive engineers for not doing as much as I expected; but I believe that I was influenced to a great extent by my suddenly witnessing such an extremity of distress, and by my great anxiety to urge on measures of relief. I cannot particularise any district in which I can say that generally more effective measures were adopted than in others. I thought, however, that the best arrangements, both connected with public works and relief operations, that I saw, were at Bhudruk, in the Balasore district. At Balasore, I think that the public works, as relief measures, were the least successful of any in the circle. Generally, the labourers were paid by piece-work throughout the circle. In this mode of working there is always some difficulty in giving employment to all, particularly to women, as the people form themselves into gangs. Undoubtedly, by the daily labour system there is greater facility in providing employment for every individual who chooses to apply for it. We had

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an unlimited power to spend money while I was in the circle; but, for the reasons given above, there was not opportunity for spending much. I formed a general impression that the Ooryahs were less able to help themselves than any I have seen in other parts of the country. I myself saw people begging for relief actually on works in progress, and who, when work was offered to them, refused it, because, they said, they had never done that kind of work, and would not do it now. I also saw people dying close to the relief stations, because they would not eat the food offered to them, as being against their caste. As regards the proper labouring classes, accustomed to work, I do not think the Ooryah coolies are worse than those of Bengal; as boatmen I thought them extremely good. I thought the soil of Orissa generally very good, especially that of the Pooree district. I saw more of that district than any other, and was struck with the depth and richness of the soil. I thought the silt of the Mahanuddee much richer than that of the Ganges: the former river brings down heavier sand, which deposits rapidly and over smaller areas, while the fertilising silt, as distinguished from the sand, is distributed over the country. I do not think that Orissa is in so much need of irrigation as other parts of the country; for instance, the North-Western Provinces, where the rainfall is much less; nevertheless, I believe that irrigation would be of great service. I inquired from many ryots why they did not take the Irrigation Company's water, and the invariable reply was that they could not afford to pay the high water-rate demanded; in no one instance was the impending settlement mentioned as a reason. I think the Trunk-road from Calcutta to Cuttack, if Government supply the necessary funds, and finish it properly, will be of great use and largely used; although for heavy traffic from Calcutta to Cuttack, no doubt water carriage, if complete, will always have the advantage. I think it would be greatly to be regretted if the Trunk-road were not to be completed.

Mr. H. Leonard, C.E.

22 Feb. 1867.

No. 99.—Mr. T. GEARY, Lighthouse Superintendent, and Assistant Collector of Customs at *False Point.*

[Examined at Calcutta, 2nd February 1867.]

I HAVE been in my present situation since February 1863; before that I was Deputy Harbour Master in the port of Calcutta. I was at False Point when grain was sent down in June 1866. The first Government vessel with rice arrived on the 5th June. No rice had been exported from False Point that year; not a pound. The last ship went to Colombo in 1865. I do not recollect the date. It was Mr. Fressanges, the agent of Messrs. Charriol & Co., who used to export from False Point. He lived at Cuttack, but used to come to False Point when ships arrived. He told me that there was every likelihood of scarcity of rice and a famine; and I consequently got from him a stock of rice for the lighthouse people and myself. This was in the latter end of 1865, some six or seven months before the Government rice came. In consequence of this precaution I had rice until the "Court Hey" arrived, that is, I had enough for myself and my servants. In the spring of 1866, the Government servants, for whom I had not provided rice, found difficulty in procuring it, and I reported the matter to the master attendant. When the first ship arrived, on the 5th June, there had been no arrangements made for landing the rice. I received orders to make arrangements some days previous, and was told that orders had been given to collect boats, but no boats had arrived. There were some boats of Mr. Fressanges' there, but they were not capable of floating; they had not been used for some time, and worms had got into their bottoms. I had three boats, but was only able to man two, and I used them night and day to land rice. Mr. Fressanges' boats were never brought into use; one was repaired afterwards, but it was never used; it never landed a bag of rice. I carried on work with the lighthouse boats until Mr. Fressanges' assistant came down from the interior. I unloaded the better part of the "Court Hey's" cargo before he came. He brought a number of boats, but they were all out of repairs. He landed the whole of the "Jacques Forestier's" cargo. The boats were all employed in unloading; there were none to spare to carry the rice up the river. Boats can pass through up to Taldunda without unloading, but they ran great risk. It was always Mr. Fressanges' practice to unload, at his godowns, boats coming down the river with rice, and then send it on board vessels in other boats. After the "Jacques Forestier" was unloaded, there was delay in sending up the rice, because it did not belong to Government; after some time I got orders that 500 bags had been paid for, and a little time later I was informed that the whole cargo had been purchased. I cannot say exactly what delay took place, or on what date the above orders were given. I believe the "Court Hey's" cargo was sent up the river by Mr. Delagatinais, in boats collected in the interior with the aid of the police. An elderly gentleman named Hall, belonging to the police, was sent down; he could talk Hindoostanee, and appeared to be very energetic for his age. The "Jacques Forestier's" cargo was sent up in the same way. I think another vessel, called the "Gustave," came in before the latter cargo was all off; from that time there were vessels continually arriving with rice. From the 6th September I was on a sick bed for three months, and cannot speak of the events of that time. I had an European assistant, Mr. Workman, who was appointed long before the famine was thought of. A Mr. Roderick, a Portuguese, born in this country, was sent to me to assist in landing the rice. In the meantime Mr. Burgess had come down from Cuttack as rice agent, and I made Mr. Roderick over to him. Mr. Roderick would have been of more

Mr. T. Geary.

2 Feb. 1867.

Mr. T. Geary.
2 Feb. 1867.

use if he had been an educated man: unfortunately, too, he was sick the greater part of the time, and left through sickness.

I know the channel of the River Jumboo. The Irrigation Company's godown is at the mouth of the Jumboo. I should say this is about eight miles from the anchorage; some ship captains think it more; it is somewhat further from the lighthouse. Mr. Burgess is now stationed up the Barkhood Creek, which makes his position about as far from the anchorage as the Irrigation Company's godown. There is no bar outside the anchorage at False Point; at that anchorage, there is from 3½ to 4 fathoms of water; large steamers can come in. The "Asia" has been in with 20,600 bags of rice; it is a perfectly secure anchorage during the S. W. monsoon—quite land-locked. Steamers can easily enter during the S. W. monsoon, but there is difficulty about sailing vessels, because they have to enter against the monsoon, and against a very strong current, when the freshes come down. From the anchorage there is great difficulty in getting into any of the rivers; it can only be done with the rising tide. I think the Jumboo is the best of these rivers. The Irrigation Company have always sent their things up the Jumboo route, but in the freshes there is a strong current, which causes great difficulty in the Jumboo channel, but is not felt half so much in the lighthouse channel. At that season, a steamer such as the "Teesta" could go into the Jumboo, and in fact she could go into that river at any season in a flood tide; she could not go by the lighthouse channel. I hear from Mr. M'Neile that she went up by the Barkhood Creek, but that was before the river had completely fallen. I remember the Irrigation Company bought one of the Government gun-boats; they called her the "Pioneer;" she used to go up the Jumboo, towing boats. I cannot be positive whether this was in the rains or not; I have known her to draw five feet of water, but I cannot say whether she had that draught when she went up the river. If there had been a steamer like the "Teesta" or the "Pioneer" to tow boats, when rice was being sent up in June and July, it would have been very useful: it would have saved much time and also much loss of rice. The boats that were lost would not have been lost. It was in June that the freshes first came down the river; I do not remember the precise date. In the beginning of June the sea was perfectly smooth. I remember distinctly that this was so up to the 14th of June. It was excessively hot and sultry, but quite calm; we had the first gales on the 14th and 15th June. The "Teesta" is a much larger vessel than the "Pioneer," but does not draw so much water; when she is lightened she draws from 3 to 3½ feet. If the weather at Calcutta was like that which we had at False Point, in the beginning of June, I think the "Teesta" might have been brought down with perfect ease, but I cannot say whether this was so or not. She did not come down until after I had been some time ill. After the monsoon burst, I think that by taking advantage of a break the "Teesta" might have been towed down. There would have been a great risk in her going by herself; if she had been towed, and the weather had been favourable, I am certain that she would have arrived. If there had been a gale, she might have gone to the bottom, and it would have been a question whether the lives of the men in her could then have been saved or not; this would depend on whether the gale was too sudden or severe or not. If I had to send the "Teesta" down in the monsoon, I am certain that by offering money I could get men to join her, provided she was towed; I do not think that otherwise I could do so. In the commencement of June, when I think the weather must have been fine all over the Bay of Bengal, I think cargo boats might have been towed down, and they would have been of great use. Afterwards, in the monsoon, by watching a break in the weather, I think they might have been sent down. Cargo boats could not be hoisted on board a large vessel. Large ship boats might carry large cargoes provided there be covering for them; open boats would not be of much use, unless they were decked or covered with tarpaulins. The "Asia" had two boats, which might have landed 100 bags each at a time; there was a want of tarpaulins at first, a fact which I reported several times; they were sent down at last. I kept both the marine authorities in Calcutta and the Commissioner of Cuttack informed of all my proceedings. I have known a letter 20 days in coming from Cuttack; the time taken depended on the weather; I think, on one emergency I remember a letter coming in three days; ordinarily, they were not less than four days, and generally, they take eight days. In July or August, I wrote to the master attendant, saying that a steamer would be very useful. With the exception of what has been stated above, I do not think that anything more could have been done from Calcutta towards forwarding the rice; the only thing that might have been done was to send the rice earlier. If this had been done, the whole of it might have been landed and sent up before the bad weather came on. I think that 15 days' difference would have saved the lives of thousands.

No. 100.—Mr. R. B. Chapman, late Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

[Examined at Calcutta, 4th and 5th February 1867.]

Mr. R. B. Chapman.
4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

1. *Q.*—Will you mention since when you have been Secretary to the Board of Revenue?—*A.* Since June 1863.

2. Will you put in a note showing the members of the Board of Revenue during that time?—Yes, this statement shows the dates on which the members were here throughout the famine period.

3. Have

3. Have you personal experience of Orissa?—No.

4. Are you aware whether Mr. Grote has personal experience of that province?—I believe he has of the northern part.

5. I believe both Messrs. Cockburn and Schalch had intimate acquaintance with Orissa?—Yes, and Mr. Trevor also.

6. Was the attention of the Board, in the autumn of 1865, drawn to the unsatisfactory state of the crops?—It was.

7. Were they aware that Orissa, lying further to the west, and the rainfall being more scanty and irregular, the injury was likely to be greater than in Bengal?—The chief pressure, as respects the places to which the Board's attention was first directed, was supposed to be in Gya.

8. I believe the revenue system in Orissa differs from that obtaining in Bengal, and makes it necessary to grant remissions when the crops have failed?—Orissa is the only district in which remissions of revenue are usually granted.

9. In Orissa there still remain the ancient Canoongoes, who are abolished elsewhere, and they are paid by Government to look after such matters?—I am not sure whether they are paid by Government; but they are in existence. The use of them has been greatly discontinued as unreliable and objectionable.

10. On account of the failure of the rains, did the Board of Revenue call for reports regarding the out-turn of the crops in Orissa and Bengal?—They did. They had regular communications before; but the Government called for a report, and the Board then called on such Commissioners as had not furnished reports, or regarding whose districts the Board had not sufficient information. They called for a report of prices from all districts; but not for detailed reports generally.

11. At that time had you any special information regarding Orissa?—The Board had the information, which the Government had from them afterwards. They had various accounts, but no special information. I had had an interview with Pudmalochun, an extensive merchant and zemindar, before the report, and there were many other similar means of intelligence; but I cannot, at this distance of time, refer particularly to them.

12. On the 31st October, Government called on the Board for a report regarding the state of the crops and of the country throughout the Lower Provinces; did the Board then call for any special reports?—The object was to make a rapid report. The Board did not, therefore, call for any further reports, but made a report on the materials then in hand, except with regard to the districts regarding which the Board had no information. I allude to the districts of Patna and Bhaugulpore.

13. I believe that the Board, on those materials, made a report on the 25th November 1865?—Yes.

14. I think the Board were aware that Mr. Ravenshaw had been recently appointed to the province of Orissa?—Yes.

14*a*. Were they aware that Mr. Ravenshaw's revenue experience was limited?—They had reason to know that he was an officer of active personal habits, and likely, from his intercourse with the natives of the country, to be specially and fully acquainted with the state of the country.

15. Were not the Board aware that Mr. Ravenshaw had not in fact visited any part of his division; that he had only joined in the rains, and had not an opportunity of making himself acquainted with it?—The papers will show; I cannot answer from memory.

16. Does not the report show that the opinion of Mr. Ravenshaw was not considered very reliable. Was it not the fact that the Board thought Mr. Ravenshaw's estimate of half a crop perhaps too sanguine, and that whereas Mr. Ravenshaw had expressed an opinion that the stocks of grain in the country were very large, which was not supported by the Collectors, the Board showed that in all probability the stocks were not large. Does it not seem then that Mr. Ravenshaw's opinion was not very reliable?—Certainly; the Board did not rely materially on Mr. Ravenshaw's opinion as to the proportion of the crops saved, or as to the stocks in hand. They did not think that any officer, commissioner, or collector could give a really reliable opinion on such a subject. I am not aware that the Board distrusted Mr. Ravenshaw specially amongst other Commissioners.

17. Don't you think that shows that the Board deemed Mr. Ravenshaw too sanguine?—I think so. I put in a note made at the time on the basis of which the report was drawn up. It quotes Pudmalochun.

18. The Board has stated that the report was drawn up on very imperfect information?—Yes.

19. Subsequently, did they take means to obtain more perfect information regarding the out-turn of crops in Orissa?—Not in any specific shape, because they did not think that it was possible to get it. They relied on the general correspondence to keep themselves informed.

20. Was there any general correspondence as regards the out-turn of the crops?—I don't know that there was, on that specific subject.

21. Has it been the habit to grant remissions of revenue in Orissa on the occasion of great calamities?—It has been the practice to do so, even without great calamities, in any severe season.

22. In 1865, did not the Board lay down the principle that remissions of revenue were to be granted in the case of general calamities, as distinguished from special and local ones?—Scarcely to that extent. The Board laid down two principles,—1st, that no inquiries into losses from calamities should be instituted without their previous sanction;

Mr. R. B. Chapman. 4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

and 2ndly, that when injury to the crops was confined to a few estates an inquiry was unnecessary.

23. Was not the principle fully admitted and accepted, that when there was a general calamity remissions would be granted?—Certainly.

24. Was it not the case that all three Collectors in Orissa applied, in the autumn of 1865, for permission to make inquiries with reference to the crop?—It might be said that the Collectors of Balasore and Cuttack did recommend such an inquiry. Mr. Barlow, of Pooree, only laid the question before the Board whether there should be such an inquiry or not.

25. Was it not the case that the Commissioner sanctioned Mr. Barlow's making inquiries provisionally, subject to the approval of the Board?—He does not appear to have sanctioned that exactly; but he did sanction preliminary inquiries.

26. Did not the Board disapprove his having done so, and also negative the applications from Cuttack and Balasore?—Yes, they did.

27. Had the Board reason to suppose, at that time, that the failure of the crops was not such as to amount to a general calamity, or to make it proper that remissions of revenue should be granted, or on what grounds did the Board negative the applications for inquiry?—The grounds on which the Board came to their decision are contained in their letter, No. 18 A, dated 10th January 1866, which is a verbatim copy of a minute by Mr. Cockburn, acquiesced in by Mr. Grote. Evidently, at that time, the Board were not aware of the extent of the calamity that had befallen the province.

28. Does it seem to you that it was possible to ascertain the extent of the calamity if inquiry was prohibited?—I remember generally that there was, at that time, an impression at the Board that the high prices ruling in the province would, to a considerable extent, repay the landholders for the deficiency of the crop. I cannot answer for the grounds on which the members of the Board issued the order.

29. The report of the Board of the 25th November was made under a special order of Government; but as regards the general line between the duties of Government and the Board in respect to administrative matters, such as a famine, are you prepared to explain what are the relative functions of Government and the Board. What do you consider to be the duty of the Board in regard to such matters?—I am not aware of any rules or instructions laying down the Board's duties in connection with such a thing as a famine. I can only suppose that, following the precedent of the North Western Provinces, the administration of the famine was placed in the hands of the Board. I had myself, at the time, grave doubts whether it was the proper duty of the Board; but it was, of course, the business of the Board to obey the instructions of the Government on the subject.

30. Can you point out any paper where the relative duties of the Board and the Government in administrative matters will be found to be defined?—No, I cannot. But I look on the Board as a subordinate branch of the Government in the Revenue Department, which is administered through the Board.

31. As a matter of fact, after the Board had made their report, do you consider that the Board were instructed by the Government to charge themselves with the duty of looking after the state of the country with reference to the known scarcity and possible famine of which apprehensions had then been expressed?—I think the tenor of the Government orders to the Board, on which their report was prepared, and of the reply of the Government to that report, showed, distinctly enough, that it was intended that the Board should undertake the charge of all measures for the relief of famine, and that it was so understood,—apart from public works generally, with which the Board had nothing to do, and which were under the Public Works Department.

32. Were not the Board charged with those public works which were under the Government Estates Improvement Fund?—The Board were charged with the supervision of public works undertaken on account of Government estates, of which they were in direct possession, or with the management of which Government was at the time charged.

33. In fact, was it not the Board who, having first issued an order that these local works should be paid for in grain, afterwards, with advertence to an order of Government in the Public Works Department, directed that the works should be paid for in cash and not in grain?—Yes, it was.

34. As a matter of fact, do you consider that, notwithstanding the presence of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, the Members of the Board considered themselves charged with the famine administration?—Yes, certainly so, in communication with the Lieutenant Governor.

35. Was it not the case that immediately after the dispatch of the report of the 25th November, a very emergent telegram was received from the Collector of Pooree, representing extreme starvation in his district, and begging of the Board to seek for public aid?—Yes, it was.

36. And that, in consequence, an active and extensive correspondence resulted?—Yes, referring to a special part of the district.

37. It appears from the correspondence that it was, at one time, the intention of the Board to send rice to Meetacooah, for the support of the starving population of Malood and Parricood. Can you tell us why that intention was abandoned?—The reason why the rice was not sent was that the coasting steamer that was going could not take it, and that a vessel was leaving for Gopalpoor, with rice on a private account. Apparently the telegram, intimating that the rice could not be sent, never reached the Collector of Pooree; but on the 13th December, expecting the rice to arrive, the Collector wrote to the Board, asking leave to offer the rice for sale at the port of arrival, at the coast, instead

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of sending it to the interior, because he could then buy it cheaper. (*Puts in letter of the 13th December, from Mr. Barlow.*) It appears from that letter that rice was supposed to be procurable in that part of the district at the time.

38. Is it not clear that that letter has reference to the sale of the rice which the Collector expected to be sent to Gopalpoor, in the Ganjam district, and which he wished to sell not on the coast of his own district, but because it had gone to another district, the transport from which would involve a large expense of carriage, &c. ?—The Collector had never been told, nor had it ever been designed, to send Government rice to Gopalpoor. Apparently, from his letter, he had misunderstood the telegram saying that rice was coming to Meetacooah to mean that it was coming to Gopalpoor: but still his letter shows clearly the very important point that rice was procurable on the spot, and that it was not worth while to bring it 50 or 60 miles to supply the market.

39. Can you tell us the members of the Board who determined to send rice, and those who afterwards determined not to send it?—I have every reason to believe that the orders were issued, after personal discussion, by both members of the Board, but I cannot answer for both. I may say, however, that Mr. Trevor was very ill at the time, and frequently not at the Board. I remember, at all events, that Mr. Grote consented to all three telegrams; but I cannot say, for certain, about Mr. Trevor.

40. On the question, whether all works should be paid in cash or in grain, was there any special consultation or discussion on the subject?—There was, from the outset. In the note already put in, I proposed specially that all wages for relief labour done should be paid in food; but it was resolved on a *vivâ voce* discussion, not to include that proposal in the other proposals made in the Board's Report, regarding the relief of the distress.

41. Did not the Board, in the first instance, direct that wages should be paid in grain? —They did, on the 12th December 1865.

42. Can you give us any particulars as to how it came about that an order, directly to the contrary sense, was afterwards issued?—In two different orders by Government, in the Public Works Department, which were communicated to the Board, the Lieutenant Governor distinctly disapproved of wages of labourers employed on public works being paid in grain. The Board, therefore, withdrew their orders, which had been passed on a contrary principle.

43. Did the Board think themselves bound by the departmental rules of the Public Works Department?—They certainly thought themselves bound to follow the orders of Government on a matter of principle of that kind. Mr. Grote was always opposed to payment in grain.

44. Is it clear that in the Public Works Department the order was passed as a matter of principle, and not rather as a matter of departmental convenience. Did you not find that, in the order of the Public Works Department, the officers of that department were referred to the civil authorities for the provision of grain for the workmen; and does it not therefore seem that the principle, if it be a principle, will hardly apply to works carried on under the civil authorities themselves?—The Board certainly did not so regard it at the time; and I think now that the orders, especially paragraph 3 of Government Order, No. 6178, dated 30th December 1865, mean that all labourers paid for relief purposes should be paid in money, the question of arranging for the supply of food being kept entirely distinct.

45. By what members of the Board were the orders to pay in grain originally passed? —By Mr. Grote alone, in the telegram dated 12th December 1865. Orders to the same effect were drafted in a letter dated 22nd December 1865, but were modified by both members before the draft issued. Both members signed the modified draft; I mean Messrs. Grote & Cockburn. In the modified letter that issued on that date the previous orders were not withdrawn, they were simply not repeated.

46. By whom was the order prohibiting payment in grain issued?—By Mr. Grote alone.

47. Do you remember whether there was any particular discussion. Is it usual that a matter of such importance should be decided by one member without reference to the other member?—The subject had been discussed fully on the draft already alluded to. Mr. Cockburn does not appear to have seen the letter of the 26th January, which appears to me to do nothing more than carry out the orders of Government in accordance with the principle already resolved on by the Board.

48. What was the nature of the communication with Government which led to the issue of the telegram to Cuttack, dated the 1st February 1866, announcing the determination of Government not to import grain for the food of the people employed on relief works?—There was no special communication with Government on the Commissioner's telegram, and, in so far as the telegraphic reply of the Board conveys an opposite impression, it is erroneous. The Board worded the telegram in the belief that, at the time, it was the established policy of Government to rely for the payment of relief labour on the local markets, and on the ground that the local reports showed that the retail price of rice in the interior was reasonable.

49. Who were the members of the Board by whose order the telegram was issued?— By Messrs. Grote & Cockburn. I put in the original order. I may observe that so little grave importance was attached to that special telegram that, until it was recalled to my memory, I did not know of its existence. There is nothing in the general correspondence of the time, as far as I know, that shows that the local authorities considered it necessary to import rice.

50. Is it your impression that the information conveyed by the Commissioner's telegram of the 31st January 1866 was, in any shape whatever, at any time, conveyed to Government?

Mr. R. B. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

ment?—That special telegram was not; but, speaking generally, the Government were kept intimately informed of everything bearing on the famine that the Board were aware of. As far as I remember, the Board did not attach any special importance to that telegram. They would certainly have expected a detailed and urgent report from the Commissioner to follow the telegram, had it been really of extreme importance.

51. Was there at that time any system of official meeting between the Lieutenant Governor and the Members of the Board of Revenue?—No, not at that time.

52. Do you know anything of any interview between the Members of the Board and the Government, alluded to in a letter, No. 1148½, dated 8th December 1865?—I remember the fact of an interview, but do not know the particulars. It was solely on the question of exporting salt from Mallood.

53. Do you remember any other special discussion between the members of the Board and the Lieutenant Governor about that time, in the months before the Lieutenant Governor went to Orissa?—There was none that I am aware of.

54. Do you remember in what health Mr. Cockburn was before he went down to Orissa with the Lieutenant Governor?—In very fair health; quite able to attend to business. He fell ill in Orissa; and from the time he came back he was not in a state to attend to business.

55. Do you know if Mr. Cockburn went to Orissa for any special purpose, or merely to accompany his Honor the Lieutenant Governor?—Only to accompany the Lieutenant Governor, at his special request. He did not go as deputed by the Board with reference to famine or any other matters. I do not know what the Lieutenant Governor may have had in his mind.

56. I suppose we may take it as a fact that when Mr. Cockburn went with the Lieutenant Governor, he was well aware that the Commissioner had reported that the famine relief was at a stand-still for want of rice?—Yes, from that one isolated telegram. But, as far as I remember, no serious impression had been made thereby on the Board's mind; and if it had, it was relieved by the knowledge that the Lieutenant Governor was personally then going to Orissa, when, no doubt, such subjects would be fully discussed.

57. Are you aware whether any information on the subject of the relief works, and of the famine in general, derived during the visit of the Lieutenant Governor and Mr. Cockburn to Orissa, was in any way brought to the notice of the Board?—I am not. As I have already said, Mr. Cockburn was, on his return, in a state of exceeding ill-health; but I was in constant personal communication with him, and certainly derived from my intercourse with him an impression that he was not seriously anxious about Orissa. I must, no doubt, have spoken about it constantly, but do not remember any special occasion.

58. Are you aware if the Lieutenant Governor made any special communications to the Board on the subject after his return?—I do not remember any.

59. Do you remember to have heard from Mr. Cockburn that the starving population surrounded the Lieutenant Governor and him, showing the roots and jungle produce on which they were feeding, and praying for relief; and that Mr. Cockburn had taken those things and shown them to the Lieutenant Governor?—I don't remember anything of the kind.

60. We find that, immediately after receipt of your telegram of the 1st February, Mr. Ravenshaw issued a series of letters to the Collector of Pooree, in which he informed him that the Government and the Board of Revenue had both finally decided that the wages of labourers should be paid in money and not in grain, in which he also, applying the same principle, forbade the Collector to pay in food labour employed by private subscription to clear the Narendra tank under the direction of the Collector, and in which, thanking Mr. Barlow for his well-directed and vigorous exertions, he informed him that it would not be necessary for him to take any further steps to purchase rice or to supply it to the people except by affording encouragement to private traders. Was that correspondence in any way brought to the notice or knowledge of the Board as far as you know?—I am not aware that it was. In ordinary course, such a correspondence, if not directly reported to the Board, would come to their notice in the Commissioner's abstract of important proceedings (an abstract, that is to say, of all important letters of a Commissioner not specially reported). I find that for several months, from February onwards, the Commissioner of Cuttack's abstract was returned blank, partly no doubt because almost every letter of importance at that time was reported directly, and partly because, from the pressure of work, his office must have been somewhat disorganized.

61. Can you tell us what was the occasion of a letter, No. 34 A, of the 24th January 1866, from the Board to Government, with reference to prices of food in the Pooree district?—It had reference to the scheme for the encouragement of a trade between Chittagong and the Pooree coast in salt and grain, and was founded on a letter, No. 307, dated 25th December 1865, from Mr. Barlow, the Collector of Pooree, stating that he had ascertained that Chittagong rice could not be landed at Pooree at more than 10 or 12 Bengal seers per rupee, and that, therefore, under the then present condition of the local market, it would be useless to order grain to be imported.

62. We observe that that letter of the Collector of Pooree was dated the 25th December 1865, a month before the date of the letter to which we have referred. Was not the Board aware that intermediately rice had become much dearer and scarcer at Pooree. Are you aware that on the day on which the Board's letter was written (the 24th January) common rice was selling at Pooree at 6¼ local seers per rupee?—Seeing that, according

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to the return made to us for the week ending the 15th January, which must have been the latest return that the Board had, the price of rice at Pooree was 13 Bengal seers per rupee, and at all the markets in the interior of the district much lower, it is evident that the Board were not aware that rice was selling at that time at 6¼ seers, and that, as far as the Collector's returns showed, it was positively cheaper then than at the time he wrote his letter. I may add that Mr. Barlow's letter of the 25th December was not reported to Government at the time of its receipt; but that the subject was revived and the matter reported to Government in a demi-official letter from the Commissioner of Chittagong to Mr. Grote, stating that the Chittagong merchants were unwilling to import rice into Pooree, thinking they could get a better market in the southern ports, and that one or two vessels that had been to Pooree had spread a report that there was then, at all events, no scarcity and no chance of getting a paying price there. The date of this letter is torn off, but the post mark is apparently the 16th January, and Mr. Grote's order for the report to Government is dated the 19th.

63. Was the Board aware that at that time a French rice ship was lying stranded at Pooree, and that the presence of that vessel a good deal affected the local markets?—I cannot say, from memory, whether the Board were aware of that or not. But the weekly returns of prices does not show any spasmodic effect on the Pooree market from any such cause.

64. Was any attempt made by the Board to purchase the cargo of that ship, the "Philaneme," which came ashore in December, and the cargo of which, in consequence of the difficulty about the insurance, seems not to have been taken away till the beginning of February?—The Board had no idea of purchasing at that time at all. The prices returned to them, periodically, showed no indication that it could be proper for them at that time to do so; nor did other circumstances lead them to suppose that, if it were profitable to purchase the "Philaneme's" cargo, there would not be a single merchant at Pooree willing to do so.

65. The Board had learnt that the relief works were stopped for want of rice; and there being no power to sell the "Philaneme's" cargo at Pooree, might not the Board have bought that cargo from the agents in Calcutta with advantage to all parties, the price of rice in Pooree then being, according to the returns, a little above 8 Calcutta seers per rupee?—The prices shown by the latest returns at that time before the Board, being the week ending the 23rd of January, was, not a little over 8 seers, but 10¼ seers, and in the interior of the district very much cheaper. However that may be, there was certainly, at that time, no thought of purchasing rice on public account, nor had any serious report been made to the Board that there was any such deficiency of rice in the local market that would make it proper for them to do so.

66. Had the Board reason to believe that grain was easily to be had in considerable quantities in the Pooree district at the prices quoted?—At that time there was nothing whatever to lead the Board to distrust the returns. On the contrary, there had been correspondence not very long before, which I have already produced, which seemed to show that rice was procurable in quantities. The returns were published as received, and on every occasion that the prices therein given were impugned, inquiry was made. They were only impugned, as far as I know, on two occasions, on both of which occasions inquiry was made.

67. Was the inquiry such as to satisfy the Board that the prices current received by them were reliable or not?—The result of the earlier inquiry raised no suspicion in the Board's mind; but on the second occasion, Mr. Barlow acknowledged that the retailed prices he had returned for Tangrah might be looked on as nominal prices, and that in fact rice was not procurable there in any quantity at all. In the same way, much later in the season, inquiry at Chittagong revealed that the market price there was no test whatever of rice being available in any considerable quantities, for, although it was returned at 16 seers per rupee, careful inquiry showed that there was no considerable quantity to be had; a single cargo was not to be procured. From that time, no doubt, the Board felt that only a very modified value could be attached to the retail prices current as a guide to stocks.

68. Is it then your impression that the prices current received and published by the Board are not to be implicitly relied on?—My impression is that as regards the present price of rice they are reliable only to the extent of showing the actual price at which rice is retailed on the spot. They are no indication whatever of whether rice is procurable in quantities or not. As regards the "ordinary prices at this season," I believe the returns to be of no great value.

69. To the extent of indicating the prices, the actual retail prices, do you think the returns are in almost all cases perfectly reliable?—Seeing the way in which these prices current have misled me, I can hardly venture to say that I have any absolute confidence in them even to that extent; yet it is extremely difficult to understand how the local authorities in the districts in which famine was impending should not have taken steps to satisfy themselves that a return on a matter of such vital importance was not at any rate nearly correct.

70. If you were a merchant, would you be willing to risk a large sum of money in making a contract on the faith of the Board's prices current, without further private inquiry on the point?—Probably not; and I don't suppose any merchant would attempt to make a large venture without inquiry; but the Board's prices current would direct me in what places to make inquiries.

Mr. R. B. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

71. Are we to understand that no special instructions were received by the Board in consequence of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Cuttack?—No special instructions were received, as far as I remember.

72. From that time the price of rice got dearer and dearer. Did the Board in consequence make any special inquiry?—Not, I think, till the end of April; but up to that time the rise of prices was extremely gradual and even fluctuating; it sometimes went back.

73. On what date did Mr. Schalch join the Board of Revenue?—On the 4th of April 1866.

74. Did Mr. Schalch ever communicate to the Board that he, as Chairman of the Municipality of Calcutta, had received a letter from Mr. Barlow, asking if there was a balance of any famine fund available for the relief of the poor?—Not that I know of.

75. Do you think that the special knowledge possessed by Mr. Schalch regarding Orissa, and especially regarding the winds and mode of navigation of the coast, which stopped private trade from the turn of the monsoons in March, at all altered the policy or the measures of the Board as previously constituted?—I don't think so at all. It was not till much later than that that the Board began to think seriously of the expediency of importing. All my answers to questions of this character must be taken with the reservation that I speak for myself, and not on the part of the members of the Board.

76. Do you think that in the course of the month of April, the attention of the Board was directed to the correspondence regarding the famine in Orissa which began to appear in the newspapers, and also to the appeals for aid from the public, which were made by Messrs. Sykes and Muspratt. Did you not, in fact, yourself, in an almost official letter regarding the prices of food in Orissa, officially published, express your opinion that the time had come to take measures to collect a general fund for the relief of the distress; and did you press that opinion on the members of the Board of Revenue?—No doubt the attention of the Board had been directed to those letters, and undoubtedly, from those letters, to the subject to which they referred. At the same time I may state, that the portion of my letter which advocates a general public subscription was not written in my official character, nor with the privity of the members of the Board of Revenue. I did not even then consider that the calamity was hopelessly beyond the reach of private charity on a large scale, and until the interference of Government to provide funds became absolutely necessary, I was of opinion that it was extremely desirable to afford help to the people from private sources supplemented by Government aid, but so as to preserve its private character.

77. Did not the Lieutenant Governor leave for Darjeeling in the month of April?—I believe so.

78. Do you know whether there was any special consultation on the subject of the famine in Orissa before the Lieutenant Governor went, or whether any special instructions or directions on the subject were received by the Board?—I am not aware that there was.

79. After the end of April, had the members of the Board or you any special or demi-official correspondence with the Commissioner or Collectors regarding the increasing famine in Orissa?—I cannot answer for the members of the Board. I had myself a private correspondence with the Collectors and the Commissioner, if not at the end of April, at all events early in May. At that time, in common with other gentlemen in Calcutta, I was engaged in arranging the preliminaries for a public meeting to collect money, and I wrote to the Commissioner and to each Collector in the division, begging them to furnish me with details of the distress and an estimate of their requirements to place before the meeting. I regret that Mr. Ravenshaw's letter to me on the subject has been mislaid; but I remember well that he then estimated the requirements of the province at 2½ lacs of rupees, which he arrived at by a detailed and, apparently, very liberal calculation. The letters of the Collectors were published at the time in the "Englishman."

80. Up to that time, had not your reliance on Mr. Ravenshaw been very much shaken?—No, I cannot say it was at all; on the contrary, I may state that in our preliminary report Mr. Ravenshaw's administration was characterised as humane and sagacious, and that character fully accorded with my own personal experience of Mr. Ravenshaw, whom I have believed till now to have exerted himself most laboriously throughout the whole course of the famine.

81. Are the Board usually at all consulted about the appointment of Commissioners, or about their movements?—Not at all, as far as I know, as regards the appointment of Commissioners; but a Commissioner reports to the Board his departure from and arrival at each station. It is certainly open to the Board to overrule the arrangements of the Commissioner for his tour; but inasmuch as the Commissioner is subordinate in other departments to the Government, it would be unusual to do so.

82. Did the conduct of Mr. Ravenshaw, in absenting himself entirely from his regulation districts in the early months of the scarcity, at all come under the consideration of the Board, and did not the circumstance that he had never visited those districts materially detract from the weight to be given to his opinion?—The Board had no reason to suppose that the tributary mehals were not quite as badly off as the regulation districts, and they were made acquainted from time to time that Mr. Ravenshaw was occupied in inquiries bearing on the famine in those districts. I do not know if it struck them at the time that Mr. Ravenshaw had not personally visited the regulation districts, but the Commissioner was in daily correspondence and in constant intercourse with the district officers; and, in

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any case, the Board had at the time no *à priori* reason to doubt or distrust the reports that reached them from the local authorities, including the Commissioner, who certainly throughout showed no sign of not being thoroughly alive to the serious nature of the calamity that had befallen the province.

83. Do you think that it did not strike the Board that Mr. Ravenshaw's reports regarding the large stock of grain in the province were of a very rash character, and that they were wholly unsupported by any details, or by the mention of any reliable authority for his view?—I cannot say what struck the members of the Board; but, personally, I certainly never placed any reliance on the estimates of stock made by Mr. Ravenshaw or any one else. On looking back, I consider it to have been rash and imprudent in him to have made them. At the same time, as far as the Board were aware, they were not made without inquiry. On the contrary, I can remember once, at any rate, if not oftener, Mr. Ravenshaw speaking of personal investigations in the houses of the people, with the view of ascertaining the stock in each house.

84. Can you mention to what investigations you allude, because the only investigation apparent in our records is an investigation made at Pooree, which resulted in the very decided opinion of the officers concerned that the large stocks said to exist did not in fact exist?—The investigation to which I refer was reported in a demi-official letter, on which I cannot lay my hands. It may have been the very letter lost, *see* Answer 79; but I well remember the fact, and that the result reported was that there were considerable stores of grain in each house, although the Commissioner could not procure supplies for his own establishment. I think this was from Mohurbhunj. At any rate, my impression was that Mr. Ravenshaw was making, in every direction, active personal inquiry.

85. Mr. Ravenshaw has given a most harrowing description of the scenes of famine which he witnessed in Balasore in the middle of April. He did not make the official report till the 2nd of May, and he was then at Mohurbhunj, and reported direct to Government. Had the Board at that time any knowledge of the state of famine existing in Balasore?—The only source from which the Board were aware of the extremity was from the letters in the newspapers from Mr. Muspratt and others.

86. Were the Board aware that when the famine was becoming excessive, it had been found necessary for Mr. Ravenshaw to leave his district for Mohurbhunj, and that he in fact left Balasore on the 20th of April, and did not return for upwards of a month?—The Board knew that Mr. Ravenshaw had gone to Mohurbhunj, but, as stated before, they were under the impression that he had gone there in connection with the famine inquiries and in communication with the Government.

87. In such a crisis was it not thought necessary to make some special arrangement for the charge of his district during his absence, or at least to direct the Collectors to make special reports to the Board regarding the famine?—As far as I know, the Board had not at that time recognised the crisis as requiring any such special instructions; but any Collector would, under the circumstances, be expected, whenever any good could come of it, to address the Board or the Government direct, without special instructions on the subject.

88. With the knowledge which you obtained from subsequent reports of the state of the Booree and Balasore districts in the month of April, does it seem to you that there was a break, and, as it were, hiatus in the official communications, which has to be accounted for, and if so, how do you account for it?—Judging by the event, certainly. Had the Board been aware that famine in its extremity was coming on, there is no doubt that full and extraordinary and careful precautions would have been taken. I account for this not having been done by the fact that, even at that date, famine in its extremity was not expected.

89. The Collectors of Pooree and Balasore seem to have been fully alive to the state of their districts; but to have been in some sense timid as respects boldly reporting their opinions. Mr. Barlow especially, who had telegraphed in a very uncompromising way early in the season, speaks in his later letters as if he felt reporting the probability of famine to be a very heavy responsibility, and instead of emergent telegrams, such as he had formerly sent, he sent only formal official reports by a very round-about channel. Can you at all account for this apparent feeling on the part of the Collectors?—I cannot at all. I am perfectly certain that there was no principle or policy at work at head quarters that could justify any such feeling if it existed. But I may remark that from no official did more cordial acknowledgments come of the completeness of the assistance given than from Mr. Barlow. Throughout the correspondence, as far as money was concerned, there was, as far as I know, not the slightest disinclination to advance or expend it. It must be remembered, however, that the importation of food was, as far as I am aware, an unprecedented measure, and one fraught with dangers in every direction. I know that those who had the control at head quarters shrank not a little from the responsibility of undertaking such importations, and it may well have been that this shrinking communicated itself, more or less, to the subordinate local officers.

90. But, as a matter of fact, do you not think that it is now apparent that in the early part of the famine, the local officers of Pooree and Balasore took a more gloomy view of matters than the superior authorities. As respects Pooree, the question refers to the whole period from November to June, and as respects Balasore, from February to June?—To answer the question separately about Pooree, I do not think that the superior authorities did not fully share Mr. Barlow's apprehension regarding the early famine at Mallood and Parricood. I am not aware, as to Balasore, of any represen-

Mr. R. B. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

tations from the Collector which were looked on as alarmist or which did not meet with attention.

91. Is it then your deliberate opinion that the local officers of Pooree and Balasore were not at any time in any degree deterred from representing their apprehensions as strongly and early as they felt them by any belief that such representations would be received with some distrust; that, in fact, they might possibly be thought alarmists by their superiors?—I can only repeat that I am aware of no cause which can have led them so to think, nor if any English gentleman in the position of a Collector had really foreseen the famine that was approaching, can I for a moment believe that any supposition that his report would be unwelcome would have induced him to withhold his information. My belief is, that in common with, as far as I know, all the local residents and the superior officers, those gentlemen knew that a famine was possible, though they did not consider that there was sufficient evidence of its probability to take on themselves the responsibility of reporting its approach.

92. Might they not distrust their own opinions if they thought their superiors held different opinions?—My impression is that their superiors had no different opinions. They knew that the famine was a possibility, but they did not think it probable, and they hoped it would not occur. It must be borne in mind that the scarcity extended through almost the whole of the Lower Provinces and even beyond its limits; in the early months of the year I certainly did not foresee that it would assume in Cuttack different proportions and a different character from what it would in the rest of the country affected. It was not a question of one separated province surrounded by a country well supplied with food, but of scarcity, verging on famine, extending through many districts.

93. Mr. Moncrieff, who on former occasions had urged on Government the propriety of importing grain, seems to have very specially urged the point on Government about the 12th May. Was Mr. Moncrieff in communication with the Board at that time?—Not that I know of; but I was certainly well aware myself what Mr. Moncrieff's opinion was.

94. When, by instructions of the Lieutenant Governor, the question of importing rice into Orissa was considered, did both the members of the Board take a part in the discussion, and were they unanimous about it?—The letter was signed by both members.

95. There was telegraphic communication between Calcutta and Cuttack and Balasore; were any measures taken to ascertain the state of those districts when that matter was decided?—Not by telegraph, but a full letter of instructions and inquiries was on the same date despatched to the Commissioner.

96. On the 12th of May, Mr. Muspratt and the Balasore Committee had made an appeal to the public for money, stating that there was reason to believe that rice could be obtained for money by private importation. But before the date of the Board's letter of the 22nd May, Mr. Muspratt had discovered that the merchants who had promised importation had entirely failed. In fact, on the 17th, he had telegraphed to the Under Secretary to Government at Calcutta, and also written officially to Government, recommending the importation of rice; and he tells us that by the 20th it was very evident that rice was not to be had. Was the report of the Board of Revenue written in ignorance of these facts?—Yes, as far as I know, the Board had not before them at the time any such information; nor had they any information of any change of Mr. Muspratt's opinion (which had appeared in the "Englishman" the day before the Board's letter was written) to the effect that all that they wanted was money, and that there was plenty of food on the spot.

97. Up to that time, had the Collectors not received any orders to telegraph from day to day every important matter regarding the famine?—They had received no special orders; but it was well understood that it was their duty to do so.

98. Did you observe that about this time there was an extreme uncertainty as to what letters were addressed to the Board, and what letters to the Government. Does it not seem to you that there was a great want of definition in regard to this matter. Do you think that the Commissioner was in any way wrong in writing to the Government, which was at Darjeeling, and not to the Board?—I think it was the correspondence about this time which ended, one week after that date, in importations being made. There was, no doubt, in the anxiety of the local officers, little heed paid to routine; and, under the circumstances, I cannot myself blame them, nor do I see that any serious inconveniences resulted from the little delay that may possibly have been caused by the course pursued.

99. Are you aware what was the occasion of Mr. Schalch's going to Darjeeling at that time?—Only that it was the Lieutenant Governor's wish to have one of the members of the Board with him. It was not expressed officially.

100. Did you subsequently gather that Mr. Grote had no personal knowledge of the ports and winds of Orissa?—Perhaps not quite so full and personal a knowledge as Mr. Schalch, who had been Collector of Ballasore himself.

101. You have told us that early in May you wrote to the Commissioner and Collectors, with a view to establish general relief operations, and in preparation for a public meeting for relief purposes. Do you consider that you were in any degree doing so as the organ of the Board of Revenue?—Not at all; but of course my official position enabled me to do so. I did not do so with the knowledge or concurrence of the Board.

102. Did you eventually bring the information, received by you in reply, to the knowledge of the Board?—Yes, every private letter of interest that I received was communicated to the members of the Board.

103. On the 18th of May, you distinctly urged general measures of relief. Was that in any

any degree with the knowledge or concurrence of the Board?—No; as before explained, I considered it, on general principles, extremely important that such a movement should be, as far as possible, non-official.

104. Can you say whether the members of the Board were individually favourable to such a movement?—I did not, as far as I remember, communicate with the members on the subject.

105. On the 23rd of May, on receipt of the balance of the North Western Provinces Famine Relief Fund, you changed your opinion, and recommended that private subscriptions should be discontinued. About the same time the Board also seems to have officially recommended to Government that subscriptions should not be called for. Was your communication of the 23rd of May in any degree as the organ of the Board?—Not at all. The meaning of my letter to the "Englishman" was fully explained in a subsequent letter that I wrote on the 1st January 1867. I never thought that the balance of the old famine fund would suffice without subscriptions; but I did think that it would be, at that time, useless to attempt to call for subscriptions till those balances were approaching exhaustion. The Board's letter to Government, of the 26th of May, to which the question refers, had for its object to ensure the assignment by the Government of India of the whole of those balances for expenditure in connection with the Orissa famine, not at all primarily or eventually to discourage subscriptions. It must be remembered that at the time that letter was written, the whole of the balances had not been made over to the Government of Bengal, so far as the Board were informed.

106. Up to the time when the Government of India gave two lakhs of the balance of the famine fund for the necessities of Orissa and Bengal, had the Board of Revenue any knowledge whatever of the existence of such a fund?—They knew of the balances before they were given; but up to the time that the application was made the Board had no such knowledge.

107. Do you know what public officers were likely to have had information of the balance of the North Western Provinces Famine Fund?—I should think, only the Offices of Account.

108. How did the Chamber of Commerce know of it?—I believe the first suggestion came from Mr. Muspratt, of Balasore.

109. On what ground did you, in your letter to the newspapers of the 23rd May, say that the pressure was chiefly felt in the town of Pooree itself, and not so much in the interior of the district?—On the authority of the prices current. That assertion of mine was contradicted in the newspapers, and that was what led to the correspondence with Mr. Barlow, alluded to in a previous answer, the result of which led to the conclusion that the prices current were in some respects misleading.

110. What arrangement was made for the conduct of the Board's duties during the absence of Mr. Schalch?—The current business in all departments was done by Mr. Grote; there was no formal distribution of business between the members; important cases were sent up to Mr. Schalch; where time was an object, orders were issued by Mr. Grote before the papers were sent up. The famine business was entirely disposed of by Mr. Grote, constant reports being made to Government.

111. When, on the 29th May, orders were received to send grain to Orissa, what measures were taken?—Before receipt of these orders, immediately on Mr. Ravenshaw's telegraph reaching them, the Board made arrangements for sending down grain to False Point and Balasore. The telegram from the Lieutenant Governor was not received till afterwards, probably the same day.

112. Why was no rice sent to Pooree at that time, as the Board knew that the distress had been greatest in that district?—The most immediate pressure for which the Board had to provide was at Cuttack and Balasore. Inquiry was necessary as to means of landing, &c., before shipments could be made to Pooree; and the intention was to forward some of the Burmah shipments to Pooree, if need arose.

113. We have noticed that, in fact, Pooree was the only port at which no special arrangements for landing rice ever have been or, perhaps, could have been made, that being the only port where ships anchor within a moderate distance of the shore, where indigenous surf boats were ready, and where, when the bad weather was not excessive, rice could be landed and brought into consumption at once; we have also been told that on the Orissa coast the monsoon did not burst till the 14th of June; did the Board then make any special inquiries from those who had personal knowledge of Pooree?—The Board, from the time that importation was taken in hand, inquired anxiously in all directions available to them, as to the possibility of landing rice at Pooree as well as at other places on the coast. The general character of the information which they received was, that the landing of rice at Pooree could be accomplished, if at all, only with extreme hazard; and so the result proved, when the "Gibb" was sent there.

114. Is it not the case, as a matter of fact, that no rice was sent to Pooree till some weeks later, after the monsoon had burst, and that even then, in the last days of June and first of July, the rice from the "Arracan" was much more quickly unloaded than that from the "Gibb," which arrived a little later?—Yes; because before the time came when the Board were in a position to divert a cargo from False Point to Pooree, information had been received from the Collector, in a letter dated 2nd June, that the supply of rice at Pooree was being freely kept up by local trade through the Chilka Lake. This information tallied exactly with information furnished to the Board about the same time by Mr. Minchin, a merchant of Aska, in the Ganjam district, who, in an interview with me,

Mr. R. B. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

me, had offered to supply grain in large quantities, by the same route, for use in Pooree; moreover, about the same time, the Board was led to suppose that Pooree could be supplied, by the same route, through the port of Gopalpoor, from the southern districts of Madras, more conveniently than by direct importation from Burmah, should importation on Government account be considered expedient.

115. Did the Board take advantage of Mr. Minchin's offer; if not, the reason?—They did not, because they preferred supplying themselves from the same quarter, through the agency of the officers of the Madras Government.

116. Did they then supply themselves from the same quarter?—To some extent they did. On the 12th of June, they ordered 200 tons by the "Arracan" for False Point, which was eventually diverted to Pooree; again, on the 18th of June, the "Tubal Cain" was ordered to bring up 30,000 maunds to Orissa (False Point). No cargoes were specially ordered for Pooree, because, from the first, False Point was treated as a port of call, from whence it was the intention to send the ships wherever they were most required; moreover, it was thought possible that means might be found for sending the rice by the internal channels of communication, in case of need, from False Point to Pooree.

117. If the emergency had been considered sufficient, would it not have been possible, at the end of May, to send down rice from Calcutta to Pooree in a couple of days; for instance, might not a large tug steamer have been taken up, and loaded with rice and sent down?—Within a couple of days, certainly not; but it would have been possible within eight days. The emergency, however, did not appear such as to warrant an operation which was deemed hazardous even at that season, and I am not prepared to say that any owners of tugs would have consented to risk their vessels.

118. With reference to subsequent information from Pooree, to which you have alluded, was not the Board aware that famine was raging in the Ganjam district, and that the supply derived from Gopalpoor was entirely sea-borne rice; and did not the Collector, in the letter you have cited, strongly urge the importation of rice by Government direct to Pooree for relief purposes, though not for sale to the general public?—The Board knew nothing regarding Ganjam which would lead them to suppose that there could be any objection to their taking advantage of the port of Gopalpoor for the importation of rice for use in Pooree, or to their buying rice at that port, and so, in accordance with the natural course of trade, inducing further importations to that place on private account. It certainly never struck me that there could be anything injurious to the people of Ganjam in such operations. As to the second half of the question, though it is true that in the letter quoted by me, Mr. Barlow advocates the importation of rice for relief purposes as more economical than the expenditure of money in the purchase of rice on the spot; he does not say one word to make it appear that rice would not find its way to Pooree in full supplies, without Government intervention; on the contrary, he expresses a most deliberate and carefully considered opinion that "so long as prices kept up, or, in other words, until the relief of scarcity came in due course," money would buy rice at Pooree.

119. Even as respects purchase by those who could buy at extreme famine rates, did it not strike the Board that Mr. Barlow was labouring under a total misapprehension in expecting rice from Sumbulpoor, when the monsoon interrupted the Gopalpoor supply, since the Board knew that a still greater pressure was experienced in Cuttack, which must inevitably absorb the Sumbulpoor supply before it could get to Pooree?—Mr. Barlow spoke of the probable subsequent despatch of grain from the Mahanuddee district, evidently as a subordinate element in his calculation, and only supposed that relief would come from thence to a portion of his district, if indeed to his own district at all. His reliance for the future was upon the early or Beallee crop; at least so I understood his letter. At the same time, the whole subject was new to the Board, and their information as to the extent of the supply available, viz., the Mahanuddee, too scanty to enable them to arrive off-hand at the conclusion that some supplies from that quarter might not possibly in due course even overflow Cuttack into Pooree.

120. Please mention what was done for the supply of Cuttack and Balasore, when operations were commenced on the 29th May?—I went in person, under Mr. Grote's orders, at once, and engaged the "Court Hey" to proceed direct to False Point with a cargo of rice, which I arranged for Messrs. Borradaile, Schiller & Co., to supply. I then proceeded to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., and authorised them to telegraph for a cargo of rice from Akyab, and then I arranged with Captain Howe, master attendant, for the despatch of the "Nemesis" with a sloop or sloops loaded with rice to Balasore. On the same day the Board arranged for the diversion to False Point, under a guarantee of a minimum price, of the "Jacques Forestier," a ship with 16,000 maunds of grain, then on her way down the river, bound for Bourbon. Subsequently, the Board further agreed to provide a steamer to tow the "Jacques Forestier" to False Point. Eventually, the steamer that was to have towed her not being available, she was towed by the "Court Hey" herself. Both vessels arrived at False Point on the 4th June.

121. Subsequently, on the 9th June, the Government recommended the Board to send more rice, and placed two lakhs of rupees at their disposal for the purpose, in addition to the amount already expended. The Board demurred until the Government sent a further order. Whose doing was that?—Mr. Grote was, at that time, the only member present, and the telegram was sent under his orders.

122. Would it not have been possible to buy the cargo of the "Jacques Forestier" outright at the same price at which it was guaranteed?—Certainly it would, and the Board

Board eventually did so. Mr. Grote preferred the expedient of guaranteeing a minimum price, as, in his opinion, likely to draw rice to Orissa in a more legitimate way than by direct importation on Government account.

123. Supposing the guarantee system to have advantage, was it not a mistake to guarantee the minimum price at False Point, when there was no one to purchase the rice?—If there was to be a guarantee at all, it was obviously necessary to specify some point at which the guaranteed price would apply. The intention of the Board was by no means to limit the sale of rice at False Point, but to guarantee to the owners the price named at False Point, plus any expenditure incurred in conveying the rice to the actual place of sale; and this was understood by the Commissioner, and explained to the importer's agent four days after the arrival of the ship, and without any further explanatory instructions from the Board. In point of fact, however, rice *ex* the "Jacques Forestier," was sold at False Point above the guaranteed minimum; and at a later date serious complaints were made to the Board, because it was alleged that rice was not being sold at False Point.

124. Was not the text of the agreement with Messrs. Charriol distinct, that the minimum price was guaranteed at False Point, and no mention made of sending it beyond False Point; and is it not the fact that this agreement having been sent to Messrs. Charriol's agent, he found himself unable to send the rice beyond False Point, so that the communication between False Point and Cuttack being exceedingly dilatory, a number of days delay occurred before the difficulty was got over by the Board buying the cargo outright from Messrs. Charriol at Calcutta, and sending information of the purchase to False Point *viâ* Cuttack?—I don't know what instructions Messrs. Charriol sent to their agent, but, on the 13th June, they wrote to me that they "were sorry to learn that Mr. Fressanges had misunderstood their instructions as to the delivery of the rice per 'Jacques Forestier'; the price was fixed for delivery at False Point," and they knew that they were at liberty to sell it anywhere. As to the delay, as explained above, on the 8th June, four days after the vessel's arrival at False Point, the Commissioner gave Mr. Fressanges the authority intended by the Board, in terms admitting of no misconstruction; and on the 12th June, eight days after the vessel was reported at False Point, the Board telegraphed to the Commissioner to buy the cargo outright. The "Court Hey," carrying 3,000 maunds, and in regard to the discharge of which great pressure was put on the local authorities, on account of the heavy demurrage, was actually not discharged till the 12th June, and her rice did not begin to arrive at Cuttack in a regular stream until long after. I cannot, therefore, conceive that the misunderstanding to which the question refers, caused any real delay whatever. The "Jacques Forestier" was not discharged until the 1st July.

125. When the Board made all these arrangements, were they aware of the extreme difficulty of communication between False Point and Cuttack, both in regard to transport and to postal communication?—They were aware, no doubt, in a general way, that to carry heavy loads, or even to keep up regular communication for 70 or 80 miles during the rains in any part of Bengal or Orissa, was a serious matter; they supposed that there was a road to False Point and a river; concerning neither route had they any special information; for that and for all arrangements possible for the improvement of the communication, they relied, necessarily, entirely upon the local officers, who well know that the utmost importance was attached to the subject, and that thay had *carte blanche* to make any arrangements that were possible; at any rate, except by False Point, I do not even now know the Board could have sent rice into Cuttack.

126. When this great emergency arose, did the Board take any special measures to obtain information regarding the ports in the Cuttack and Balasore districts, and the means of communication from the sea to the district stations: did they consult any officers in Calcutta of local experience. The question is put as distinguished from your entire reliance on the Commissioner?—In regard to the internal communication, and indeed in a measure on both points, the Board were dependent, chiefly, upon the information that the local officers could supply; nevertheless, they did most anxiously endeavour to procure information on the subject in every other direction available to them. In regard to the ports, the master attendant was the Board's official adviser, and with him they held frequent and anxious consultations on the subject. He will be able to give the commission the details of the information that he was chiefly instrumental in gathering for the Board.

127. Regarding internal communication, did you not consult any officer who might have been found on the spot, such as Mr. Harrison, who had been for some years magistrate of Cuttack?—We did not so far distrust the local officers as to suppose that an officer who had been many years ago in the province had more valuable information on the subject than they. Nevertheless, it so happens that I was, at the time, in almost daily communication with Mr. Harrison himself, and that naturally the subject of the famine and the measures taken for its relief, were constantly discussed between us. Had Mr. Harrison at that time been possessed of any information on such subjects, that he considered at variance, I am quite sure that he would have communicated it to me. It must be remembered, moreover, that Mr. Schalch was possessed of as intimate personal knowledge of the province as any officer not then actually employed there.

128. Did Mr. Schalch come down from Darjeeling as soon as these operations were commenced?—Not quite immediately, but at a very early date.

129. Was the Board aware that Mr. Ravenshaw, who in his telegram had undertaken

Mr. R. E. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

to make arrangements for landing rice, immediately afterwards went away to Pooree, the only district at which rice was not being landed, making over the duty of landing and transporting rice to the Collector of Cuttack, an officer of very limited official experience, and of no local experience?—If Mr. Ravenshaw did not report his departure to Pooree directly, the Board had, of course, reason to know indirectly that he had gone there. They presumed that he had, before leaving Cuttack, made all possible arrangements for the landing and transport of the rice; and upon a matter of such plain urgency, and where local knowledge was so indispensable, the Board would certainly not relieve a Commissioner from his responsibility by attempting to give him detailed instructions.

130. Considering that False Point is practically much more accessible from Calcutta than from Cuttack, and that the local officers were overburdened with work, did it not occur to the Board that it would have been of advantage to send down a member of the Board or other high officer to obtain information on the spot, and to use some of the special means available in the port of Calcutta, *e. g.*, cargo or ship boats, and a river steamer to tug them?—As to the deputation of a member of the Board to procure information, in the first place, there was at the time only one member present at the Board, and the occasion was considered one for action in every possible direction, not then for gathering information. As to using the special means available in the Port of Calcutta, that subject was most fully and anxiously inquired into in consultation with the master attendant. The result of the inquiries was to satisfy the Board that no steamer or boats, such as could have been employed at False Point in the manner suggested, were obtainable in Calcutta or indeed elsewhere. We satisfied ourselves in the best way available to us at the time that, for employment in the manner suggested, a steamer at once sea-going and of the very lightest draught would be alone of any use, and that even ordinary boats, much more cargo boats, drew too much water to be practically available for the discharge of vessels at False Point. Further, I venture to assert that no man in Calcutta would have risked his life in taking a river steamer to False Point at that season of the year, even if she would have been of use on her arrival.

131. As a matter of fact, was any material assistance, either in officers, men or means for landing and transport purposes, ever sent from Calcutta to the ports of Orissa?—In regard to both Pooree and False Point, as explained in my last answer, our practical conclusion was, after careful consideration, that we had not the means of affording any material assistance from Calcutta; beyond, therefore, sending one gunner and a supply of tarpaulins to False Point, nothing was attempted. It must be remembered that, as regards False Point, we were told at a very early date that the difficulty had been, with the aid of the officers of the Irrigation Company, largely overcome, and that an average of about 4,000 maunds a day could be landed regularly. In fact, my own impression distinctly was, and I think the Board shared it, that, from a very early date, the difficulty was shifted from the landing to the forwarding operations. As to inland transport, it certainly never struck me that we could furnish any useful assistance from this place, nor was any such assistance, so far as I remember, ever asked for. As to Balasore, no complaint was ever made of any difficulty in landing rice, and as far as I am aware, none was felt.

132. In your opinion, if a campaign had been going on in Cuttack, and if the safety of a European army had been involved, do you think that no more effective means of transport could have been found; or, to put it otherwise, do you think that in the early part of the month of June the officers of Government realised the crisis on which hundreds of thousands of lives depended, and that everything was done that it would have been possible to do, had so great a crisis been thoroughly realised?—I cannot answer such a question in behalf of any other officer, superior or subordinate. For myself, as far as I can replace myself now in the position that I then occupied, I conscientiously believe that I did realise very early in June the full extent of the crisis, and that I omitted no suggestion, no means, and no effort to the best of my ability to meet it. I am not even now able to point out any means that could have been then adopted with any hope of success, and that were not adopted. I do not for a moment mean to claim that I made no mistakes, or that I did all that any other man could have done in my position; but I do assert that, relying upon the help of God, I did the best that I could.

133. Very little rice seems to have been sent to Balasore early in the season; in fact, it appears that only 8,000 maunds were received there at a date many weeks after the commencement of operations; can you explain the cause of this?—There was great difficulty about Balasore from the outset. The extent of the supplies that we sent there was limited only by the means at our disposal for sending them. The means of putting rice into Balasore was carefully inquired into at the first; and we were advised by the master attendant (and every inquiry that I could make in other directions showed me that his advice was sound) that there was not, in the port of Calcutta, at that time, another steamer besides the "Nemesis" that was sea-going and yet of so light a draught so to be able to cross the bar into the Balasore river. There was also, from the first, anxious inquiry into the possibility of procuring sloops to carry rice to Balasore. It was found impossible to send sloops in any other way than in tow of steamers, and even so, only a vessel or two could be found fit to make the voyage, and those not without the most serious risk to the vessels themselves and to the lives of those on board. Careful inquiry was made whether any other possible route could be found for conveying rice into Balasore overland, either from the Midnapore district or from any point nearer to Calcutta along the river bank, the idea being to form a depôt to be supplied from Calcutta, at any such place or places that could be found, and thence to keep up the supply into Balasore. A suggestion

tion to send rice by carts all the way from Calcutta to Balasore was even made, but all these means were alike found impracticable, and we were compelled to confine ourselves to the "Nemesis" only, and to such sloops as could be found. There was a small Government schooner, the "Dolphin," which the "Nemesis" towed down, as well as sloops.

134. Can you say what was the maximum draught of a steamer which, in the Master Attendant's opinion, might have attempted the port of Balasore in such a crisis?—I cannot state this from memory; but I know that the deliberate opinion which he gave to the Board was that the "Nemesis" was the only vessel in port capable of making the transit.

135. On the 29th June the Board telegraphed to the Commissioner to send down a responsible person to make arrangements for landing rice from the "Guide," which was attempting to get into the port of Dhamrah. From a subsequent telegram, it appears that she had not started up to the 10th July, and she did not arrive at Dhamrah for some ten days or more; can you explain the cause of this delay, at a time when the Bhudruk sub-division was in urgent need?—The detailed answer will be given by the Master Attendant. Briefly, his department was unable to prepare the "Guide" to start at an earlier date, although at first the Board were led to suppose that she would start on the date intimated in the telegram. The "Guide" started on the 10th, reached Hidgellee on the 12th, and was then, as the Commission know, a very long time in finding her way up the Dhamrah. It was on account of the distress which the Board knew to be prevailing at Bhudruck, that the experiment was made of sending the "Guide" into the Dhamrah, concerning which river only the vaguest information was forthcoming at the time.

136. Did you then distinctly understand that there were not in the port of Calcutta any steamers capable of getting as far as Balasore in favourable weather, which drew as little water near as the heaviest of the sloops and brigs which resort to that port?—Most decidedly.

137. By whose advice was the "Tubal Cain" sent to Balasore?—The Master Attendant was the responsible professional adviser of the Board upon the subject; but, at the same time, I wish to say that the Board understood thoroughly from him that a vessel of her size could only proceed, at that season, into Balasore Roads, with some considerable risk, the responsibility for incurring which risk the Board, in my opinion, shared with Captain Howe.

138. Do you know why it happened that the "Nemesis," which was the only steamer capable of going into Balasore, was sent to tow the "Guide" to another port?—The Master Attendant will answer the question more precisely than I can; but the Board gave their consent to the arrangement in the full expectation that the trip would occupy a very short time; that the "Nemesis" would be back at Balasore in ample time to discharge the "Tubal Cain," and that she could not meanwhile be employed on a more urgent service.

139. Was it ever brought to the notice of the Board, when it was determined to anchor ships outside the Balasore River, that that port was entirely destitute of all sea-going boats and of all appliances for communicating with ships in the roads?—I cannot say that it was; but at the same time, so far as I am aware, no kind of reliance was placed upon any such appliances for the contemplated unloading of the "Tubal Cain;" the intention was to unload her by means of sloops towed by the "Nemesis." We were given to understand that sloops were procurable for that purpose.

140. Do you understand that neither the "Conqueror" nor the "Agitator" could attempt the port of Balasore?—I do not remember the question being discussed as regards the "Conqueror," though if that vessel can really go into Balasore in the monsoon, my impression of the inaccessibility of the port is certainly erroneous. The "Agitator" was sent to Balasore, I think, more than once. I cannot say whether she crossed the bar, but I know she was withdrawn from the service, being found unsuitable for it.

141. What was the result of the correspondence between the Board and local officers late in May and early in June on the subject of supplying importation of rice from Calcutta to Balasore by private traders, in sloops to be towed down free of cost by steamers supplied by Government?—It fell through. The sloops never appeared, and the agents of the merchants never presented themselves at the Board. I have no doubt that sloops could not be found to go to sea at that season.

142. Did the Board, in your opinion, receive all possible assistance from the Master Attendant?—Yes; I consider that Captain Howe and the officers of his department exerted themselves to the utmost of their ability.

143. In the month of June the Chamber of Commerce represented the famine to be appalling; but his Honor the Lieutenant Governor repeatedly expressed his opinion that the accounts received by the Board and the Lieutenant Governor did not support the statements of the Chamber of Commerce as to the extent of the famine. Does it seem to you that in fact the local officers did not report the full intensity of the famine, and if not, why not?—I believe that the Chamber of Commerce had probably no other means of forming a judgment as to the intensity of the famine than the official accounts. I do not think, certainly, that the local officers wilfully withheld any information from their official superiors. I had no knowledge of the nature of the narrative submitted by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India.

 144. From

Mr. R. B. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

144. From what date did the Board commence publishing accounts of the famine?—From the first commencement of the distress, as far back, that is, as October 1865, the Board published freely every paper of interest bearing on the famine that they received. From the beginning of June, however, the publication of the detailed narratives and proceedings was not quite so full; a general weekly narrative by the Board of Revenue being substituted.

145. Do you mean to say that, throughout, the worst accounts were always published at the time?—As already stated, till about the end of May or the beginning of June, I do not remember that any paper, likely to be of interest, was knowingly or purposely withheld. I was, personally, very strongly in favour of publishing every detail which came to the Board's knowledge, and, without taking their special orders on the subject, I did, up to the period stated, place all the papers at the disposal of the press. At that time the Government and the Board interposed, and directed me to substitute, for the detailed accounts, the narratives that were afterwards published.

146. Do you think that this interposition was in any degree caused by an impression that the reports and letters published by you were often of an unduly alarming character?—I think that the wish of the Government was, that ascertained facts only should be made public, and not personal impressions.

147. Do you think that the result of the instructions given to you was that the most distressing and harassing accounts received from local officers were not published after that time?—I do not remember any specially distressing official account that was withheld. One very sad narrative furnished to the Relief Committee at Maunbhoom by the Rev. Mr. Onasch was withheld; that is the only document of the kind that I remember that was not published. I continued to suggest the publication of every paper that appeared to me likely to interest the public, and many were published.

148. Are you not mistaken in saying that the early accounts were published at the time? Were not both Mr. Barlow's accounts of what he saw in December, and Mr. Ravenshaw's of what he saw in April, published only in the beginning of June?—My answer had reference only to the general famine; I all along looked on the calamity in Malood and Parricood as special and local. I cannot say whether the reports of that calamity were published at the time or not; and if not, why not? I certainly did not, so far as I remember, publish in June any letter written by Mr. Barlow in December. In regard to Mr. Ravenshaw's letter, I have not got it with me, but my clear remembrance is that it was published as soon as the Board received it. That letter was addressed to the Government, and only reached the Board after long delay.

149. As a matter of fact, do you not consider that the result of the statements published by the authority of Government was to throw doubt in the mind of the public, on the more appalling accounts published by private individuals, and that in consequence the public in general never did fully realise the intensity of the famine in Orissa?—I very much doubt whether the public read a tenth part of what the Government did publish. I am not aware that there were many private accounts of importance published in the newspapers, and I am very certain that nothing in any official reports would, as a rule, induce the public to discredit private statements. The reports and papers published by the Government have been by turns characterised as *coleur de rose*, and as full of such appalling details as should have impelled the authorities to immediate action at a very early date; which character is correct, if either, it will be for the Commission to judge. To answer the question upon its merits, I may perhaps say that none of the accounts and narratives, public or private, which I received or saw, conveyed to me the impression that the famine was so intense as I now believe it to have been. At the same time, I might say that nothing was omitted to be done on any such ground, and that I well knew that the famine was sufficiently appalling to be beyond the reach of our utmost possible exertions.

150. In the months of May and June it was urged on the Lieutenant Governor from different quarters, that it would be desirable to appoint a mixed central committee of officials and non-officials, for the general arrangement of relief operations. You have seen the reason on which the Lieutenant Governor declined to adopt this suggestion; are you of opinion, from what has since come to your knowledge, that the efficiency or extent of the relief would have been in any way prevented by the early appointment of such a committee?—The relief operations were, in fact, conducted in each district under the superintendence of precisely such a committee, and I am not prepared to specify any particular point on which the existence of a general committee of the same character would have added to the efficiency of the management. I do think, however, that the appointment of such a general committee, at an early date, would have led to the earlier importation of grain into Orissa. There would not have been the same grave objections to such a body importing grain that there were to the measure being undertaken by the Government itself, or one of its departments. I think, too, that such a committee would have enlisted far more public interest, and would have obtained fuller private details than ever reached the Government, or even the local authorities. Moreover, as a matter of public policy, I always advocated the appointment of such a committee, being of opinion that it would materially relieve the Government from the tremendous weight of responsibility that from the first lay before it.

151. Do you not think that the public, both in India and in England, would have subscribed for the relief of the famishing, and that the balance of the North West Famine Fund might thus have been properly supplemented, instead of the charge being thrown wholly on the Government?—As a preliminary, I wish to assert distinctly that the Board had,

Mr. R. B. Chapman.

4 & 5 Feb. 1867.

had, at their disposal from the outset, all the funds that they required, and that the want of funds did not prevent the adoption of any measure that commended itself to their judgment. Had the balances to which you refer not been discovered, the appointment of a general committee to collect subscriptions would have been a simple necessity, and measures were actually in progress, accordingly, on the part of the public. I did not personally think that the discovery of the balances ought to have prevented the appointment of a committee, for I considered those balances to be the property of the public, and that their application would have been most fitly superintended by a public committee. I was of opinion, further, that unless such a committee was appointed, further subscriptions from the public would never be obtained in large sums. I am not prepared to say, that under any circumstances the proceedings for the relief of the famine could have been conducted without wholesale grants of public money; the necessity for such grants was, in my opinion, a political evil of great magnitude, and, from the moment they commenced, private subscriptions would probably cease. But I do not see how the evil was to be avoided, and I do not think that the appointment of a public committee would have prevented it.

152. Do you think that in any shape any of the local officers were led to think that Government or the Board were indisposed to receive alarming statements made in a random way, and that they should confine themselves to facts which they could substantiate?—I am not aware of any instructions to that effect being given to the local officers, official or demi-official. There was some such feeling among some of the officers at head quarters, but I do not believe that it was communicated to any subordinate officer directly or indirectly, except on a single occasion. I think something was said to Mr. Herschel by the order of Government, about some letters written by Mr. Man to the newspapers from the interior of Midnapore. I wish to say for myself that I had no feeling of the kind, and it is very unlikely that any letter written by me should have had any tinge or tone of the kind.

153. In the very commencement Mr. Barlow, in his telegram of the 25th June, begged of the Board to "ask public aid." When the correspondence was officially published this telegram was omitted; was that in any degree because the proposition was disapproved?—I know nothing about that. I believe that the correspondence was not published by me.

154. Were the local officers ever called on to state fully and freely all they knew and learned regarding the famine?—Not in terms, that I know of. I took it for granted that they would do so; but I believe it was not thought necessary especially to write and encourage harassing details; there may have been in some minds a certain amount of reluctance to realise the fact that actual famine was raging.

155. We have been informed that in the early part of the famine more rice might have been thrown into Balasore by employing the "Conqueror" and such vessels, if it had been determined to do so regardless of expense and risk; and that when an offer was made to do so by the "Electric" at two rupees per bag, you replied, "Out of the question;" how do you explain this?—The expense was so far an element in the matter, that it was thought that if it was found possible to employ such a vessel on such a service, it could be done as quickly, and on better terms, than those on which the "Electric" offered. Balasore was at that time supplied for the moment. Of course, throughout the operations, economy was considered whenever it did not conflict with more important objects.

156. When the "Tubal Cain" was taken away, what was done to supplying rice to Balasore?—I think Mr. Lane will be able to answer this question precisely; but I know that the result of all our inquiries, at that time, was to make it clear to us that no steamer but the "Nemesis" could be used to supply Balasore.

157. What arrangements were made for importing the rice from Burmah?—That part of the work was undertaken, from the first, entirely by the firm of Messrs. Gisborne & Co. Mr. Scott Moncrieff will be able to give the Commission full details of the arrangements made. He was himself generally present at the meetings held weekly at the Board's office, and acted upon the decisions arrived at in his presence at those meetings. I wish to bear my testimony to the indefatigable and unsparing exertions of Mr. Moncrieff in the matter. He was not, indeed, able to fulfil his own expectations, or those which he held out to the Government, either as to the price at which rice could be purchased in Burmah, or the arrangements which could be made about freight, or the quantity of rice which could be got in Burmah and Arracan; but I am quite sure that he and the agents of his firm, Messrs. Mohr Brothers & Co., exerted themselves to the utmost.

No. 101.—Captain Howe.

[Examined in Calcutta, 6th February 1867.]

Captain Howe.

6 Feb. 1867.

1. *Q.* Were you the official adviser of the Government regarding the despatch of rice to Orissa in the year 1866?—*A.* Yes, on such points as were referred to me.

2. And was the business connected with the despatch of vessels from Calcutta done through you?—Principally so; as regards the Government vessel especially.

3. What was the first occasion on which you were asked to despatch vessels on the part of Government to Orissa?—On the 30th April, to send down 1,200 maunds of rice to Cuttack at the request of the Inspector General of Gaols for the gaol at Cuttack.

Captain Howe.

6 Feb. 1867.

4. Was that 1,200 maunds despatched; and if not, why not?—I cannot recollect distinctly, at this distance of time, whether those 1,200 maunds were sent to False Point or not; but there was no Government vessel available.

5. Is it not the case that the only difficulty in respect of the despatch of that 1,200 maunds was, that Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. said they could not send a steamer to False Point unless they had at least 3,000 bags of rice?—Yes; it was not then desired to send so much as 3,000 bags, and therefore the 1,200 maunds were not sent, there being no Government vessel available.

6. Was that the only occasion on which it was proposed to send rice before the 29th of May?—That was the only occasion, to the best of my recollection and belief.

7. On the 29th of May did the Board of Revenue communicate to you the wish of the Government to despatch rice?—Yes; and the Government also communicated with me direct.

8. Was the "Court Hey" taken up by you?—No.

9. Had you anything to do with the despatch of the "Court Hey" with rice?—Nothing whatever.

10. Throughout, did you send any rice to False Point, or despatch any vessels to that place?—We sent the "Arracan" in October, but none before (with the exception of the "Moulmein"*), to False Point.

11. What was the first occasion on which you took part in the despatch of rice to Orissa?—On account of Mr. Chapman's application to me, dated 29th May, we sent the "Nemesis" to tow a sloop to Balasore on the 6th of June.

12. About the end of May, were there plenty of steamers and other vessels in the port of Calcutta; was there any special pressure of private trade?—There were plenty of vessels, and no special pressure.

13. Would it have been easy, then, to get a steamer to go to Pooree?—No; except on their own terms.

14. What do you mean by saying "except on their own terms"?—I mean that they would have demanded exorbitant rates.

15. Why would they have demanded exorbitant rates?—Partly because the season was advanced, and partly on account of the necessities of Government.

16. Are you aware at what rate the "Court Hey" was taken up?—I don't recollect.

17. Do you not think that as the Board of Revenue took up the "Court Hey," they might also have taken up other vessels for Pooree in the like manner?—False Point was a protected anchorage, and Pooree was an open one.

18. By giving very high terms, do you think that vessels might have been got without delay?—Yes.

19. If, on the 29th of May, you received an order to take up a steamer to send to Pooree with rice, on the understanding that money was no object and that the case was very emergent, in how many days do you think the rice would have reached Pooree?—In four or five days from the time I received the order.

20. Had you any special difficulty in sending rice to Balasore at that time?—None, because we had a flat-bottomed steamer drawing little water.

21. On what day did you receive the order to send a steamer to Balasore?—On the 29th of May.

22. Had you any difficulty about getting vessels of light draught to carry the rice to be towed by the steamer?—Yes, very great difficulty.

23. What was the difficulty?—There were no light draught vessels procurable in the port, except two, only one of which was pronounced sea-worthy. There were sloops at Oolaberreah, but they refused to go at that time of the season.

24. Were there no other light vessels of any sort in the port of Calcutta?—Yes; the "Dolphin," Government anchor boat, was launched and fitted, and I diverted her from her proper duty, and sent her to Balasore. She was sent on the 15th of June, as soon as she could be fitted, and was kept running with the sloop in tow of the "Nemesis" throughout the season.

25. Besides the "Dolphin," were there not other light vessels of any kind in Calcutta?—Not till the schooner "Twinkling Star" was launched, when we immediately took her up to go to Dhamra. There was also the "Conqueror," a light draught steamer, to tow the "Twinkling Star;" this was in August.

26. Why was the "Conqueror" not taken up before August?—Because my orders were limited to the employment of Government vessels.

27. If you had had a *carte blanche* to take up any vessels available, could you have got the "Conqueror" at an earlier date?—Yes, I could; she was in the river.

28. How much water does the "Conqueror" draw?—Nine or ten feet.

29. Could she have gone into the Balasore river?—She grounded on the bar in attempting it, and might have been lost.

30. If she had attempted it again, might she not have got in?—Yes, if she had gone in at proper time of tide, and when it was very smooth; but it would have been a risk at that season, on account of the swell of the bar.

31. Is the bottom of the Balasore river soft or hard?—On the bar it is hard sand.

32. Do you know what is the draught of the sloops and barges which frequent the port of Balasore?—Their draught is from seven to eight feet.

33. Do

* *See* Answer 105.

33. Do any of them draw more?—I should say that 10 feet is the outside of any of them, and such vessels never go in except in the north-east monsoon.

34. Was there any other steamer in the river drawing so little water as the "Conqueror"?—I don't think there was any other sea-worthy steamer of that description that would take cargo also.

35. Was the "Conqueror" employed to take cargo?—Yes, she took about 650 bags of rice. Possibly, if I had orders to take up another steamer, I might have found one.

36. If the "Conqueror" had gone without cargo, towing light vessels, do you think she might have gone into the port of Balasore?—Yes.

37. Do you think that by any expenditure of money it would be possible, either at Oolabereah or elsewhere, to hire vessels to go to Balasore?—Neither love nor money could do it.

38. Could they not have been bought?—I did not think of purchasing; I only tried hiring.

39. If you had purchased them, do you think you could have got them on high terms, and sent them down with a reasonable chance of their arrival?—We might have purchased some, but the doubt would have been of their sea-worthiness. The one we took we had to repair and caulk before dispatch.

40. In the most extreme emergency, do you not think that you might have tried if your orders had been by any manner of means to send rice down?—Yes; private parties chartered one, and sent her down in tow of the "Electric," and she was lost on the bar and sank with her cargo, but the men were saved. When she was lost, she had been cast off by the "Electric," which could not cross the bar.

41. If there had been a steamer fitted to take that sloop into the river, and that steamer had been commanded by a skilful officer, do you think she might have been taken into the river?—No, because she was not lost by striking on the bar; she was unseaworthy, sprung a leak, and sank on the bar.

42. What was the lightest class of sea-going vessels of any kind to be found in the Hooghly?—The Government steamers "Nemesis" and "Proserpine," and other vessels of the "Conqueror" class. Then the steam-tugs, according to their size and class.

43. Were there any small class of sailing vessels of any sort?—None at all, except the "Twinkling Star," which we took up afterwards.

44. Was there any other class of native vessels?—None at that time of the year.

45. At any other season is there any other class of native vessels of small draught which might enter the port of Balasore?—Yes, the Maldive boats; but they come in the north-east monsoon and go away, and are not to be seen at any other time.

46. At the end of May could it have been possible by any means to send down cargo boats to False Point?—It was utterly impossible. I applied to Captain Patterson, the agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, to lend me a small steamer which he had of about six-horse power. He promised the vessel, but there was an impossibility of getting her down at that time of the year. She could not be towed down on account of the heavy sea, and she could not be hoisted in. It was impossible to hoist in a cargo boat.

47. Why was it impossible to tow the vessel?—On account of the heavy sea.

48. Just explain why the heavy sea makes it impossible?—She would have been towed under water and swamped.

49. Have you any record of the state of the weather in the end of May and the first part of June?—No; we know it was the usual monsoon weather. We don't keep any register of the weather. The logs of vessels only can show what the weather was.

50. Mr. Geary, of False Point, has told us that till the 14th of June the weather was very hot, close, and still, and the sea smooth, and that the first gale did not come on till the 14th of June, and that, in his opinion, the weather in the early part of June looked so settled that it must probably have been so all over the Bay of Bengal; can you say whether that statement is correct or not?—It may have been correct as far as False Point was concerned, but it would afford no ground at all for judging of the weather at other parts of the bay. On the contrary, I know that the statement was erroneous, because the "Nemesis" left this on the 6th of June, and the sea, in crossing the bar at Balasore, was so high that she was nearly lost from the risk of pooping. It should also be understood that in sending down vessels it is not so much a gale, as the ordinary south-west monsoon weather, and the high sea which ordinarily prevails, which creates the danger in towing cargo boats down.

51. Would there be the same difficulty by the inner channel to Balasore?—No; that was the channel we adopted for the "Nemesis" and sloops to Balasore, but there would have been the same difficulty beyond Balasore; there would have been no means of getting sloops beyond Balasore.

52. Do you know whether, in the rainy season, there is any internal water communication between Balasore and False Point?—Not for steamers or heavy cargo boats.

53. Would it have been equally impossible to send down a river steamer to be employed in towing at False Point?—Yes; I consulted many officers, and found that it was utterly impossible.

54. When was the subject mooted?—After the first receipt of Mr. Chapman's note of the 29th of May.

55. Was there any river steamer then strong enough to have been sent down?—I believe

Captain Howe.

6 Feb. 1867.

the Government river steamers are the strongest in the river, and I ascertained that they could not have been sent down with any safety. I consulted one of the most experienced officers, and the builder, and surveyor.

56. You said that it was impossible to tow cargo boats and such like vessels in the south-west monsoon. Was it not the case that larger vessels were towed by steamers in that monsoon?—It could be done every day, but a small cargo boat would be towed under water and be completely overwhelmed.

57. Might not iron cargo boats, by being battened down, be towed?—Yes, in a matter of life and death, but somebody must be on board to steer, and there would be almost a certainty that her tow ropes would part, and she could not carry a hawser like a big ship; she would have been strained to pieces and knocked to pieces by the sea.

58. Do you think such vessels might be got to Balasore?—With great risk.

59. How far is it from Balasore to False Point?—About 70 or 80 miles.

60. Would there have been any chance of getting them from Balasore to False Point by taking advantage of a favourable break in the weather?—They might be started in the morning in a lull, but by the time they had got half way, there would most probably be such a heavy sea that it would be almost certain to swamp the vessels.

61. Was there not an attempt made to get light vessels from Madras?—I am not aware; certainly none came.

62. Where was the "Proserpine"?—At Akyab.

63. Was she not employed in the famine?—She was employed under the Commissioner of British Burmah, and could not be spared; she had also been waiting her repairs for some months, and the "Nemesis" was to have gone to relieve her; but I diverted the "Nemesis" on account of the necessity of the occasion. If the "Proserpine" had come up, she could not have been employed, because she was not sea-worthy.

64. Could the "Proserpine," in an emergency, have come up to Calcutta?—She could have come up *viâ* Chittagong and the Soonderbunds.

65. Could she not, in a short time, have been made sea-worthy to go to Balasore in an extreme emergency?—No; her bottom was altogether gone, and the machinery out of order too.

66. Was the "Guide" dispatched to the Dhamrah under your instructions?—Yes.

67. How much water did she draw?—She drew between 13 and 14 feet, according to the cargo put in her. We had only four pilot brigs employed for service at the Sand Heads, and this was the fifth and only vessel in reserve. On account of the emergency, we had diverted her from her proper duties; and if one of the regular brigs had been disabled, great inconvenience would have resulted.

68. Could any private vessels have been got drawing as little water as the "Guide"?—I don't think there was a vessel in port. There was a little brig came up from Australia the other day; I tried to charter her, but she would not go under three rupees a bag, and has gone back again.

69. What was the cause of the delay that occurred in sending off the "Guide," which seems to have gone a good deal later than she was first promised?—I am not aware of any delay in dispatching her, because she left for Dhamrah on the 10th of July, and I am not aware that I ever promised her earlier. Mr. Chapman may have written to me to send her off as soon as I could, but she was laid up, and it was necessary to get her ready and find her crew and fit her for sea, which necessarily took some time. There was much to do to her, and she could not have gone without it; being a pilot brig she had tanks on board, which it was necessary to take out before she could be used for cargo.

70. What was the occasion of the delay in her reaching the Dhamrah?—The "Nemesis" was to take her from Balasore to the Dhamrah. The "Agitator" took her down to Hidgellee and had to come back, and the "Nemesis" took her on. The "Nemesis" was at Hidgellee with the "Dolphin" at the time, and there was delay before the "Nemesis" could come back to Hidgellee from Balasore to take on the "Guide."

71. Why had the "Agitator" to return to Calcutta, and why was the "Nemesis" the only vessel which could go into Balasore, taken from that duty to send her to another duty?—The "Agitator" was required in Calcutta for port work, and she was also to tow back the "Dolphin" from Hidgellee for another cargo.

72. If you had a *carte blanche* to spend money, could you not, by taking up vessels, have arranged that the "Guide" should be towed down to the Dhamrah without taking away the "Nemesis" from Balasore?—I could have hired a tug if I had a *carte blanche*, but it would have cost a great deal of money, because I should besides have had to insure her.

73. You have told us that till later, when you took up the "Conquerer," your orders were restricted to the use of Government vessels. Had you, in fact, Government vessels enough for an emergency; or was the emergency in the early part of the famine not considered so great as to justify an unlimited expenditure in taking up private vessels?—I had not a single Government vessel available. Those that I employed were not properly available, but were diverted from their proper duty on my own responsibility, trusting to the approval of Government, which was accorded. The emergency was apparently not considered sufficient to justify unlimited expenditure in taking up private vessels. For instance, when I submitted an offer on the part of the agents of the "Electric" to take down rice to Balasore at two rupees per bag, I received an answer from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the words "Out of the question.

74. Did

74. Did the "Electric" propose to go into Balasore?—I think not; she was to anchor outside, and sloops were to take in the cargo.

75. Do you know how much the "Electric" draws?—I should say 12 feet.

76. Was the "Electric" about that time taken up by the East India Irrigation Company?—Yes; to go to False Point, and she had bitter weather. I have not heard what rate the Irrigation Company paid.

77. Can you tell us when your orders first went beyond taking Government sea-going vessels; when you were first authorised to expend large sums in taking up private vessels, or to take up private vessels at all?—I think it was in August when I took up the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star."

78. Was the "Twinkling Star" taken up as soon as she was launched?—She was offered to us, and taken as soon as she was launched, and before her registry was taken out.

79. From the time that the "Conqueror" was taken up, was she constantly in Government employ throughout the famine?—We took her by the day, but kept her on for months. I recommended, as a matter of economy, that she be taken by the month; but it was preferred to take her by the day, because it was hoped that the necessity would soon cease.

80. Did you ever try to get any other vessel like the "Conqueror"?—No, I had no orders to do so, and there was then no necessity on account of the large importations of rice that were then making from the grain ports to Pooree and False Point, and to Balasore also.

81. In your opinion, could rice be got in Calcutta in those days in large quantities?—No; it was stated that rice could not be got at Calcutta, and that was the reason of getting it from the grain ports.

82. Was the "Tubal Cain" a Government vessel?—Yes, a Government transport.

83. Was it through your advice that she was sent with rice?—Entirely.

84. Did she arrive at the time she was expected?—Nearly.

85. Was she laden deeper than she ought to have been?—Rather. I should not impute blame, but considering her age she was somewhat overladen. She had been before to England at a deeper draught.

86. To what do you attribute the delay in communicating with her and unloading her?—To the heavy weather that came on.

87. Have you got any papers regarding the weather at that time?—We had regular reports from Mr. Wells, the commander of the "Tubal Cain."

88. Were you aware that Balasore was particularly deficient in means of communicating with vessels?—No. I knew that there was a flag-staff at the mouth of the river, and I knew they had a sea-going schooner and boats fitted for ordinary weather. It was supposed also that there were sloops in the river which could go out in tow of the "Nemesis" and take the cargo from the "Tubal Cain."

89. Was the master attendant at Balasore under your orders?—Not immediately; he was, to a certain extent; but specially and particularly under the orders of the collector of Balasore.

90. Throughout the famine operations was any use made of the schooner "Orissa"?—None whatever. I inquired, and was told that it was too dangerous; that she would have gone ashore if she had got outside; and she also was not adapted for carrying cargo, but was only used for carrying a few cases of opium and stationery, and such like matters.

91. Do you think that by employing the "Conqueror," or any similar vessel, the "Nemesis" might have been aided in unloading the "Tubal Cain," or the absence of the "Nemesis" might have been supplied?—Not to any effect, on account of the weather; nearly the whole time the "Tubal Cain" was in the roads I believe there was good weather for two days, but little could have been done in that time.

92. Had you anticipated better weather?—Yes, I had.

93. In anticipation of better weather might not the "Conqueror" or some such vessel have been sent?—Yes, but we expected that the "Nemesis" would have unloaded the "Tubal Cain," besides such general duty as running the "Guide" down to Dhamrah and coming back again.

94. Was it not an extremely doubtful matter whether so small a steamer as the "Nemesis" could single-handed unload a large vessel like the "Tubal Cain" in the very heaviest time of the south-west monsoon, and in an open roadstead many miles from the shore?—The "Nemesis" could convey 1,000 bags each trip. It was supposed she would have sloops also to tow in. With regard to its being an open roadstead, Balasore Roads, in the south-west monsoon, was supposed to be a sheltered roadstead with good holding ground, unless the wind came from the eastward or south-east. It used to be the cruising ground of our pilot brigs in the south-west monsoon, and in consultation with experienced branch pilots it was decided that there was no danger in any ship going there at that period, so that there was every reasonable expectation of the "Tubal Cain" delivering her cargo in safety. The result to the ship proved that there was no insuperable danger. The ship left the roads in safety, when she found she could not discharge her cargo, and reached the Sand Heads in safety, when the steam pipe of the steamer towing her burst, and she was cast off. The wind was to the eastward, so that she could not get in, and a gale of wind came on in which she suffered considerably, and eventually got into Akyab Harbour.

Captain Howe.

6 Feb. 1867.

95. What steamer towed up the "Tubal Cain"?—The "Agitator" towed up the "Tubal Cain" from Balasore to the Sand Heads.

96. Did the "Agitator" ever try to go into Balasore?—No; she drew too much water.

97. How much water did she draw?—Nine feet. It was not impossible for a vessel of that draught to go in, if it was smooth water, over the bar; but there was such a swell in the south-west monsoon, that it was not safe.

98. In your opinion, was it absolutely necessary for the "Tubal Cain" to run from the Balasore Roads and to go to Akyab, and did she come back as soon as she could?—It was not absolutely necessary for her to leave Balasore Roads. The commander has himself reported to me that he would not have left his anchorage except for the presence of the "Agitator" to tow her into the Hooghly. His instructions from me were discretionary, that if he found bad weather coming on, he was at liberty to run for the Hooghly and to discharge his cargo at Hidgellee. When the gale came on and the ship was in distress, she had no other course but to make for the nearest port under her lee. The gale was one of the heaviest known, and I think the commander was fully justified in acting as he did.

99. Did she come back as soon as possible?—She came back contrary to the wishes of the Commissioner and the local authorities there.

100. On the 28th the "Agitator" towed a sloop down to the Balasore Roads, and cast her off in sight of the "Tubal Cain" and returned. Would the commander have been justified then in staying and helping to unload the "Tubal Cain"?—His orders were to return to Calcutta.

101. On the 30th of July you telegraphed to the master attendant at Balasore that the "Agitator" would leave on the 31st, with the intention of going over the bar. Did she attempt to get over the bar, and what was the result?—She did not go; she was afraid of the swell; and in my opinion she was justified in not making the attempt. About this time the weather was so bad that the "Nemesis" and "Dolphin" were obliged to remain outside in the roads.

102. Was the employment of the "Agitator" in the channels of the river so necessary that she could not have been diverted more than she was?—Most certainly; she was the only vessel available for clearing the channel, and she was used for the transport of rice whenever she could be spared.

103. Was the "Twinkling Star" retained in the Government service from the time she was first taken up?—Yes, until she was discharged after the necessity was over.

104. Can you mention any steamers of the smallest class, such as the "Conqueror," in the river that you think might have been taken up?—The smallest class of steamers were those belonging to Messrs. Gordon Stuart & Co., such as the "Frances Gordon," "Mary Stuart," and "Mary Grant." There were also the "Columbus" and others.

105. Throughout the whole famine were the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star" the only private vessels taken up?—Yes, with the exception of the sloop already mentioned, and a second sloop which was eventually taken up. But several dispatches of rice were made by the Board of Revenue, independent of me, in Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co.'s steamers and others. I believe I did engage one vessel, the "Moulmein," partly for the use of the commissariat and partly for the Board of Revenue, to go to False Point. It was in the early part of the operations.

106. Did the Board of Revenue take up any other vessel to Balasore?—They sent several dispatches, independent of me, to False Point, but did not send any from Calcutta to Balasore.

107. Did the Board send any vessels, independent of you, to the Dhamrah or to Pooree?—They sent to both of those places from Rangoon, not from Calcutta.

108. Was the Dhamrah a port known to you before this time?—I knew of the existence of the port, but had no personal knowledge of it.

109. Was it a port frequented by any kind of vessels trading from Calcutta?—Not of late years; but a few years ago it was a rice port, and had been buoyed.

110. Were the buoys in existence at the commencement of the famine?—Some of them were, but not all. The absence of the buoys did not prevent any ships from going there. The buoys have been relaid.

111. When were they relaid?—I think when Mr. Branch Pilot Stout went there in the "Guide" on his first trip. Mr. Stout took her in from his own knowledge and recollection from formerly cruising about, and the river has been re-surveyed and buoyed within the last two months by Mr. Harris.

112. Is it your impression that any steamer drawing 12 feet of water could have got into the Dhamrah during the south-west monsoon?—Not when there was a swell on during the monsoon. The "Guide" was drawing not more than 12 feet, but she grounded, and and it is not every day that we get so strong a ship and so good a pilot.

113. Could a steamer drawing 10 feet have got in?—Yes, at high water and spring tides only.

114. In fact, was the Dhamrah never attempted except in spring tide?—I don't think so, except by the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star." It would all depend on the smoothness of the water.

115. Had you at any time sent any vessels to the Dhamrah besides those which you have just mentioned?—No, but the Board of Revenue had sent some from the rice ports.

116. Did they not draw more than 10 or 12 feet of water, and did they arrive precisely at spring tide?—They did not attempt to go in. They anchored outside of the roads, to be unloaded by sloops and small boats.

117. Was it not early in August that it was proposed to send the "Teesta" to False Point?—It was proposed to send her down as soon as the monsoon was over.

118. On the 11th of August did you not direct the officiating superintendent of the dockyard to ship rice with the utmost dispatch on the "Teesta"?—Yes; but that was intended for Calpee, under the orders of Mr. Dampier, the Commissioner of Nuddea.

119. Does not the monsoon often break in August?—No; I think not; August is a very stormy month, though there may be lulls.

120. When was the earliest date that it might have been possible to send down the "Teesta"?—After the Board sanctioned the "Teesta" being sent down, it was left entirely to me to decide when she was to be sent.

121. You know very well that if such a vessel as the "Teesta" had been there, she might have done immense good?—Yes. Immediately after the Lieutenant Governor's return from Darjeeling in June, Mr. Eden urged me to send down a small steamer if I possibly could; but it was impossible to do so at that time of the year.

122. And are you sure that it was equally impossible to do so in the end of May?—It was equally impossible.

123. In April do you think that such vessels and cargo boats might have been got down to False Point?—I should have tried it, if I knew there was such an emergency coming on. I might have taken advantage of a lull and tried in April, although I would not have tried it in May.

124. Had you anything to do with the engaging of vessels to bring rice from the Burmese rice ports or from the Madras ports for transport to Orissa?—No.

125. And you know nothing of the cause of the delay of certain vessels in reaching the Orissa ports in the end of the season?—No.

126. About September was there any extreme difficulty in getting steam tugs in Calcutta?—I should say no.

127. Was there not a sudden rise in the price of cotton in China, and a sudden desire to press cotton to China?—I think I have heard so.

128. If in any part of September you had been told to engage steamers in Calcutta to fetch rice from Burmah, do you think that you could have done it?—Yes. I have no doubt.

129. Would it have been the same in the beginning of October?—Certainly.

130. In the very height of the demand for steamers to take cotton to China, do you think it could have been done by offering high rates?—I think there would have been no difficulty in getting as much freight as could have been wished, either steamers or sailing vessels.

131. Can you mention the kind of steamers that might probably have been got?—Messrs. Apcar & Co. had several steamers. There were also tug-steamers, which could carry a good deal of rice, and could besides have towed a sailing vessel, which would have utilised them.

132. Would such vessels take a risk of a cyclone in the end of September, or the beginning of October?—They are sea-going vessels, and all come out round the Cape.

133. Unless there chance to be a cyclone, is the sea generally very smooth in the end of September and beginning of October?—Yes; unless there was a cyclone or gale of wind, as a rule, there is fine weather at that time.

134. As respects the whole famine operations in June and July, is it your opinion that if a European army had been in danger at Cuttack, and it had been necessary to send up European soldiers, any more effectual measures could have been taken, or would have been taken, than were in fact taken to send rice, either in point of men or means?—Yes. If I had been directed to take up private vessels, more might have been done here at first. We could have sent down as many men and officers as were considered necessary. The only difficulty was to send boats.

135. Would large ships' boats have been of any use?—Yes; if they had crews.

136. Could crews have been found in Calcutta?—They could.

137. Could large ships' boats have been bought at Calcutta?—A few might have been bought, but there was the difficulty of getting them down.

138. If the emergency had been considered sufficient, could they not have been got down by some means?—Yes; but they would have been open boats, liable to damage the rice in landing, from sea and rain water.

139. Do you think efficient officers sent from this would have been of use under the circumstances?—We were applied to for one to send to the lighthouse, and we sent one.

140. Do you think if very efficient officers of a higher grade had been sent, that the landing and transport operations might have been improved?—Certainly.

141. If the emergency at Cuttack had been considered as great as that at Cabul in 1841, could you suggest anything more that could have been done besides what you have already stated?—Nothing beyond sending rice down, and boats at an earlier season if possible. As far as my department is concerned, we might have hired steamers and ships sooner during the time that I was restricted to Government vessels. But I wish to add that during this very time the Board of Revenue were hiring large vessels which they engaged through other agency than my department. I have also understood that there was a difficulty in getting rice in the rice ports.

Captain Howe.

6 Feb. 1867.

142. As respects Balasore, if the "Nemesis" had not been available, could nothing have been done?—We should have sent sailing vessels round by the Sand Heads, to anchor in the roads, and we might have tried to send small steam-tugs to attempt to enter the river. Sloops might have been employed to land the rice in the absence of steamers, and might, possibly, have been towed in on the flood-tide over the bar by boats. I wish to add that I think it a lamentable and deplorable circumstance that the Government should have been left without a few vessels available to act in case of such an emergency. My very first letter on the file, dated 3rd May, states that the Government had not a single vessel capable of taking 1,200 maunds to False Point.

No. 102.—Mr. H. A. Harris, Commander of the Steamer "Agitator."

[Examined in Calcutta, 6th February 1867.]

Mr. H. A. Harris.

1. *Q.* How were you employed last year?—*A.* Last year I was river surveyor on the Hooghly. From the 5th of June I was employed in the famine relief operations. My first trip was in pilotage charge of the "Nemesis," which was going to Balasore with a sloop in tow. I understand the pilotage of the coast. Mr. Thomas, the chief officer, was in charge as commander. I had nothing to do with the procuring of vessels to be towed by the "Nemesis." The "Nemesis" had one single sloop in tow.

2. Do you think that any other vessels capable of going into the Balasore river could, at that time, have been obtained in the port of Calcutta, or elsewhere?—Not in the port of Calcutta. The "Proserpine" might have been got from Burmah, if the Burmah authorities could have spared her. She was the only other vessel available.

3. Have you surveyed the mouth of the Balasore river?—Yes; merely a cursory examination whilst going in and out.

4. What do you consider to be the draught of water which is the maximum of vessels which can enter the Balasore river?—On a very smooth day a vessel drawing 12 feet might get in, but it would be a risk.

5. At the end of May or beginning of June, what do you think the deepest draught of a vessel which it would be possible to take into Balasore?—About nine feet.

6. Do you know the "Conqueror"?—Yes.

7. Do you think she might have gone into Balasore?—With no cargo she might have gone in, towing vessels.

8. Could vessels capable of going into Balasore have been found for her to tow?—Native sloops might have been found in the port of Calcutta, Oolooberreah, and other places in the river.

9. Do you think that native craft might have been found sufficiently sea-worthy to be towed down at that season of the year?—I do; some of them are very strongly built, though the generality of them are very weakly built.

10. Did you get safely into the Balasore river with the "Nemesis," and by what channel did you go?—We went down by the inner channel, and when we got to the mouth of the river we took Horsburgh for our guide, and it turned out a very fair guide indeed. When we got to the mouth of the river we signalled for a pilot, but no pilot came up until we got over the worst part of the bar. Mr. Thomas decided to take the steamer in.

11. Was anything afterwards done to buoy off the channel?—Mr. Thomas took a buoy down with him about two months afterwards, and dropped it at the mouth of the entrance.

12. After the "Nemesis" came to know the way, did she go in and out without difficulty?—Yes.

13. In Balasore, did you see any sloops lying idle which might have been used?—There were several lying there which were capable of being used with a little repair; but I believe the natives had great objection to bring them at all, though they might have been brought.

14. Is it your opinion that if in the month of June the emergency had been considered sufficiently, more rice than was taken and towed by the "Nemesis" might have been thrown into the port of Balasore by taking up small tugs and native craft?—Yes; I think so.

15. Are you quite confident that this is so?—I am quite certain of it. The "Proserpine" would have been a most useful vessel; she is very much like the "Nemesis," a sister vessel, in fact.

16. Are you aware that the "Proserpine" was very much out of repair?—I knew nothing about her, except that she has just come up for repairs. I believe she has been running in Burmah up to the present time. She might have gone to Balasore without going to the bottom.

17. Do you know of any of the small tugs in the river, such as the "Conqueror"?—The "Conqueror" is about the only one; but she would not have carried any cargo.

18. Do you think there were any other drawing as little water as the "Conqueror"?—I think not.

19. After that first trip to Balasore, how were you employed?—I made two or three other trips to Balasore, still in pilotage charge of the "Nemesis."

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20. Do you think that with the means at the disposal of the marine authorities in Calcutta, everything was done in the way of sending down rice in tow of the "Nemesis" that could have been done?—As far as the "Nemesis" could be used she was. She was constantly at work, and was never kept idle for want of vessels to tow.

21. Could she not have towed more than one sloop?—In fine weather she could.

22. Do you think a second sloop could have been got for her?—I think so. On the second trip the "Dolphin" was put in tow of her, and one sloop and the "Dolphin" were quite as much as she could do in fine weather, and more than she could do in bad weather.

23. Do you think it would have been possible to send cargo boats down?—By taking them round as far as Hidgellee and leaving them there until they got fine weather, they might have been got down.

24. Do you think they could have been brought to the Dhamrah?—It was a larger distance, and there would have been more risk, besides they were not wanted there.

25. Could they have been brought to False Point?—No; it would have taken them to the westward of Palmyras Reef, and there is always a heavy sea there.

26. Is there any inland communication between the Dhamrah and the Mahanuddee in the monsoon?—I believe that in the height of the rains there are creeks through.

27. In the end of May do you think that by any means river steamers could have been got down as far as the Dhamrah?—I think it could have been at great risk. If they got into anything of a sea, they are apt to break into two.

28. Where you at False Point at all during the famine operations?—I was there for about 24 hours only. I was not there on duty at all.

29. When was it that you were first employed to go to the Dhamrah?—I left Hidgellee on the 22nd of July in pilotage charge of the "Nemesis." We took the "Guide" in tow and proceeded to the Dhamrah.

30. Did you pass the "Tubal Cain" on the way?—We saw her lying in Balasore.

31. Did you communicate with her?—No.

32. Do you think any other steamers could have been got in the river which would have done to take the "Guide" into the Dhamrah?—Yes; plenty of them.

33. Till the "Nemesis" was diverted to tow the "Guide," had she been continually employed in taking rice to Balasore?—Yes.

34. Do you know at all why she was diverted from that duty when other steamers could have been got?—No; I don't know.

35. When you passed the "Tubal Cain," did she seem to be in difficulty?—No; it was fine weather, and she was lying quietly at anchor.

36. Were there any other vessels at anchor there?—There was nothing in sight from the "Nemesis" but the "Tubal Cain." There was nothing being done towards the unloading the "Tubal Cain."

37. Should you think that in the absence of the "Nemesis" it was possible to do anything towards unloading at that time?—Yes; we had two or three days' very fine weather, and I think that with a very little exertion native sloops might have been sent down and have been loaded and kept ready for the "Nemesis" to take in. They might possibly have got in by themselves with a fair wind, but there was no wind at all for a day or two, and what there was was right off the shore.

38 If those native vessels had been loaded, since it turned out that the "Nemesis" was detained, what would have become of them?—They might have sunk, but with the wind as it was from the eastward, when it did come, they might have run in, and if it had not been from the eastward they might have laid at anchor, because the weather would then have been smooth.

39. Can you tell us the exact date when you passed the "Tubal Cain" at the mouth of the Balasore river?—I think it was the 23rd.

40. Will you tell us how you got the "Guide" into the Dhamrah?—I had heard from the master attendant of Balasore that there had been great alterations in the channel there, so I was afraid to trust altogether to my knowledge, and went in a boat for two native pilots; but they knew very little about the channel, and I find that if I had gone by my own experience I should have gone right. As it was, I went by theirs, and we unfortunately grounded. After two or three days' pulling at her, the "Nemesis" got her off.

41. Did the "Nemesis" then go back again?—We first towed the "Guide" up into the Metai river and then we returned to Balasore.

42. When you returned, was the "Tubal Cain there?—The "Tubal Cain" was there, and also the "Dolphin," in tow of the "Agitator" I think.

43. Are you aware that the "Agitator" was sent down to try to get into Balasore?—Yes; but I don't think she tried to get in whilst I was there. I joined her there on the 4th of August as commander. Immediately I joined her, I found there was a very heavy surf on the bar, and if I had attempted to run in with her drawing 10 feet, she would certainly have been lost.

44. Is it loaded or light that the "Agitator" draws 10 feet?—With her coals only, she draws 10 feet; she cannot carry cargo.

45 In your opinion the "Agitator" is not capable of going into Balasore in the south western monsoon?—Decidedly not.

46. After that, how were you employed?—I returned to Calcutta in the "Agitator" after towing away the "Tubal Cain" as far as the Sand Heads, and there I was obliged to leave her.

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Mr. H. A. Harris.

6 Feb. 1867.

47. Was the weather bad when the "Tubal Cain" was left?—There was evidently bad weather coming on, squalls from the eastward, and we were very anxious about her.

48. Was it owing to an inevitable accident that the "Tubal Cain" was obliged to run into Akyab?—I was obliged to leave her on account of the bursting of the principal steam pipe of the "Agitator," and it would have been unsafe to risk the "Tubal Cain" where she was.

49. How were you employed after that?—I returned to Calcutta, and went down, directly our steam pipe was prepared, to look for the "Tubal Cain," and found that she had gone to Akyab. After that I was employed in the inner channel I was speaking of; and then I was employed on the "Conqueror." I received my orders as pilot of the "Conqueror" on the 21st of August.

50. Was that the first trip of the "Conqueror"?—That was the first trip.

51. Had she cargo on board, or was she only towing?—We had 600 or 650 bags on board.

52 How much water did the "Conqueror" draw?—Between eight and nine feet with her cargo on board, certainly not more than nine feet; and the "Twinkling Star," between six and seven feet.

53. Was it to the Dhamrah that you took the "Conqueror" and the "Twinkling Star"?—Yes; we had a most successful trip.

54. If, on that occasion, you had been told to take the "Conqueror" and the "Twinkling Star" into the Balasore river, would you have done it?—Yes; it was very fine weather.

55. On that occasion could vessels fit to go to the Dhamrah have been found in Calcutta?—Both steamers and sailing vessels.

56. Up to what draught could vessels be taken to the Dhamrah?—To what I call the outer anchorage, vessels up to 15 feet could have gone, and could have there unloaded easily with boats.

57. Could boats have been got to unload there?—Yes; Mr. Shortt had plenty of them.

58. Then in fact there was no difficulty in throwing any quantity of rice into the Dhamrah?—No.

59. Was Mr. Shortt down at the Dhamrah when you arrived?—Yes.

60. Had he any rice there, or was he very hard pressed for it?—He was very hard pressed for it; I think he had only five or six bags left.

61. What was the largest draught of vessel that could have been taken up over the bar?—A vessel drawing 12 feet could have gone as far as the Custom House; that was where Mr. Shortt and I were staying, and where all the rice was landing.

62. Did you then remain at Dhamrah, or come away?—I came back to Calcutta soon after. I was just six days from the day I went to coming back. I went back again immediately with the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star".

63. Did you continue running up and down?—Immediately we were unloaded, we came back and ran again up to the 24th of September. At one time we remained there to unload the Steamer "Coringa."

64. What happened then?—I went down in the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star." I remained in the Dhamrah for the purpose of surveying and buoying off the river, and the "Conqueror" returned to Calcutta. The former buoys had all disappeared with the exception of three.

65. Had you occasion to assist in bringing in other vessels?—No; not in the Dhamrah; on the last trip I made I took a pilot with me, and showed him the way in.

66. Did you assist generally in relief operations there?—I assisted Mr. Shortt as much as I could while I was engaged in the survey. I assisted in unloading rice and dispatching it up in boats, and also in the distribution of relief at the Dhamrah.

67. How long did you remain there?—Till the 20th of December.

68. Was there any shortness of rice there?—Once or twice we were running rather short, having to send to many centres from the Dhamrah, and we had to get rice from Balasore on account of the "Coringa" not coming in. The "Conqueror" was detained there at the rate of 300 rupees a day, doing nothing, only waiting to unload the "Coringa," which never came, but by some mistake went to False Point.

69. While you were in the Dhamrah, do you think that if there had been more rice, Mr. Shortt had the means of sending it up the country?—A great quantity more might have been sent; we had from 100 to 150 boats there.

70. Did you visit Bhudruk, and what was the state of things there?—I visited it once or twice. There were two centres at work in the town, one either side of the Salindee river.

71. Was the distress very frightful when you were there?—Yes; but it was getting a little better. There were about 9,000 relieved every day.

72. Was there always enough rice to feed the starving population?—They never ran out, but once or twice they were in great dread of being so. When I was there, no rice was being sold to the public.

73. If the emergency had been thoroughly realised, do you think that anything more might have been done to throw rice into Orissa in the end of May and June and July?—Yes; I should fancy that rice might have been sent across country by the Hidgellee river and by sea. I decidedly think that more rice might have been sent to False Point and by the Dhamrah and a little more might have been sent to Balasore.

74. Do you remember anything else remarkable that you saw?—I saw some very curious traits among the people of Orissa that made it very difficult to deal with them.

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Able-bodied men who were offered work would refuse it, and would set down under a tree till they got thin enough to get gratuitous relief. I found dead bodies with actually 6 or 7 seers of rice on their persons. People would come into the dhurmsalah with 10 or 12 seers of rice on their persons; they would keep the cooked rice until it was absolutely rotten; people that were so bad that they had to be sent to hospital. We had great difficulty at the dhurmsalah in dealing with the people. We tried every way that we could think of, and found that they would steal, but would not eat. I think the Ooryahs are quite a different sort of people from those in all other parts of India where I have been.

Mr. H. A. Harris.

6 Feb. 1867.

No. 103.—Lieutenant F. Duncan, R.N.R., Commanding "Kwantung" Steamer.

[Examined in Calcutta, 7th February 1867.]

Last year I commanded the "Arracan" at the commencement of the famine. I was under the orders of the Madras Government, in June, employed to bring rice to Gopalpoor. I arrived at Gopalpoor on the 17th June. The weather was bad, so I had to wait till the 23rd to discharge cargo, after doing which I returned to Pooree, taking a cargo of 2,600 bags of rice. This I consider to be nearly a full cargo. I arrived at Pooree on the 30th June. It was at Gopalpoor I first received orders to load for Pooree, from the Madras Government, by telegram. I do not think Pooree is a more difficult port to land rice in than Gopalpoor in the south-west monsoon; a vessel lies off the shore at about the same distance at both ports. The holding ground for anchors at Gopalpoor is not good. The cargo that I took to Gopalpoor was Government rice for the famine. There was a large private importation of rice for Gopalpoor at the same time; three steamers being there. At Gopalpoor there are a good number of boats, and they discharge cargo fast. At Pooree there are not so many boats as at Gopalpoor, and they cannot get through their work in the same time. I had landed treasure at Pooree before. Native vessels frequent Pooree in the north-east monsoon, and since the British Steam Navigation Company started, their vessels have occasionally called there. We had beautiful weather whilst I was at Pooree for the season of the year. The sea breeze universally commences about 12 noon, and raises the surf. I had discharged my cargo on the 7th. I could have discharged the cargo at Gopalpoor in one day in the same weather. I attribute this to the want of system, as the men only worked from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m., and did not recommence until the sea breeze came on again, thus losing the best part of the day.

I went from Pooree to Madras. It was fine weather for the south-west monsoon. Before this, in coming across the bay from Burmah to Negapatam, we had heavy seas and boisterous weather. After returning from Pooree, we took 2,600 bags of rice from Madras and Coconada. Arrived at Gopalpoor on the 19th July. Fine weather. I landed cargo the same day and left for Coconada. I then took 2,582 bags and returned to Gopalpoor. The next cargo was partly for Gopalpoor and partly for Balasore. Landed a portion at Gopalpoor on the 20th August, and then proceeded on to Balasore. On anchoring at Balasore, no one paid attention to my signals. The day after our arrival, the "Nemesis," with two Native crafts, came in, and with the assistance of our boats they took the rice on board, finishing on the evening of the 25th. Fine weather; water smooth; but always a surf over the bars. I have a general acquaintance with steamers in the port of Calcutta. Some tug steamers could have gone in to Balasore, I think. This was my last trip with rice. I was shortly afterwards transferred to the "Arracan." I do not know the port of Dhamrah. The "Kwantung" is an armed vessel, not employed in carrying rice. I was sent to Chittagong to tow over the "Pio Nono" on the 10th September. I left False Point immediately. The "Teesta" was there, but I did not see her. She was at the lighthouse. This was my last trip. The "Arracan" draws 16 feet; the "Kwantung," about nine feet without her ammunition. She came from Bombay in August, and was made over to the Bengal Government.

Lieut. F. Duncan, R.N.R.

7 Feb. 1867.

No. 104.—Mr. E. G. Wells, Chief Officer of the "Arracan."

[Examined in Calcutta, 7th February 1867.]

I was employed commanding the "Tubal Cain," bringing a cargo of rice from the southern ports of Madras to Balasore. I was expected at Balasore on the 21st, this being the day I should have arrived by the ordinary course; I arrived on the 22nd, as near as possible the right time. I found nothing ready on arrival. On the 23rd, I hoisted signals and tried to send a boat on shore, but could not do so owing to the surf on the bar, and we did not know our way into the river. Weather fine, for the season of the year, up to the 25th. My mate got on shore on the 24th. I sent a telegraphic message by him to Captain Howe. On my chief officer returning from the shore, I learnt that Mr. Bond could not get sloops out without the assistance of the steamer. On the 23rd July, the "Nemesis" passed towing the "Guide." I did not see the "Nemesis" again until the evening of the 1st of August, when she came into the Roads. Weather blow- all day long. When she arrived, I had parted from my anchors and was in danger of

Mr. E. G. Wells.

7 Feb. 1867.

Mr. E. G. Wells.

7 Feb. 1867.

getting on shore. I went to the Captain of the "Nemesis," and asked him to tow me into deep water. He said "that he had just coals enough to do it, and would the next day." Next morning there was a heavy gale from the south-east. My ship was riding at anchor all day and in danger of striking. On the morning of the 3rd the gale broke. The "Agitator" had come in towing some sloops. My ship had been straining and was making water. I had been pumping a good deal, and my crew were laid up. I boarded the "Agitator," and asked what I had better do. We considered the matter over a good deal, and considering that the men were done up, the ship making water, and the barometer falling, Captain Harris said, "I will take you to Kedgeree if I can, but I have not got coals enough to take you into Hidgellee." On the morning of the 4th, I parted my hawser, and after that she steamed away, and I saw no more of her. I got a branch pilot; but the thickness of the weather did not admit of our getting in. Stood to the southward. On the morning of the 5th made more water. Weather rough; sea rising. We were off the pilot ground. I was responsible. At night the vessel was nearly dismasted, and I called a committee in the morning of all the officers and the pilot. I thought it best to stand away for Akyab for provisions and water, and the officers agreed with me that it was advisable to lighten the ship by throwing over part of the cargo, viz., 1,000 bags of rice. For four days after that we had heavy gales. Reached Akyab on the 9th. Left again on the 24th. Sailed to Saugor, and got hence to Hidgellee. On the 30th August discharged all the cargo at Hidgellee, 6,000 bags. The damaged cargo was surveyed and pitched overboard. I am decidedly of opinion that all the cargo landed at Hidgellee was sound, as I had positive instructions from Captain Howe not to land a damaged bag. I believe 1,700 bags went to Balasore; the rest went in country boats up the Hidgellee river. Finished discharging on the 5th of September. The rice went to Balasore in the "Conqueror" and "Twinkling Star." I was afterwards chief officer of the "Arracan" when she took paupers to Balasore and False Point. I do not exactly recollect when. The paupers were in good condition. When they went over the side, they received three rupees each, and likewise a bag of rice, a brass pot, and some clothes. They seemed glad to go, and were quite willing to leave Calcutta. In the latter part of the season, I brought 3,000 bags of paddy from Akyab to Pooree. Mr. Raban then said that they had plenty of rice on hand.

No. 105.—Mr. E. T. Shuttleworth, District Superintendent of Police, Jessore, formerly at Balasore.

[Examined in Calcutta, 7th February 1867.]

Mr. E. T. Shuttleworth.

7 Feb. 1867.

I had been Superintendent of Police at Balasore since June 1863. To the best of my knowledge, the Inspector General of Police had not been there at any time. When I was at Bancoorah, Mr. Carnac visited the place. Major Gordon, Deputy Inspector General, visited Balasore in February. I was constantly in the district in the autumn of 1865, and saw much of the crops. I saw that the drought had affected them considerably. Before reaping, I saw in many parts of the country that the failure was extreme. In a large valley in the north of the district, extending almost from the hills to the sea, the crops were good. This was about 16 miles north. I think the drought had affected even the rice there. Beyond this I do not think that there were any large tracts of good crop. I don't think that there was, on the whole, more than a half-crop. The crops were so bad in the highlands that they were everywhere left to be eaten down by the cattle. In October there were plenty of vessels in the Balasore river, some few of which obtained cargoes. There was, however, an excitement in the bazar, and many ships left without cargoes. I think that those ships which took cargo may have carried away some little of the crop of 1865. I believe that after October, no rice was exported from Balasore, but I think a little was exported at a port lower down the coast. This must have been the Beallee, not the Sarud crop. In Balasore the Beallee bears but small proportion to the Sarud crop.

Q. If, then, there was anything like half a crop, how do you account for severe famine in April and May, since in a good year the Balasore district was able to export largely? —*A.* I think in the preceding year the large exportation must have reduced the stock very low, and the district was not prepared to meet the large immigration from the Gurjats, where the crops suffered more than in Balasore.

The failure was not so great as to lead me to apprehend famine in December and January. In January I went out with the magistrate to that part of the district where the distress was greatest. I can talk the Ooryah language thoroughly. I was formerly superintendent of the salt golahs at Jellasore, where people speak Ooryah more than Bengalee. In February I saw greater reason for apprehension. Grain dacoities then became common, but although numerous, they were only carried on by small gangs. I think I saw people starving in February, but cannot recollect the exact dates. In March the distress became deeper. I then saw reason to apprehend famine, and by desire of the magistrate I reported the subject for the information of the Commissioner. My report bears date the 27th March 1860. I cannot say that this was my first report, as from the first I reported all that occurred in my diary to the Inspector General of Police, and I was in daily communication with the magistrate, and kept him thoroughly informed of everything. I also made several special reports to the superior police authorities for assistance.

Mr. E. T. Shuttleworth.

7 Feb. 1867.

assistance. When I made my report for the Commissioner on the 27th of March at the request of the magistrate, he did not take quite such a serious view of it as I did. The magistrate, although he did not think matters quite so serious, accepted my report *in toto*, and sent it up; the only alteration he requested me to make was that whereas I had spoken of the "utter" failure of the crops, he asked me to substitute "partial," and I did so. I produce a copy taken from my letter copy book, in which will be seen "partial" in place of the word "utter."

Q. From the evidence you have given, are we to understand that your present opinion is, that the word "partial" is right, and not the word "utter" to describe the failure of the crop?—*A.* I think the word "utter" was correct, as the country was exhausted by exportation.

Some weeks later, I made a report, at the desire of the magistrate, for the information of the Commissioner, in which I expressed an opinion that there were no large hoards of grain concealed, as some people thought. No copy of this letter was taken. I feel sure that the Commissioner can give it. I believe the letter was written when the Commissioner was at Balasore. The people I mentioned as thinking there were hoards of grain, were the residents of the town and zemindars and frequenters of the bazars.

Q. Early in the season, Mr. Muspratt had officially explained, that owing to the large exportations the country was denuded of stock; do you know why he afterwards changed his opinion?—*A.* I think he was influenced by the opinion of the natives of the town, and also that of some zemindars, who used to say that other zemindars had hoards of grain in the country. I thought the opinion erroneous. My letter was an official letter. Crime was spreading. The higher police authorities were fully informed of it. The Inspector General allowed me to enlist reinforcements, and likewise I had reinforcements from the Bhootan force. Heavy crime continued until June or July. No superior officer came down after the Deputy Inspector General's visit. In the subsequent months the Inspector General was at Darjeeling and the Deputy Inspector General at Barrackpore, at least his head quarters are there, but I do not know whether he visited other districts. Starvation was very bad in March and April in the town, and in May in the district. In March and April the starving people came into the town, and not much starvation was noticeable in the district, although food was scarce. I think the mahajuns and zemindars were then helping them. Through May and June things became worse and worse; famine was at its height in June and July throughout the whole district, and not in the district only. People came flocking in from the Gurjat. When relief came we made the most of it, but there was not rice enough. I hardly think more could have been sent, as we had great difficulty in landing what was sent, owing to the difficulty at the mouth of the river.

The "Nemesis" was fully employed; but if more rice had been sent to the mouth of the Balasore river, we might, with great difficulty, have succeeded in getting it to the station by means of sloops without the aid of steam. It depended on the weather. When the "Tubal Cain" arrived, we could not land a grain without the help of a steamer. If more rice had been brought up to Balasore during the months of June and July, we might have succeeded in sending a little more into the interior, but not much, as our means of transport were very limited.

Things were almost as bad in August as in June and July, but towards the end of the month a slight improvement was perceptible. In the early part of August the weather was very bad, but towards the latter part rice arrived more regularly. I left the district on the 1st of September.

Q. Does what you say apply to Bhudruk?—*A.* The distress at Bhudruk was very great at the end of August.

The occasion of my leaving the district was this: Captain Chambers, district superintendent of Jessore, was to go to another district, and the Deputy Inspector General of my circle was asked if any officer wanted a change. I had asked for a change before the famine commenced, owing to bad health; orders were issued for my being transferred. I was to wait for Captain Chambers arrival. I was at that time prostrated with fever, and I found it necessary to go. I left under medical certificate. I remained a little time in Calcutta, as Mr. Dampier wished me assist as district superintendent in the Twenty-four Pergunnahs. When I was ordered away by the doctor, Captain Chambers was instructed by telegraph to relieve me immediately. I do not feel myself in a position to estimate the amount of mortality, which was very great. I kept a daily statement of the mortality in the town. This included only the bodies found dead in the town, not those that died in the fields, &c. I recorded many of the events of the famine in my diary, of which copies have been taken. The distribution of cooked rice at the dhurmsalah was under my charge. Upwards of 7,000 people were daily fed there in June, July and August. In consequence of the large number it was most difficult to preserve order. I had a strong body of police there, but at first the police were powerless. The paupers plundered the carts and tore the uniforms off the backs of the police. There was a great deal of crowding and pushing, but I think it is a great exaggeration to say that the weak were pushed down and trampled under foot, or that they could not get their rice. Their state of emaciation was such that if there had been anything of the kind, some of the paupers must have lost their lives; in fact, only one child was killed at the distribution, and that not by the press of the crowd, but one man attacked the mother to take away the rice that was given to her. The man was sent up on a charge of culpable homicide. By degrees, arrangements were perfected, barriers were put up to prevent the crash, and the people sat down and took their rice quietly.

Mr. E. T. Shuttleworth.

7 Feb. 1867.

quietly. I think it would have been more conducive to order if the people had from the first had several centres of relief, but there were objections to that, as many of them might have drawn their rice from several of the centres at once. On five or six occasions I saw the police using sticks, and I invariably dismissed these men at once. Those who were in an extreme state of debility were not obliged to form part of the crowd at the dhurmsalah; all such people were sent to and provided for on a large scale at the Pilgrim's Hospital under Dr. Jackson. I cannot say exactly how much was given at the dhurmsalah, but they certainly had a good meal, but the majority were so diseased and emaciated that no amount of food would have kept them alive. There were two or three cases in which constables were detected stealing rice in small quantities. I sometimes caught the cooks stealing it. I do not remember a case in which the higher grade servants of Government or the relief committee were detected, with one exception; in that case it was a baboo of the Public Works Department, who had been employed in furnishing rice to the labourers. From information received, I searched his house, and found two maunds of rice, several bags bearing Government stamps, and he had made away with more. There were some instances of cannibalism. I saw one man who admitted to me that he had eaten human flesh; he was in a very emaciated condition, having been seven days on the road without food. Some of the able-bodied men were refused relief gratuitously, but offered work in the station at once. Many took the work, but some would not do so. My belief is that they refused work through their laziness, but when they became weak and emaciated, they mingled with the crowd and received relief at the dhurmsalah.

In bad weather I never refused relief. In the beginning of August there was rain and cold wind. Above 245 bodies were found in one day (this was the 9th of August) lying about the town. The police were occupied three days in disposing of them. I was occupied three days myself on this duty. At the time the bad weather set in, sheds had been erected, and I am confident that all whose homes were not in the town could have found accommodation in the dhurmsalah and sheds, had they liked to do so. A large number of paupers would not go into these sheds; they preferred lying about the town, as they picked up small donations. There were, moreover, a large number of Sonthals, who did not like associating with the Bengalees.

No. 106.—Moulvie Mahomed Abdoolia.

[Examined in Calcutta, 7th and 8th February 1867.]

Moulvie Mahomed Abdoolia.

7 & 8 Feb. 1867.

I am a Deputy Magistrate and Collector attached to the Balasore district. I was appointed secretary to the relief committee when it was instituted, and continued to act in that capacity till the committtee was recognised in April. Then I was merely a member of the committee, one of the European officers taking charge of the secretaryship. In the northern part of the Balasore district the Sarud crop of 1865 failed, but not completely; it was saved, to a certain degree, by irrigation from tanks, &c. In the southern and centre parts of the district the failure was very bad. Before the crop was reaped, we anticipated a scarcity but not a famine; but by the time the crop had been reaped, we expected a famine. The people first began to starve in February, in which month we raised a subscription among the natives. Mr. Muspratt also subscribed. At first we served out cooked rice, but this being found impracticable, we gave out raw rice. We always gave rice, and sometimes added a pice; we never gave out-door relief in money. During my incumbency as secretary, I used to register the names of those whom I passed as deserving of gratuitous relief, and gave them tickets. This system lasted till the committee was reorganised in the end of April. I used to give them from six to seven chittacks of rice, and I gave them dhal and vegetables besides. I am not aware that any of the paupers eat the rice raw at that time. I only admitted the weak and those who were unable to work to gratuitous relief. I directed the able-bodied to apply for labour on the public works; but some of them got work, others were refused, and returned to me. I brought this to the notice of the Working Committee, and eventually the executive engineer took care that they were provided with work. Subsequently, in May or June, some of the paupers complained to me that they did not receive the full quantity of rice which was allowed for them, as the subordinates of the Public Works Department used to steal and embezzle the rice. Two sircars and a chuprassee of the Public Works Department were convicted of these malpractices.

When the committee was reorganised about the end of April, I was feeding above 3,000 men. In the beginning of May Dr. Jackson reported to the committee that in a *post mortem* examination he had found raw rice in the stomach of a pauper; he said that eating raw rice would lead to disease and mortality. On this the committee resolved to distribute the food cooked, and a cooking committee was formed. I was frequently present at the distributions of cooked food at the dhurmsalah. A very large number of people were fed. There was great confusion at the distributions; the number was unmanageable. They used to be seated along the sides of the road; but they would not remain quiet. Those who had been served once used to eat their meal, and then to present themselves in another place for a second portion of food. The paupers used also to struggle among themselves for the food after it was served out. The crowd was mostly made up of women and children; perhaps 10 or 15 per cent. were men. I never saw any one knocked down or assaulted in the crowd, but I saw several women and some men at different times with marks

marks of maltreatment which they had received in the crush. Every day that I went to the place I saw two or three persons with such marks. On one occasion, the district superintendent sent up a pauper on a charge of grievously hurting another. I have never seen the constables assault the paupers; I have heard of such instances. I know that the constables did not use their bâtons for the purpose of preserving order, but they used their sticks. It was quite impossible for them to keep anything like order without menacing the people with these sticks, and even striking them lightly every now and then. I recommended to the Committee, in the month of July, that the large number of paupers should be broken up by opening 12 centres in different parts of the town and its suburbs. But the consideration of the question was deferred pending the arrival of Mr. McNeile. After he came, the question was discussed by the Committee, but they came to the conclusion that it was impossible to find trustworthy men to superintend distributions at so many places. It was resolved, therefore, to continue feeding at the dhurmsalah only. In October, however, five or six centres were opened in different parts of the town and its suburbs; native darogahs were appointed, on salaries of 30 and 40 rupees, to take charge of them. The Government officers exercised supervision.

The agency under which these centres were eventually opened was as available in July as in October, and I consider that it was a great mistake in not opening these centres at the beginning of the operations. I believe that one of the causes of the great mortality was that men came in from a distance of several miles to the dhurmsalah, and died from exhaustion either before or after receiving the food. I do not believe that there was greater mismanagement or theft of rice at the centres, which were placed under native darogahs, than at the dhurmsalah. The mortality was much less after the centres had been opened in different places.

From the first the paupers used to lodge in the dhurmsalah, but that did not afford sufficient accommodation for all; so the Committee erected a number of sheds in June. These sheds would have accommodated all, but very few availed themselves of the shelter. The cause of this was that the food supplied to them at the dhurmsalah was insufficient, and therefore the paupers used to supplement it by begging from door to door; and at night, they lay down by the sides of houses and in the verandah of houses, wherever they happened to be. I do not believe that those who took food at the dhurmsalah had any objections to congregating in the sheds with other castes; all such scruples were given up when they came to the dhurmsalah for food. The numbers who came for food varied from day to day; it was impossible to make any exact estimate of the food required each day. But the principle was to allow six chittacks of 80 sicca weight for each person according to the estimate of attendance; in fact, however, the actual food provided fell considerably short of this allowance, because in making the calculation, a bag was taken as containing two maunds, whereas in reality there was a deficiency of 10, 15, and 20 seers in each bag.

Vegetables, dhal, &c., were supplied in addition to the rice. I considered that the quantity which was doled out to each person was not sufficient to keep them alive. Dr. Jackson, the civil surgeon, proposed to increase the allowance to eight chittacks of rice, I agreed with him, but the majority of the Committee were against any increase, and none was made, in the centres generally. I, however, increased the quantity to eight chittacks for adults, and six for children in the centre which was under my immediate management. I did this on my own responsibility; the result decidedly was that the paupers gained flesh.

In my opinion, the medical aid was totally insufficient for the requirements of the town and of the district all through the operations, and I frequently brought this to the notice of the Committee in my weekly reports. Only two native doctors were sent from Calcutta for famine purposes; besides this there were two native doctors on the permanent establishment, who were overwhelmed with their own work. The two doctors who were sent from Calcutta did little; they did not go about among the centres; they remained in their houses, and when I urged them to be more active, they replied that they had not sufficient medicine, and that even if they had, it was useless attempting to do anything, as there was no hospital accommodation. The only hospital accommodation was at the Pilgrim Hospital, in which I heard, from Dr. Jackson, that 2,000 men were accommodated. The mortality there was terrible.

The two special native doctors declined to treat the paupers at the centres, and the people at the centres would not go to the Pilgrim Hospital until they were so ill that we removed them in spite of their own wishes. I think the doctors should have treated them at the centres. By the centres, I mean at the dhurmsalah and at the special relief centre for Mahomedan women which was placed under my charge. This was done in June.

Government shops were opened for the sale of rice to all comers in July. I do not think that there was any necessity for opening them earlier. Up to that time the district was supplied by private traders importing by land from Hidgellee and Balighur, in the Midnapore district. These sources of supply failed in July, because the roads became impracticable. The Government rates were at very little below the market price. There was little object, therefore, in buying it in order to sell again at a profit. But the Relief Committees' sales were made at low rates. They were intended for the benefit of those only who were deserving objects of such charity; but I believe that in many instances the non-official native members of the Committee were too lax in the exercise of their discretion in granting tickets for admission to the privilege of purchasing at low rates.

Moulvie Mahomed Abdoolla.

7 & 8 Feb. 1867.

The consequence was that a good deal of the rice was sold again at a profit in the bazaar. I think that all that was possible was done for the conservancy of the town, and the disposal of the dead bodies. The police did all they could, and large special establishments of men and carts were kept up; but sometimes, when the weather was inclement, the number of dead was so great that it was impossible to clear the town in one day. At first the bodies were thrown into a pit on the north side of the dhurmsalah; subsequently, they were thrown into the river and floated out to sea. It was a remarkable fact that jackals, vultures, and dogs did not eat the bodies of the paupers. This was a general subject of conversation; perhaps the reason was that the bodies were so thin. I am of opinion that the rice which we received after the beginning of June was as much as we could turn to good purpose. The roads were bad, and it was impossible to procure pack bullocks by means of which to distribute more rice in the interior of the district. If more rice had come we could not have utilized it. I except a few days at the end of July and beginning of August, when we expected rice from the "Tubal Cain, but did not receive it; then the district was in a great strait. More ought to have been sent by Government as early as April, and then we could have done much good with it. In March, I wrote to the Collector on behalf of the Committee, asking for 500 rupees a month from Government, as zemindar of the Nowanund estate, for the relief of the ryots on that estate. The Collector replied that no money was available from the fund for the improvement of Government estates. I again addressed, in March, the Collector, pressing the demand and going into other particulars. I know that we did not get the money. In April the Commissioner came to Balasore and inspected the relief arrangements; he promised to ask the Board for 500 rupees out of the Government estate improvement fund. He presided at a general meeting, at which the mahajuns promised to import rice. At that time I did not know that the Government would assist us, and thought that we must do the most we could for ourselves.

The estates of the Balasore districts are held principally by small zemindars; there are no mahajuns; the only large zemindars are those who are also mahajuns. I think there are more Thanee than Pahee ryots in the district; the cultivating ryots are divided into these two classes. There are many Mokuddars and hereditary Surburakhars. The Balasore district is generally in revenue matters in the same circumstances as the Cuttack district; but the assessment in Balasore is lighter than in Cuttack. I am of opinion that by far the greater number of persons who have disappeared from their homes in the Balasore district are dead. The number who have emigrated is comparatively small.

Before the sarud crop of 1865 was cut, the mahajuns had almost cleared their stocks by selling to exporters. The crop of 1865 averaged one-half of a full crop over the district. Very little of it was exported; but very little found its way into the stores of the mahajuns. It was a general matter of surprise in the Balasore town what had become of the grain from the cold weather crop of 1865. I did not see the crops myself; but it was the general opinion of the people of the town that the crop over the district was half of a full crop. By the month of March I was fully aware that the stocks of rice in the district had run out; but I then expected that rice would be brought in from other districts by private traders, and that so the price would fail below *Rs.* 2. 8. a maund, at which it stood in the beginning of March. In fact, in that expectation I refused to pay *Rs.* 2. 8. a maund for rice which was brought in in March.

No. 107.—Mr. H. S. Thomas, Chief Officer of the "Nemesis."

[Examined in Calcutta, 7th February 1867.]

Mr. H. S. Thomas.

7 Feb. 1867.

I COMMANDED the "Nemesis" the whole time of the famine. In June and July I was running between Calcutta and Balasore. During the latter part of July I was sent to the Dhamrah. On returning from the Dhamrah I went back to Balasore, and made another trip to Calcutta and back. I then remained at Balasore to unload the "Arracan" and "Royal Bride" at the mouth of the river, and came up again to meet the "Teesta." I was constantly employed except when I was once weather-bound at Balasore, and once likewise for two days at Hidgellee. I always took the inner passage. On the first trip I left for Balasore on the 6th of June, and arrived on the 9th, returned on the 13th, left Calcutta again on the 16th, and entered the Balasore river on the 19th, discharged cargo on the 22nd, and left the same day with two vessels in tow. I had left the "Dolphin" at Hidgellee, and returned with great difficulty to Balasore with her on the morning of the 27th; left again on the 29th June, and arrived in Calcutta on the 30th. Left again on the 6th of July, taking the "Dolphin" and a sloop. Left the "Dolphin" at Hidgellee, towed the sloop to Balasore, and returned to the "Dolphin;" took her cargo of 1,997 bags on board, reached the Balasore river on the 15th July, discharged cargo, and left on the 19th. The first trip I took 1,500 bags, and on the second, the steamer, sloop, and "Dolphin" took nearly 3,000 bags of rice. At first we ran into Balasore river at a venture; afterwards, when I came to know the way I did not conceive it difficult, and relieved the pilot. On the 3rd of August, I took in the "Dolphin," laden with coals, drawing nearly 10 feet of water. I considered I was running a risk, but got safe in. At the spring tides and during the freshes, vessels drawing 10 feet may be taken in, but only during the time when the freshes and spring tides are combined.

Mr. H. S. Thomas.

7 Feb. 1867.

bined. The "Conqueror" went in twice. She bumped on her way. Being a strong-built vessel she did not take any harm. She went in for coals on both occasions. The "Conqueror" might have been employed to tow rice in, but she could not carry much cargo. I towed three different sloops in at different times. I think the "Conqueror" could have towed sloops as well as the "Nemesis" if the Collector could have found sloops. On the 18th of July I left Balasore to take the "Guide" in tow. I received my orders by telegram I believe, but I am not sure. The vessel had been two or three days waiting for us at Hidgellee. The "Guide" brought orders for us to take her down to the Dhamrah; but I had to take the "Dolphin's" cargo down first. I then took the "Guide" down to the Dhamrah, arriving on the 24th of July. Had the channel of the Dhamrah been known, the "Guide" might have gone in well. Plenty of vessels in the Port of Calcutta might have gone to the Dhamrah. Any ship drawing 14 feet might have done so. When the wind is not east or south, the Balasore roads are partially protected. When I first saw the "Tubal Cain," I think that with the then state of the weather we could have taken her rice out of her. The "Nemesis" could not have lain alongside although sloops might have done so. If the "Tubal Cain" were to be again unloaded in July I might possibly do so, but it is doubtful. Ordinary ship boats would not do for the purpose. Masoola boats might do. I do not think cargo boats would be taken down at that season. Masoola boats would tow better than cargo boats. Later in the season, when the "Arracan" and "Royal Bride" were unloaded, it was done in sloops which we towed in. It was impossible to lay the "Nemesis" alongside of the "Royal Bride." I do not think anything more could have been done with the Government vessels under the circumstances. Perhaps, had the "Conqueror" been taken up, she might have done more. I had on board the "Nemesis" a gentleman, Mr. Smart, who stated "that there were other tugs adapted to the work, having the same draught as the 'Conqueror.'" I did not hear this until the "Conqueror" had been taken up.

No. 108.—Mr. R. S. Evans, Bengal Pilot Service.

[Examined in Calcutta, 8th February 1867.]

Mr. R. S. Evans.

8 Feb. 1867.

During the commencement of the famine, I was partly employed in piloting the "Nemesis." In July I went to Balasore and the Dhamrah. Vessels with a draught of 9 feet 6 inches can enter the port of Balasore; the "Dolphin" drew that, but she bumped twice entering the Balasore river. In the month of August there is a heavy swell. I heard that the "Conquerer" went in, but I do not know for certain. I know the "Conqueror." If desired, I would take the "Conqueror" in, weather permitting; but in the monsoon I should have to take advantage of the weather. There are at least two steamers in the Port of Calcutta which could enter the Balasore river, as well as the "Conqueror." The steamers I allude to are the "Victoria" and the "Mary Grant." They both draw about 7 feet 6 inches. I once piloted the "Victoria" when she towed vessels, and she was drawing 7 feet 6 inches. The steamers above-mentioned are not adapted for cargo; they might, perhaps, carry 200 or 300 bags of rice, but are best adapted for towing ships into the Balasore river. Had money been no object, their services might have been procured in June or July, as they were then lying in the river. They would have gladly taken a chance of employment. The pariah vessel we towed down was only moderately good of her class; others could have been easily procured quite as good as she was. Vessels with a draught of 12 or 14 feet might enter the Dhamrah. I do not know any vessels drawing so little in the Port of Calcutta, except pariahs, pilot vessels, and tug steamers. All tug steamers could carry small cargoes, and I believe there were vessels fitted for that purpose unemployed here. I think boats adapted for the purpose of landing rice from outside the mouth of the Balasore river were not procurable. Surf boats might have been sent for, but they are unhandy vessels to get upon deck, though it might have been done. I went once to Pooree, but have not been to Gopalpoor. I do not think it would be safe for surf boats to tow them. I know False Point Harbour. There is a safe anchorage there during the south-west monsoon. For landing rice there, a flat-bottomed steamer would certainly have been of use. In the end of May and commencement of June, it would be impossible to get such a ship as the "Teesta" down to False Point.

No. 109. Captain A. Bond, Master Attendant and Assistant Salt Agent, Balasore.

[Examined in Calcutta, 8th February 1867.]

Captain A. Bond

8 Feb. 1867.

I have resided at Balasore since 1831. I was there when the great inundations of the sea occurred in 1831 and 1832. Mr. Ricketts was then Collector. Rice was imported by sea, and likewise from the interior for sufferers by the inundation; the suffering was very great, but timely measures were then taken. We had a large number of sea-going vessels available in the Balasore port; 246 were then fitted for sea; now only 22 are available. This is on account of the abandonment of the Government manufacture of salt. The loss

Captain A. Bond.

8 Feb. 1867.

of life was in those days caused by the inundation of the sea. I took people out of trees, dead and alive. I think the loss of life on that occasion was much greater than by the last famine, but there was not so much loss by starvation, for we had rice down from Calcutta immediately. The rice was paid for by Government; some of it was sold and some given away gratuitously. I do not remember any famine intervening between 1832 and 1866. During the famine in Mr. Ricketts' time, the people were fed for nine months altogether. The inundation in 1831 was caused by the sea raised by a heavy gale, and likewise it happened again in 1832; both gales occurred in October, and there was then no difficulty in getting rice by sloops without the aid of steam. My first letter, dated 19th March 1866, will show the reasons I had for apprehending famine. I then represented that unless Government aid was given, serious consequences would ensue. I do not know why Government aid was not given. I suppose it was not represented. Two days before and two days after the full and new moon, there is sufficient water over the bar at the Balasore river for a vessel drawing 9 feet of water to pass over, but not for a vessel drawing more. When there are freshes, there is more water on the bar. The heaviest draught of native vessels frequenting the Port of Balasore is 9 feet. Vessels drawing more unload outside; small deck boats are sent out to unload those drawing 6 or 7 feet; these can be used in the south-west monsoon; they were used to unload the "Royal Bride," and similar vessels. I remember the arrival of the "Tubal Cain"; I do not remember communicating with her; I sent a boat to her; I do not remember whether her boat or mine communicated first. My boat was a jolly-boat. The "Orissa" did not go out in the south-west monsoon. The "Orissa" could only have got out of the river in certain states of the wind; whether she got out to the "Tubal Cain" I cannot answer without reference to my books. If the "Orissa" had got out, she was quite fit for sea, although she could not have carried more than 300 maunds of rice. I cannot remember whether the "Conqueror" came into the river; I think she did. I think there were 15 or 20 sloops and brigs fit to be used in the Balasore river if there had been steamers to tow them. Three steamers like the "Nemesis" could have brought three times as much grain. Sloops could have been got ready immediately. I think small vessels carrying 1,500 or 2,000 maunds might have been sent to Cherawan, which is in the centre of the district south of Balasore. Nothing was sent to Cherawan. I should decidedly recommend this year the revival of the salt manufacture as the only thing to recover the inhabitants. It will employ 25,000 people. No dependence is to be placed on private manufacture. People taking licenses to manufacture salt will not make one-half the amount of their license. Mortality during the famine was very great, but many ran away; nobody tried to prevent their going. The district of Balasore has not improved since 1831. It has become much worse; large tracts of land are now lying waste. The ryots have deserted since the manufacture of salt has been stopped. The district has certainly gone back; before the salt manufacture was abandoned, it was doing well. The last year's famine has certainly thrown land out of cultivation through deaths and desertion. The question when the district will recover again greatly depends on what kind of settlement is made; I should not advise any steps being taken in the matter until the salt manufacturing is re-opened; but my observations have only reference to those estates near the coast where salt manufactories had been established. The state of the inland zemindarees is different. I speak from my own personal observations. If by re-opening the salt manufacture, the ryots were brought back, I think it would be advisable to give them a long term of settlement; I cannot say exactly how long, perhaps for 30 or 40 years; they would then be more likely to remain. I think if a settlement was once made, the zemindars would manufacture salt on their own account. The scheme of the zemindars is to get their estates to the lowest ebb before a settlement; after that they will let them rise again.

I do not think the character of the Ooryahs worse than the Bengallees. They are not more lazy, but not so sharp; if you only put a man in to show them the way to work, they would work too.

I think during the famine the paupers were in such a wretched state that they could not work, and I expect that what has been alleged of the difficulty of getting them to labour during the earlier part of the famine depended upon the parties themselves, whether they looked after their people properly to prevent their taking part of the wages themselves.

No. 110.—Mr. E. H. Palmer, commanding River Steamer "Teesta."

[Examined in Calcutta, 8th February 1867.]

Mr. E. H. Palmer.

8 Feb. 1867.

I commanded the "Teesta" in 1866. She is a Government steamer. In the earlier part of the south-west monsoon, I knew of no question of sending her to False Point. I received no information on the subject. I think it possible on extreme emergency to get the steamer down to False Point in the end of May or beginning of June, but it would be running a great risk. I was sent down in October 1866, just after the break of the the monsoon; we could not have gone down earlier, as before stated, without extreme risk. At False Point the weather was unsettled. At first we had nothing to do. My instructions from the master attendant were to run from the lighthouse to False Point. It was impossible to do so, except at high tide. We found the "Pie IX." unloading on arrival; she was the only vessel there; she was unloaded without my assistance. There were

Mr. E. H. Palmer.

8 Feb. 1867.

were plenty of country boats. When the "Pie IX." was unloaded the "Phœnix" came in; she was likewise unloaded without our assistance, as well also the "Romaign." The boats were fully employed almost all the time. The cargoes were landed at Lighthouse Creek, and from there sent up in smaller boats. I believe, before I came down, some boats had gone up the Jhumboo and other creeks. I did not know whether there was sufficient water for the "Teesta." I do not know whether rice especially was required. It was not proposed to me to tow boats up the Jhumboo. I have never been up it, but have been to its mouth. I have been over its bar, but not so far as the Irrigation Company's godown. I did not take the "Teesta" over the bar; she might have gone over in the spring tides and freshes, but probably not in the neap tides. The Irrigation Company's godown is on the Jhumboo. I do not know what route the Company uses.

I eventually went up the Barkood Creek. Mr. M'Neile and myself sounded it, and found it practicable. No steamer had been there before; only native boats. There is a bar at the mouth of the Barkood, and likewise of the Jhumboo; the bar across the latter is the easiest to get over. They both communicate with the Mahanuddee. They are both tidal rivers, and have fresh water running through them during the freshes. I went up the Barkood Creek in November after the freshes were over; the river had fallen, but not to its lowest. I went up between 25 and 30 miles, and took the "Teesta" from the Barkood into the Mahanuddee. I found it practicable, but had not much water to spare. In January I could not go up as far as in November. I towed up several large boats drawing four feet of water, laden with rice; they were not proper inland boats; they go up as far as Patamoondee.

I was once up the Noona, another branch of the Mahanuddee; it joins the Barkood, and is perfectly navigable. I do not know of any communication between the Mahanuddee and Dhamrah. The "Teesta" is as strong a boat of her class as is to be found, but too long for shoal rivers.

No. 111.—Mr. J. H. Reiley, Deputy Inspector General of Police.

[Examined in Calcutta, 8th February 1867.]

Mr. J. H. Reiley.

8 Feb. 1867.

I visited Orissa in the beginning of November 1866; landed at False Point. Rice was being discharged from the "Pie IX."; but Mr. Burgess complained that there was not sufficient landed in native boats. There was great difficulty in landing the rice owing to the bad weather. The "Teesta" could only be used once in 24 hours. This was at high tide and by daylight, from the anchorage to the Lighthouse. She could not be used at night. Mr. Macpherson and myself, from inquiries, thought we might have been able to go up the Barkood. I had not heard of boats going up the Jumbhoo before. On arrival at Cuttack, I heard that that route had been used by the Irrigation Company. Had not heard of the Jumbhoo at False Point. We heard of the Barkood from Messrs. Crouch & Burgess, and likewise from the Manjees. Afterwards we went up the Barkood in a police boat, and on arrival at Cuttack informed Mr. M'Neile, who proceeded to False Point.

Mr. Macpherson and myself offered to take the steamer up; but the officers objected to do so without an order, and we could not take the responsibility of giving one; so went in a boat to Cuttack, visiting the villages *en route*, which we found in a bad state up to within 30 miles of Cuttack. The distress was very great. The relief centres were still full of people, but they were generally well managed. I think all the people got sufficient food at the relief centres. At Cuttack distress had subsided. I went to Kendraparah along the road; the villages were deserted or almost so; the crops were completely destroyed from droughts and floods. There were likewise centres established here. All along the lower part of the Mahanuddee, the crops were destroyed for fully five miles on each side of the river. The crops were good beyond the floods, and the lands well cultivated; but even there the country had not returned to prosperity, although good crops were standing. In the Kendraparah direction, great damage had been done by the flood, but the crops had been fine until destroyed by the flood. I also went to Pooree, along the Juggernath road. The crops looked better in that district than in the lower part of Cuttack, but I did not go off the road, so could not see for certain whether they had suffered more than in the previous year. I was sent down especially to visit this division.

No. 112.—Mr. A. Grote, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue.

[Examined, 11th February 1867.]

Mr. A. Grote.

11 Feb. 1867.

1. Q. Have you had any personal experience of Orissa?—*A.* None.

2. Since when have you been a member of the Board of Revenue?—Since the year 1860.

3. Will you tell us, as distinctly as you can, what you consider to be the line between the duties of the Board of Revenue and of the Government, and how far you consider

Mr. A. Grote.

11 Feb. 1867.

the Board to be an executive office under the directions of the Government?—The Board of Revenue is the chief revenue executive authority.

4. In matters beyond strict revenue, what do you consider to be the functions of the Board; in such matters, for instance, as a famine, what special functions did the Board consider they were bound to undertake?—The Board are bound to report to Government all that they hear regarding the general state of the country. Commissioners of divisions' reports submitted to the Board in the Revenue Department, and anything that came to the Board's notice connected with the state of the districts, would be laid before the Government.

5. Was it the Board's business to act (as regards a famine) without special orders?—They would expect special orders to undertake any relief measures.

6. Can you refer us to any instructions in which the duties of the Board are distinctly laid down?—Only to the regulation (I. of 1829) under which the Board is constituted.

7. Is there any class of officers connected with the general administration exclusively under the Board?—The revenue officers generally are exclusively under the Board.

8. Are there any exclusively revenue officers?—There are survey officers, excise, customs, and opium officers who are exclusively revenue officers, but they cannot be said to be connected with the general administration.

9. Is the Board at all consulted regarding the appointment and posting of officers?—Occasionally, but not as a rule; the appointment and posting of officers is not a part of the Board's proper functions.

10. Are the Board at all consulted as regards the higher officers?—In regard to Deputy Collectors, we have occasionally been called on to nominate particular officers for a survey or a particular district.

11. Have the Board any personal control over the higher officers; can you order a Commissioner to go to any particular part of his division?—If the Board expressed a wish for a Commissioner to go from one part of his division to another, he would be bound to go, unless he could assign any reason for not doing so.

12. From the time when a scarcity was apprehended during the past year, did you consider that all matters connected with the scarcity and famine impending were distinctly delegated to the Board?—Only to the extent referred to in my answer to your 4th question; but from the month of June, the Board held their special sittings on matters connected with the famine.

13. From October 1865, when the first apprehensions arose, did you consider that the Board were required to take note of the state of the crops and the country?—The duty was not formally delegated to the Board; but they thought it to be part of their duty without any formal delegation.

14. In the end of October the Government specially called on the Board to submit a report regarding the state of the crops and of the country?—Yes, and we made that report on the 25th of November 1865.

15. It has been officially stated that that report was founded on very imperfect information, and in fact the information on which it was founded was of a date considerably prior to the reaping of the crops. Did the Board not consider it necessary to call for further reports in order to render their information more perfect and complete?—The Board did not call for special reports, but they had an active correspondence with the different Commissioners. As regards Orissa there was no occasion to call for special reports, since, in the district of Pooree, the subject forced itself on the Board's special attention.

16. Orissa lying to the westward suffered more from the scarcity of rain than other districts, and we observe that in the report of the 25th November the Board considered the Commissioner's estimate of the out-turn probably too sanguine, also that his estimate of stocks was not well founded, and, as you have mentioned, the state of the Pooree district immediately afterwards forced itself on your attention; did you not then consider it necessary to obtain any complete information regarding the out-turn of the crops in all the districts of Orissa?—We could have had no better authority than the Collectors, and we had reports from them,—from the Collector of Pooree especially.

17. Was it not the case that all the Collectors in Orissa asked for permission to make special inquiries regarding the state of the crops, and that in every case the Board negatived the application?—I do not recollect any applications from the Collectors of Cuttack and Balasore, but I do recollect one from Pooree. This letter, dated the 15th January 1866, in which I concurred, explained the grounds for negativing the application. The letter was written by Mr. Cockburn. On Mr. Trevor's leaving the Board, Cuttack was primarily administered by Mr. Cockburn, as a matter of distribution between the members of the Board. The letter of the 10th January was in consequence written by Mr. Cockburn, and sent to me for concurrence.

18. The Secretary to the Board of Revenue has told us that Mr. Trevor was disabled by sickness for a short time before his departure, so that probably, in anything after the 25th of November, Mr. Trevor did not take a part?—He could not come to the Board at that time; but I think papers used to be sent to him; though, of course, the greater part of the work was done by me.

19. We wish to know whether, after the report of the 25th November, and before his departure on the 9th of December, the question came before Mr. Trevor, particularly as to calling for reports or doing anything as regards Orissa?—No, probably not.

20. Do you consider that the letter of the 10th January was issued under the impression

pression that there was no such general calamity as would justify the Board in allowing inquiries with a view to remissions of revenue?—The Board thought so, and gave the grounds of their thinking so in that letter. The calamity did not seem to be so extreme or general in character as to justify the zemindar's claim for remission. We had been in the habit of hearing of such claims every year from different parts of the province.

21. Do you now think that at that time you had information which would justify you in being satisfied that there was no such extreme failure in the crops?—We only had the information that you see, and I think it justified us in writing that letter to the Commissioner.

22. Do you allude to the information forwarded by the Commissioner, or to any other?—I allude to all the information which we had before us. We had no other than what was supplied by the Commissioner and the Collector.

23. Did the intelligence which was immediately afterwards received from Pooree attract the attention of the Board?—Yes, it did as regards Mallood and Parricood.

24. Was the Board aware that the Commissioner at that time went away on a long tour in the most distant part of the Tributary Mehals?—My attention was not, that I can remember, particularly directed to it.

25. Did you not think it necessary to make any representation regarding the necessity of recalling him?—No; as Superintendent of Tributary Mehals the Commissioner is independent of the Board.

26. Do you remember by whom at that time a telegram was sent to say that rice would be shipped from Meetacooah on account of the starving population of Mallood and Parricood?—I don't remember by which of the members of the Board the order was issued. It was probably a proposal of the Secretary's, and sanctioned by me. Mr. Trevor was not likely to have been at the Board, as he was sick at the time. It was expected that a steamer would touch there, and we thought of sending down a small supply; the steamer did not touch there, and we did not send it.

27. In his telegram of the 5th November, the Collector begs of the Board to ask for public aid; in the course of the discussion which ensued, did the Board consider the question whether it was or was not proper to ask for public aid?—I presume the Collector's request to ask for public aid was discussed at the Board. We telegraphed in reply for particulars of the population of Mallood, and on receipt of these we considered that the local public works ordered would afford sufficient relief.

28. Did the Board consider that the measures adopted by Government for relieving the distress at Pooree were sufficient?—Yes; the measures were mostly of our own recommendation.

29. About the beginning of the year, did the Board think it necessary to make any further special inquiries regarding the districts most affected by the drought?—In October we called on the Commissioners of Bhaugulpore and Patna for a report on the prospect of the rubbee crops.

30. You did not think it necessary to call for a report from the Commissioners of the other districts; was it because the rubbee crop was not important in the other districts?—The rubbee crop was not of that importance in Cuttack as in other districts.

31. Was there no general report called for regarding the state and prospect of Orissa?—No.

32. Do you remember the circumstances under which the orders originally issued to pay for labour employed on local relief works in grain were cancelled, and the local authorities were strictly enjoined to pay in cash only?—I remember that my own views were in favour of money payment in preference to grain.

33. Do you remember whether there was any special discussion or consultation with his Honor the Lieutenant Governor on the subject?—It was discussed in the Board, but I do not remember that it was discussed with the Lieutenant Governor.

34. On the 31st January a very important telegram was received from the Commissioner of Orissa, to say that the famine relief was at a stand-still for want of rice, and that it was necessary to get rice for Pooree from elsewhere; do you remember that?—Yes; our telegram in reply bears date the 1st February.

35. Do you remember whether there was any special discussion at that time?—I suppose that the answer had reference to the decision of Government on our report on the 25th of November.

36. Do you remember that the fact that the relief work was stopped for want of rice was brought to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor before he went down to Cuttack, about a fortnight after?—I think we must have reported the matter to the Lieutenant Governor, but I cannot say for certain.

37. In your letter of the 24th of January, you had reported to Government that prices in the Pooree district were happily insufficient to tempt importers, and on the 1st of February you had declined to import rice on the part of Government; did not the price currents received within a few days show that at Pooree grain was very rapidly becoming dearer, and did not that suggest some necessity for modifying what you had already said?—We did not consider it sufficient to modify our orders.

38. At that time, immediately previous to the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Orissa, was there intimate personal communication between the Lieutenant Governor and the members of the Board, and was the scarcity and famine in Pooree the subject of discussion?—Yes, it was the subject of discussion between the Lieutenant Governor and ourselves, and we were in intimate communication with his Honor.

39. Was Mr. Cockburn's visit to Orissa in any way connected with the famine?—No; I believe

Mr. A. Grote.

11 Feb. 1867.

I believe the Lieutenant Governor asked him to go as an old Cuttack officer, more with a view to discussing irrigation measures than with reference to the famine.

40. We believe Mr. Cockburn was very unwell on his return; did you see him then?—I saw him once or twice at his own house, but he did not come to the Board.

41. Did you gather from him that anything he had heard or seen at Pooree had caused him apprehension?—No; I think if anything had struck him of interest in the district, it would have led him to tell me of it.

42. Do you remember whether the state of the Pooree district was in any way the subject of special discussion between you and Mr. Cockburn after his return?—Not of special discussion. We talked about it, naturally, and conversed generally about what he had seen during his visit.

43. What do you remember that Mr. Cockburn told you as respects the state of the Pooree district?—I don't particularly remember anything. Whatever he did say was not of sufficient importance to draw my attention to the serious prospect of famine.

44. Did the Lieutenant Governor in any way draw the Board's particular attention to the subject of the scarcity and the risk of famine in Cuttack after his return?—I don't recollect that he did specially call our attention to the subject. He probably talked on the subject to me.

45. For some weeks after the Lieutenant Governor's return, were any special apprehensions entertained of the approaching famine?—None whatever.

46. Did Mr. Schalch join the Board on the 4th of April?—Yes.

47. Mr. Schalch, I believe, has a very intimate personal acquaintance with Orissa?—He was Collector of Balasore for many years.

48. On his taking charge, was the Orissa division specially made over to him as it had been to Mr. Cockburn, or not?—Not specially. The distribution of work might have remained the same, but for the last half of April I went down to Madras, and consequently Mr. Schalch was for that month in charge of the whole of the duties of the Board. I went by the first steamer in April, and came back by the last, in order to rest my eyes.

49. Do you remember to have heard from Mr. Schalch that, before taking charge of his duties as a member of the Board, he had received a letter from Mr. Barlow, the Collector of Pooree, asking for assistance for the starving population, and whether there was not a balance of some fund available?—I don't recollect Mr. Schalch's having told me anything of the kind.

50. Do you remember whether at that time Mr. Schalch's knowledge of the winds and coasts of Orissa, and of the circumstances which precluded private trade in the ordinary native vessels after March, at all influenced the policy of the Board or of Government?—I don't know whether Mr. Schalch's local experience would have given more knowledge in that respect than I had. I know what the monsoon is in the Bay. All our salt imports from Balasore to Calcutta used to cease from the end of March or the beginning of April. I don't think that consideration influenced our policy at all, because we did not see the necessity of importing for Government. Rice was being imported into Pooree by land by the Chilka from Gopalpoor, and such importations were being carried on throughout April.

51. When you returned from sea in the end of April, did you become aware that there was a very severe famine in Balasore?—No.

52. The Commissioner, in his report of the 2nd May to Government, has described what he saw at Balasore before leaving that place on the 20th of April, and in that letter he seems to describe very severe famine indeed. Is it your impression that when you returned to the Board, information of starvation and famine at Balasore had not reached the Board?—Not being a revenue matter, the Commissioner would have the option of reporting it either on the revenue or on the circuit side of his office. I don't think that in the Board there was the knowledge that there was a state of famine in Balasore. There was no report to that effect. We were surprised when we got that letter afterwards. But I must observe that it is very difficult to speak regarding personal impressions so many months after the time.

53. May we understand, that up to the time when Government first suggested the importation of grain, the Board were not aware, to the full extent, of the state of things existing in Balasore and Orissa generally?—The picture before the Board was the picture drawn by the local officers. Comparatively few of the reports from the Commissioner came to the Board; such as were sent to Government on the circuit side came to the Board afterwards from Government.

54. In the early part of May, had you any intimate demi-official communications with the local officers?—I don't think I corresponded demi-officially with the Commissioner at that time, or with any of the local officers.

55. Later in May, when the Lieutenant-Governor first suggested importation of grain, did Mr. Schalch and you both concur in thinking that there was then no sufficient ground for taking that step?—Up to the 23rd we concurred; after the 23rd I was alone in the Board.

56. What was the occasion of Mr. Schalch's going to Darjeeling at that time?—He did not go on any special duty, but it had been the practice of the members of the Board occasionally to attend the Lieutenant-Governor at Darjeeling. I went up in 1864. I don't remember that there was any special reason for Mr. Schalch's going on this occasion.

57. Did it not appear to the Board that just at that time the question of importations for famine purposes was pending, and that it was very undesirable that the member whose knowledge

knowledge of the coast was complete should be taken away?—The impression at that time was that things would improve from the first fall of the coming rain, and moreover we were not in that state of anxiety that suggested the expediency of retaining the two members in Calcutta.

58. Was not the question of importation at that very moment pending further inquiry and local report?—Mr. Schalch's presence with the Lieutenant Governor would have enabled him to dispose of the Commissioner's reply on a reference from me.

59. Were not the executive arrangements, as respects the famine, entirely in the hands of the Board in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor, and must not all shipping arrangements have been made by them?—Yes; but during the Lieutenant Governor's absence, they would have been made as well by one member as by two.

60. Has it ever been the practice for members of the Board, on special occasions, to visit outlying districts within their jurisdiction?—Occasionally; but not while I had been in the Board. If a member of the Board suggested the necessity of a member's going, no doubt the Lieutenant Governor would sanction his going; but it was not the practice for any member to go without some special order of Government.

61. In the middle and latter part of May, when the prospect of famine in Orissa became serious, and importations were contemplated, do you not think it might have been a fitting occasion to depute a Member of the Board to judge for himself on the spot?—Certainly not; our presence was more necessary in Calcutta to superintend the shipping and general executive arrangements.

62. Up to that time, had you full confidence in the Commissioner Mr. Ravenshaw's judgment. Did you not think that in some respects he had been rash in his estimate of the large stocks, and in not properly judging of the severity of the distress?—My confidence was not shaken up to that time, as Mr. Ravenshaw had the best means of judging. My first expression of doubt and surprise, as obvious in my demi-official letter, was expressed about the time that we commenced importations.

63. If you then began to entertain doubts, did you not think it desirable that a member of the Board should have gone to ascertain particulars, especially as regards the landing and transport operations in the different parts which were within a day or two steam of Calcutta?—We had then commenced importations. What was then required was to keep the supplies of rice going into the province. The Board thought it more important to stay in Calcutta and superintend the purchase and shipment of rice.

64. Were not the Board aware that at that season of the year the landing and transport operations were most particularly and specially difficult?—Of course they were.

65. Was it then considered sufficient to leave that duty entirely to the Commissioner, burthened with many other duties and practically as respects communication much further from False Point than in Calcutta?—The landing duties devolved on the Master Attendant's Department, and were made between myself and Captain Howe. As to getting the grain up into Cuttack, the local officers were naturally much better able than we were to superintend the operations there.

66. Was it not then considered necessary to send down some experienced officer of the Master Attendant's Department, or some one having special knowledge of those matters?—There was a man at False Point at the lighthouse. We did ask Captain Howe to send some one down, but I don't recollect who was sent. The arrangements were made with Captain Howe mostly by Mr. Chapman, the secretary to the Board.

67. In the beginning of June, do you think that you really had sufficient information regarding the degree of famine and distress which it now appears actually existed at that time; or does it now strike you that the reports did not sufficiently represent the extremeness of the actual distress?—I think that the local officers gave us all the information that they had at command.

68. Do you think that there was anything in the tone of the superior authorities which had made the local officers unwilling to report more than what they could distinctly substantiate, and unwilling to hazard speculative opinions which might have been considered of an alarmist character?—Certainly not.

69. Does not your letter to Mr. Ravenshaw of the 29th of May, and the Lieutenant Governor's to Mr. Chapman of the 11th of June, show that the superior authorities were inclined to take a somewhat more sanguine view of matters than the district officers, and may not such views have in some degree rendered the district officers more cautious in respect to hazarding opinions of the future?—Certainly not; both letters were dated after importations had commenced, so that I don't see that they could have had the effect contemplated in the question. My opinion is, that they conscientiously gave their opinions regarding their respective districts to the best of the means in their power.

70. We have been told that in the early part of June the Government and the Board came to the determination not to publish all the statements which might be made or hazarded by district officers, but only a concise narrative of ascertained facts. Do you remember the discussions on that point?—It was quite my view that we should confine our publications to what came before us as facts.

71. Do you think that that determination was in any way conveyed to the district officers, and that they were in any way rendered somewhat more cautious of stating more than they knew as facts; for instance, to confine their reports of mortality to the cases of death which they had ascertained rather than to hazard statements of their impressions respecting the great mortality which we now know to have been going on unseen and unascertained?

Mr. A. Grote.

11 Feb. 1867.

ascertained?—My belief is that the question arose as to the form in which we should communicate to the press the information we had. In discussing that question, we resolved to confine ourselves to a statement of the facts which we had. I don't think that any orders cautioning the district officers issued from us, and I am quite sure that they were not discouraged from speaking out their minds.

72. Looking back, do you now not think that, as matter of fact, a very imperfect impression of the whole extent of the suffering and mortality was conveyed to the public?—No; I believe that our reports were as correctly prepared as the materials we had for preparing them could make them; and I believe that the materials supplied by the local officers were as correct as they could be made. Apparently, from recent information, the mortality was very much greater than we or they at the time supposed. As regards our communications to the public we communicated everything that we knew.

73. Then, as a matter of fact, do you think that the Board themselves were at the time not fully informed of the whole extent of the calamity?—Certainly not, if the later reports of November are correct, which we believe them to be, as they have been prepared on more complete and careful inquiry than the early reports.

74. To what do you attribute this defective information?—I believe that the Collectors did their best to get information from every available source. They had no machinery for ascertaining more correctly the rate of mortality. If anybody could have prepared returns accurately, the relief committees could have done so, as they were composed of official and non-official members.

75. If in the end of May or beginning of June you had realised the full extent of the calamity, do you think more might have been done by hiring steamers in Calcutta and pushing grain down?—I doubt it.

76. Later in June, when the calamity was more fully realised, do you think that operations were in any degree restricted by financial considerations, that is, by the fear that the balance of the old famine fund would not suffice to meet the requirements. Had not the Board apprehensions on that point?—I don't think we had in June.

77. At any time do you think that the operations were in any degree restricted by the fear that the money in hand would not suffice if rice were thrown in in the most expensive way. Was it not to some extent made an object to import on commercial principles rather than to throw in rice totally regardless of expense?—I don't think so; I am not aware that any cargo was delayed on considerations connected with the expense of sending it there.

78. As the "Nemesis" was employed to take rice to Balasore, might not other small steamers have been hired to send rice in the same way?—I don't think so; but on all questions connected with the steamers, we acted in communication with the master attendant.

79. The master attendant tells us that his instructions were solely restricted to Government vessels, and that not till August did he have instructions to hire private vessels?—He had no *carte blanche* certainly. When a cargo had to go, we looked about us. If we had Government steamers, we took them. No cargo was delayed on any considerations of expense on account of hiring steamers, as far as I can remember.

80. We find that on the 15th of June and 3rd of July cargoes of rice offered by certain merchants were refused; was that because you did not think more rice was required?—As far as I can recollect, we refused the offers because we had bought enough in Burmah and elsewhere, and we only bought here for urgent occasions when it seemed necessary.

81. Might not rice have been sent to Pooree early in June; and altogether would it not have saved time if, expense being no object, rice had been sent by steam from Calcutta in the first instance, instead of awaiting the Burmah supplies?—Pooree was, I think, being supplied in small quantities by private trade by land from Gopalpoor.

82. Mr. Schalch returned from Darjeeling about the same time as the Lieutenant Governor; do you know why he went back to Darjeeling in September?—He went back, I suppose, for the same reason that he went up before. I think he was only away a fortnight.

83. What was the occasion of the delay and failure in engaging the "Mahratta," and in the arrival of the "Asia" and "Dundas Castle," which caused a failure of the supplies in October?—The failure of supplies was not a necessary consequence of the delay. The delay, I apprehend, was in consequence of some misunderstanding between the British India Company and Messrs. Gisborne & Co.

84. If money was no object, why did you refuse to allow the purchase of the whole cargo of the "Charles Maureau?"—The Commissioner had discretion to purchase daily according to his requirements, I believe, about 500 maunds a day. We were in hopes that the cargo of the "Maureau" would be available on private account, and we thought that the Government stores would be independent of the "Maureau."

85. Were you consulted on the question whether it was desirable to appeal to the public in May, June, July, or August?—Yes; and was against the appeal so long as we had the six lakhs. That is on record in one of our letters to Government.

86. Were you also against the formation of a public Committee for the purpose of dealing with the balance of former subscriptions, and of considering the question whether further subscriptions were required?—That question was discussed in the Board with Mr. Moncrieff and Baboo Degumber Mitter, on the return of the Lieutenant Governor from Darjeeling

Darjeeling. We agreed that for the administration of this balance of the old famine fund, the relief committee, which had been organised under the superintendence of the local authorities, were better adapted to see relief properly given than any new non-official general committee. Mr. A. Grote. 11 Feb. 1867.

87. Did Mr. Moncrieff and Baboo Degumber Mitter concur in that opinion?—I don't recollect at this moment whether they concurred or not, but I believe they did not press any opposition. I presume that they did not do so, as the question was decided on our view. I have no exact recollection of what each person said.

88. Do you remember anything of the question about the paupers being sent back to the districts from Calcutta. What was your opinion?—I think that I opposed the general forcing them out of Calcutta.

89. What was the result. Do you think they were forced out?—It was not done by the Board, but by the Commissioner of Police. I recollect that I said there was no law to compel them to leave. I don't think compulsion was used. It was on the occasion of hiring a steamer that I expressed my opinion. It was agreed not to send any detachments out of Calcutta until we were assured of the local committees being ready to receive them.

90. Are you now satisfied that they were not sent back too soon?—Yes.

No. 113.—Mr. V. H. Schalch, Junior Member of the Board of Revenue.

[Examined in Calcutta, 11th February 1867].

1. Will you be so good as to tell us what experience you have had in Orissa?—I was from May 1853, to December 1858, Magistrate, and Collector, and Salt Agent in Balasore. I have paid a visit of two or three days to Cuttack, but have never been employed there. Pooree I never visited till last December. Mr. V. H. Schalch. 11 Feb. 1867.

2. Have you never been employed in Orissa since 1858?—No, I have not.

3. Are you well acquainted with the Dhamrah and False Point ports?—The Dhamrah I once visited when salt agent at Balasore; False Point not till recently.

4. You are well acquainted with the winds and sea on the coast of Orissa?—I know something of them.

5. Were you Chairman of the Justices, and Commissioner of Police in Calcutta until the 3rd of April 1866?—Yes, I was.

6. Do you remember at that time to have received a letter from Mr. Barlow, the Collector of Pooree, regarding the state of his district, and asking for assistance?—Some time previous to leaving that appointment, I received a private note from Mr. Barlow.

7. Do you understand that note was written to you merely as an individual, or as Chairman of the Justices?—Merely as an individual. I have not got the note now; I did not keep it.

8. What do you remember of its contents?—What I remember of its contents, speaking very generally, is, that Mr. Barlow said that there was a good deal of distress there, and asked if I knew of any fund from which relief could be given.

9. What did you do on receipt of that letter?—I thought that there might have been some balance of the Cyclone Relief Fund, and wrote to the Hon. Mr. David Cowie on the subject, forwarding, I think, but cannot be sure, the note itself. I learned from him that there was no balance available, and I replied to that effect to Mr. Barlow.

10. When you took charge of your office in the Board, did you understand that the Board was specially charged with all matters connected with the famine and relief?—No; papers came up, and were disposed of as they came, or were passed on to Government when necessary.

11. Did you consider that everything connected with those matters was to come through the Board?—I understood that all questions referring in any way to revenue matters came before the Board, public works matters went to the Public Works Department, but also came to us occasionally, as in the case of the Khas Mehals.

12. What do you consider to be the Board's duties as respects an approaching famine?—To pass whatever orders might appear necessary, and to keep Government informed of what they did.

13. Did you understand that it was the duty of the Board to ascertain all that could be ascertained on the subject, or that that was the function of the Government?—I cannot say that I understood anything about it. We took up everything as it came before us.

14. Do you think that it was the duty of the Board or of the Government to ascertain whether a famine was approaching or not. In the month of April, was it your impression that it was the duty of the Board to keep themselves informed?—My impression is that it was our duty to keep Government informed of everything that came before us, and to ask for information where we thought information necessary for the subject in hand.

15. Did you, as a member of the Board, think that it was the duty of the Board to ascertain what was the state of the country, and whether there was any reason to fear that the scarcity already reported would become a famine?—We received information from separate districts and acted on that information up to our power as far as our power went, reporting all matters of importance to Government. We referred to Government

Mr. V. H. Schalch.

11 Feb. 1867.

for orders where our power ceased; but we had no distinct department for famine matters as we subsequently had.

16. We believe that Mr. Grote left Calcutta, temporarily, on the 9th of April, and that you were then in sole charge of the Board till Mr. Grote returned?—Yes.

17. Did you, at that time, think it necessary to make any special inquiries regarding the state of the districts of Orissa?—We received information from the local authorities and acted on that information as we received it. I cannot say more from mere memory.

18. Do you remember whether reports were called for from the Collectors of districts in Orissa as to the state of the population of their districts, whether they were starving or otherwise?—I am not aware of any general circular being sent to that effect.

19. With reference to the division of duty between the Government and the Board ordinarily, do you consider that the responsibility of making sure that the Collectors and Commissioners fully reported all matters which it was important to report, in connection with the probability of a famine, lay with the Government in direct communication with the local authorities or with the Board?—As far as all matters regarding which the Commissioners were subordinate to the Board, I consider it the duty of the Board to see that the Commissioners keep the Board duly informed, and on their part again to keep the Government duly informed of all important matters therewith connected; and I consider that as regards matters other than those specifically in the Board's Department, the Board are not responsible.

20. Mr. Grote or Mr. Chapman has informed us that, public works of the Public Works Department excepted, they think it was understood in the past year that the Board were charged with famine matters from the end of 1865 onwards; do you concur in that opinion?—I did not understand that from the first, nor until some time in May, when active measures were discussed.

21. We observe that from the end of March prices were very rapidly rising; did that cause any special anxiety to the Board?—Prices were noted to be rising, and correspondence was going on with the Cuttack authorities regarding the general matters of the district in connection with it. My impression is that there was no special order given.

22. Were you aware of the severe famine which prevailed in Balasore in April?—No; I was not aware of it.

23. Did you subsequently see the Commissioner's report of the scenes which he himself saw in Balasore in the middle of April; and did that account of the scenes of famine there take you by surprise?—My impression is that up to the 20th or 22nd of May, the only report of severe suffering received by the Board was in Perricood and Mallood in Pooree.

24. Were you in communication with any of the European officers or residents of Balasore or Pooree?—No, I was not.

25. On the 24th of April Mr. Muspratt, Collector of Balasore, advertised for public aid, and referred subscribers to Mr. Chapman to receive the money. Did you not at that time become aware that there was severe distress?—I merely knew that Mr. Chapman was collecting subscriptions towards the distress.

26. Was not your attention drawn to Mr. Sykes's fund, and to letters published by Mr. Chapman in the papers to the effect that he thought general measures of relief necessary; and did you not think it necessary to make any special inquiry with reference to these and other statements of the public prints?—No special orders were passed up to the date I speak of, as far as I can recollect.

27. Nor was any special encouragement given to the Collectors to state freely all that they might apprehend?—No; nor could there have been, in my opinion, any necessity; the Collectors ought to have done so of their own accord.

28. Was the distress, present or impending, made a question of special discussion between you and the Lieutenant Governor before his departure for Darjeeling?—No; I don't recollect any discussion, either private or unofficial.

29. Do you think that there was any personal communication with the Lieutenant Governor on the subject?—I don't recollect that there was then.

30. Did the Lieutenant Governor leave behind him any instructions to the Board in any shape?—I had no private or unofficial communication with him on the subject; and I am not aware if there were any official instructions; if there were, they would be on record.

31. Was your attention called to the difficulty experienced in providing for the poor by labour in consequence of the want of rice?—In Mr. Ravenshaw's letter, No. 472, of the 9th of April, allusion is made to the difficulty of obtaining even a slight retail of grain. My personal attention was not particularly drawn to the subject, but the correspondence was forwarded to Government by my orders.

32. You don't think your particular attention was directed to the difficulty of carrying on those works in the Pooree district on account of the want of grain?—My attention was not specially drawn to the subject, and we did not take action on it.

33. Up to the early part of May, had you seen any reason to anticipate severe and extensive famine?—Not in the shape of famine, although there would be great suffering.

34. Had your attention at that time been in any degree drawn to the previous correspondence regarding the importation of food into the Pooree district?—No; it had not.

35. When the Lieutenant Governor, soon after the middle of May, suggested the importation of rice, did you, in common with Mr. Grote, give your full consideration to the subject, and concur that there was not then sufficient ground to justify such a measure?

sure?—The suggestion of Government was not for the importation of rice generally into the province, but for the importation of a single cargo to be sold at cost price; and for the reasons stated in the Board's letter of the 22nd of May, both members of the Board agreed in thinking it inexpedient.

36. Was the Government letter of the 21st May received while you were in Calcutta?—I don't think it was.

37. The money offered for the importation of rice was famine relief money; and it appears from the Lieutenant Governor's demi-official letter of 16th May that he contemplated the use of such money for gratuitous distribution of rice to the poor; the telegram also contains no restrictions regarding the sale at prime cost; are you then correct in saying that the question discussed by the Board at that time was limited to the importing of rice for sale at prime cost?—The telegram of the 21st, placing at the disposal of the Board 45,000 rupees to purchase rice, does not say that it was out of the Famine Relief Fund. The demi-official letter of the 16th was to the effect that if rice be bought with public money, it must be sold at cost price; if any part of the Famine Fund is available for that purpose, the rice can be distributed gratuitously. It was not stated that the 45,000 rupees were out of the Famine Fund, and that the rice bought out of it was to be given gratuitously.

38. Did you make any inquiry whether, in fact, famine money was available before deciding not to ship rice for the relief of the distressed?—I cannot say. I don't know whether orders were issued or not.

39. On that action of the Government, did the Board call for further information from the local officers before deciding finally?—Yes; the order doing so was dated the 23rd. I left on the evening of that date.

40. What was the occasion of your then leaving Calcutta?—I went to join the Lieutenant Governor at Darjeeling. It was arranged that one member should remain with the Lieutenant Governor and one at the Board. Mr. Grote was to have gone first, but he found it more convenient that I should go.

41. Your going with the Lieutenant Governor had no reference to the famine?—No; before I went up, I had no discussion about the famine.

42. Just at this moment, when the question of importing rice for famine purposes into Orissa was pending, did it not seem to you that there was some inconvenience in your going away?—The senior member of the Board conducted the duties of the Board, and I was able to consult with the Lieutenant Governor at Darjeeling.

43. Was not the local knowledge which you possessed, and which was wanting to Mr. Grote and the Secretary, very important at that time in case the Board had to act on the matter?—My local knowledge referred to Balasore more than to Pooree and Cuttack.

44. During your absence, did you take part in any discussion regarding famine operations?—I was in occasional communication, during the short time I was at Darjeeling, with the Lieutenant Governor on the subject, and I immediately followed him down, leaving on the 16th, and arriving here, I think, on the 19th of June.

45. When you arrived, did you think that the measures for importing grain were sufficient?—When we arrived, all questions regarding importations were settled by the Board at their meetings. I wished to have a larger quantity imported, but found that importations must be entirely regulated by what could be landed.

46. Did you think that all had been done that could be done towards landing arrangements?—The landing arrangements must, of necessity, remain under the control of the local authorities. We were in constant communication with them on the subject, urging them to do all that could be done; and the Board were prepared to, and to the best of my knowledge did, give them all the aid that they could think of.

47. Were you not aware that for all purposes of communication False Point is very much further from Cuttack than Calcutta is, and do you not think that some assistance might have been rendered from Calcutta, or information obtained by a qualified officer?—I don't quite see that it was further from Cuttack, and that communication from Calcutta was easy. We placed entire control of the arrangements with the Commissioner, who was our officer on the spot for the purpose. I have to state that if there was any assistance that we could afford, we certainly should have afforded it, and that we were prepared to afford any assistance that we were asked for.

48. Do you think that Mr. Ravenshaw had sufficient experience and sufficient local knowledge to justify you in relying wholly on him?—I had joined my appointment about two months previously. I had little previous experience of Mr. Ravenshaw, but I should hold it my duty to consider any man appointed a commissioner of a division to be competent to perform the duties of his office, unless the contrary were proved to be the case.

49. Were you aware that the Collector of Cuttack was an officer of limited official experience, and altogether deficient in local knowledge?—Mr. Cornell, Collector of Cuttack, was Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Tipperah under me in 1861, five years before the date of which we speak; I had no reason to think that he was wanting in official experience. I don't know when he joined Cuttack, but he had been previously a long time at Balasore.

50. Do you think that if experience had been no object, more rice might have been thrown into Balasore in the early stage of the famine, by employing private tugs of the smallest class which might have been obtained in the river?—In all June the "Nemesis"

Mr. V. H. Schalch.

11 Feb. 1867.

was employed. My impression now is, that we were then informed that the "Nemesis" was the only steamer fitted for the work.

51. Do you think that in June or July, or at any other time, famine operations were at all limited by considerations of expense. Do you think that if funds had been unlimited, anything more might have been done in Orissa?—I think not. I never felt hampered for want of funds.

52. Was there not a considerable correspondence on the question, whether the balance of the Famine Relief Fund would last or not. Was not the Government of opinion that it would, and did not you express apprehensions that it would not?—I expressed apprehensions that after the requirements which were calculated to be met had been met, there would be large excess expenditure.

53. But still you think that those apprehensions did not lead to the adoption of more economical means of importing rice than might otherwise have been adopted, if speed rather than expense had been only considered?—Certainly not, as far as I am concerned. We based our importations on estimates received from the district officers, and endeavoured to take care that our importations should always be in excess of the requirements, without regard to expense.

54. Did you not import rice from Burmah when it might have been more rapidly pushed down by steam from Calcutta?—Probably, with any amount of money at disposal, rice would still have been imported from Burmah, because we supposed we could land it cheaper from there; it would be a cheaper market to go to, and there would be no object in speed after the first month, as our importations were in excess of requirements, as estimated by the local authorities.

55. If the crisis had been fully realised from the first, do you think more might have been done in June?—I think, as I said at first, importation depended on the means of landing the cargoes, as far as those means were not worked up to, more could have been done; not otherwise.

56. When was it first determined to send rice to the Dhamrah, and was that your proposition?—When Collector of Balasore, the question of the navigation of the Dhamrah had come before me officially, and the entrance to the river had been buoyed off from the first. From my knowledge of the port, I strongly advocated its being made use of to import grain to the southern parts of Balasore. This was at first declared to be impracticable, until, on Branch Pilot Stout's opinion, it was declared practicable.

57. Was it before or after your return that you made this recommendation?—On our first or second meeting, after my return from Darjeeling.

58. If the Dhamrah had been used from the very first, do you not think that much good might have been done?—Yes; if grain could have been thrown in by it at the moment; but there was great difficulty in importing grain, as vessels of over 14 or 15 feet draught had to anchor out at sea beyond the mouth of the river.

59. Do you remember why the "Nemesis," employed at Balasore, was taken away to tow the "Guide," when a private tug might easily have been hired for the purpose?—My impression is that at the time she could be spared from Balasore for two or three days, in which time it was expected she could do the business required of her.

60. The master attendant has told us that he had no orders to take up the "Conqueror" or any other private vessel till August; that if he had orders he could have done so, and that he had in fact very insufficient means in Government vessels. Do you not think that this was in some degree due to consideration of expense?—No, I do not think so; but only due to the fact that our importations in the Balasore district were up to the requirements.

61. Do you now think that in June or July they were up to the requirements?—I think they were up to what was then considered the requirements.

62. When, in consequence of the "Tubal Cain" being blown away, frightful distress occurred in Balasore, was any attempt made to induce any small tugs to enter the Balasore river?—No, under the impression that they were of too heavy draught.

63. Do you think that none of the operations were stinted by want of means?—As far as the Board's operations were concerned, I knew of no instance in which a fear of want of funds crippled their action.

64. Do you not think that some competent person might with advantage have been sent to inspect the ports and the landing arrangements?—I consider with the knowledge we then possessed that the local officers were capable of doing what was required of them, and we had here the advice and experience of the master attendant to guide us, and therefore we did not consider it necessary to send any special person to superintend the landing operations alone.

65. Do you now think that during the famine, the Board were sufficiently informed of the real magnitude of the calamity?—No; I think that from the knowledge of what we now know to have occurred, the information at the Board's disposal did not lead the Board to believe that the famine was as severe as it has been.

66–7. Do you think that the local officers of Pooree and Balasore, who constantly witnessed the most terrible scenes, did not themselves fully realise the famine?—I think not as regards the general distress at first; but afterwards they probably did.

68. Do you think that at any time before November, the Board were fully informed of the severity of the famine?—As far as the local officers knew of it. I think that from August the local officers did fully realise, and did fully report the distress.

69. Do

69. Do you think that at that time the public was made fully aware of the whole extent of the calamity?—Yes, I think so.

70. Did you take part in a discussion as to the question how much should be published and how much not?—Yes; it was determined that, instead of publishing separately the very voluminous correspondence received, a weekly narrative, showing the state of the different districts and the measures taken during each week, should only be published.

71. Did you publish all the worst apprehensions and conjectures of the local officers, or restrict yourselves to ascertained facts?—Mainly, if not entirely, to ascertained facts.

72. Was the mortality reported that which was distinctly ascertained, or did you publish any estimates of the great mortality going on unseen and unascertained?—The mortality returns seem to have been made from no reliable data.

73. Do you think that in the early months of the distress any of the local officers were in any degree deterred from stating their apprehensions, in the deepest colours, by any belief that the higher authorities were inclined to take a more sanguine view than themselves?—I have no reason to believe so. Nothing that I am aware of ever went out of our office which could have led to such an impression.

74. Were you consulted on the question whether it was desirable to form a public committee, and probably to appeal to the public for further aid?—I had spoken to the Lieutenant Governor on the subject; and I was in favour of calling a public meeting for collecting subscriptions and for conducting relief operations through a general committee.

75. Holding these views, what benefits did you think would have been gained if that course had been adopted?—I think that people generally would have come forward more heartily to contribute, and would have been more satisfied with the measures carried out by such a committee; and I believe that measures carried out by such a committee, even if less efficient than measures carried out by a purely official body, would have been accepted by the public as more satisfactory.

76. In all the early part of the famine, was it not made a special object to sell the rice at prime cost, so as not to be a loss?—I think a little below the market rate or at prime cost, whichever might have been cheaper.

77. Do you think that some experienced civil officer might not have been sent to Cuttack, with advantage, to assist the over-burthened local officers, especially an experienced joint magistrate for the district of Cuttack?—An experienced officer of good repute was sent down especially to assist in all matters connected with the famine, and, on the Commissioner's application, three additional assistants were sent down to the province.

78. Do you think that justice was done to the great district of Cuttack under the circumstances in the way of staff, there being not a single covenanted officer of experience to assist the magistrate and collector?—With reference to the Revenue Department, every assistance that was sought for was given. I think it very probable that more assistance ought to have been sought for.

79. Did you leave Calcutta again in September?—Yes, on the 23rd.

80. For what purpose did you then leave?—For Darjeeling, in my position there as member of the Board with the Government.

81. Do you remember what were the arrangements with regard to the supply of rice made at that time?—Arrangements had been made for importations greatly in excess of the estimated requirements. I cannot give exactly the names of the ships employed and the quantities taken by them, but would be very happy to prepare a statement on the subject. Those arrangements were left to the secretary.

82. Had you then estimated for the increased demand caused by the floods, and arranged for the importation of the rice required?—Our orders already issued gave an excess over the quantity then required.

83. When did you return from Darjeeling?—On the 28th or 29th of October.

84. Did you then find that the arrangements for importatiou already made had in some degree failed?—I found there was an application from Cuttack for further supplies, owing to the non-arrival, I think, of the "Asia."

85. In Bhudruk, also, was there not a deficiency?—I don't think so; I cannot exactly tell.

86. We certainly find that over large tracts it was deemed necessary very much to contract the operations, on account of the non-arrival of the rice and the apprehension of its falling short; to what do you attribute this deficiency?—To the non-arrival of the vessels expected, and to the expenditure being in excess of the estimated requirements.

87. What was the cause of the non-arrival of the vessels?—I cannot say; the secretary will be able to tell, as the arrangements were made through him, with the sanction of the Board, with Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who had undertaken the duty.

88. We find that some of the steamers which were expected to bring rice did, in fact, go to China with cotton, and the master attendant has told us that at that time abundance of tonnage might have been got at Calcutta; if not first-class steamers, at any rate ships with powerful tugs to tow them. Can you tell us why this means was not adopted of getting rice from Burmah to obviate the delay which occurred?—The delay must have occurred during my absence, and probably was not anticipated in time to admit of such an arrangement being made.

89. Can you say of your own personal knowledge that efficient arrangements had been made for procuring all the grain which you intended to despatch before you left Calcutta?—When I left Calcutta on the 23rd of September, I was under the most firm conviction that

Mr. V. H. Schalch.

11 Feb. 1867.

we had ample grain in store, and orders had been given to meet all the requirements up to the end of the year, and that efficient arrangements had been made for the importations still due, which were in the hands of a commercial firm.

Since giving the above answer, I have looked into the papers, and find that as regards False Point, we should have had, on the 1st of October, an estimated quantity in store, including savings as reported by the Commissioner on previous shipments, of 67,000 maunds of rice, which was in fact further increased by the detention of the "Coringa" with 10,000 maunds, giving a total of 77,000 maunds, to meet an estimated demand for October of 36,000 maunds. This would leave a balance, on the 1st of November, of 41,000 maunds, to meet the November demands of 36,000 maunds, still leaving a balance of 5,000 maunds on the 1st of December. Again, on the 10th of September, before I left, an order had been given to Messrs. Gisborne & Co. to supply an additional 50,000 maunds for Bhudruk, the circumstances connected with which are mentioned in the 20th and 21st paragraphs of Mr. Lane's minute.

90. While you were at Calcutta, had you special charge of the arrangements connected with the importation of rice?—While both members were at the Board, the famine letters were submitted to both members as a separate department; that was subsequently to the middle of July; the papers, as a rule, being first submitted to the senior member for his remarks and then to the junior member.

91. Did you take any personal cognizance of the particular ships taken up for rice, or merely order a certain quantity from a certain firm?—Orders were at first given to the firm to import rice up to further orders, provided they got it at a certain price. After that, supplementary orders were given for specific quantities, and they as our agents arranged for taking up ships for the conveyance of the same, and kept us informed of their arrangements, and most, if not all, the letters received from them on the subject have been sent to the Famine Commissioners.

92. Before you left Calcutta, did you satisfy yourself that the shipping arrangements for the conveyance of rice ordered by you had been completed, or was that done afterwards?—I satisfied myself that there was rice sufficient to meet the estimated requirements for some considerable time to come, and at the time of my departure the firm were supposed by me to be making proper arrangements for the despatch of the remainder; but those arrangements apparently were not completed before I left.

93. The arrangements for the supply of rice being, as you have stated, considerably in excess of the estimated requirements, how do you account for the practical failure which we have learnt to have occurred in the Cuttack and Pooree districts and the Bhudruk sub-division in the month of October?—It could arise only from two causes—either that in August and September they spent far more than their estimated requirements, or that their estimate of the savings effected up to September was erroneous.

94. Have you not yet satisfied yourself as to what was the real cause?—No; since my return I have had my attention rather given to keeping up the supply than looking into back accounts.

95. It appears that there was in the Cuttack district an alarm of shortness of rice in the latter part of September, which led to the contraction of sales from that time. Was your attention drawn to it at the time, and can you account for it?—I do not recollect anything of that being reported while I was here.

96. Before you gave up charge of the Calcutta municipality, were there any signs in Calcutta of the starvation in the neighbouring districts in the shape of starving people coming in to the town?—The only sign I remember was that the number in the Pauper Hospital had largely increased. This was brought to the notice of Government, I think, by myself, as Commissioner of Police, and I am certain it was reported to Government by the medical authorities. On that I, as chairman of the justices, was requested to ascertain the opinion of the justices with regard to the increasing pauperism in Calcutta. The matter was under consideration when I entered the Board, and the final report was made by my successor subsequently, and has been printed and circulated.

97. Was your personal attention subsequently at all directed to the state of the town of Calcutta with regard to pauperism?—I took no personal notice then, as I had ceased to be specially connected with the town.

98. Were you not a member of the Relief Committee in Calcutta?—No; Mr. Lane was appointed so as to keep the Relief Committee in communication with the Board.

99. Before you went to Darjeeling in May, had you taken no notice of the state of the town?—I had nothing to do with the town then.

100. After the appointment of the Calcutta Relief Committee, did you, as member of the Board, take some notice of their arrangements?—As members of the Board we were only connected with the Relief Committee as regards the despatch of the paupers who flocked into Calcutta from the neighbourhood, with the view to return them to their own homes, and also to prevent, as far as possible, in communication with the Commissioners, further immigration of paupers into Calcutta.

101. Were the above arrangements under the orders of Government, or had you, as an individual member of the Board, formed an opinion that it was desirable to restrict the immigration of paupers into Calcutta?—As a Board we acted under what we knew the wishes of the Government to be, whether officially or demi-officially communicated I cannot remember, which was, to assist the Calcutta Committee in every way we could.

102. Do you think that the relief arrangements in the districts of the interior were so perfect and so complete as regards the mass of the people, that it was desirable by any means

Mr. V. H. Schalch. 11 Feb. 1867.

means to prevent poor people wishing to be fed from coming to be fed by the rich natives of Calcutta who were willing to feed them?—Supposing the question refers to all the districts of Bengal, our instructions were that every effort should be made to give them such assistance as would render it unnecessary for them to come to Calcutta, and I believe exertions were made, as far as possible, to render those arrangements as perfect as they could be; that is, to extend the relief as far as possible. No application for funds for this purpose was ever refused.

103. But still we wish to know whether you think that the arrangements in the interior were so efficient that it was a good policy to prevent people coming from thence to be fed by those in Calcutta who were willing to feed them?—I think it must have been, for this was the result of the orders that very few came to Calcutta; all those who wished to come were perfectly at liberty to come.

104. Do you think that any people were sent away from Calcutta until it was expedient to send them away?—I think Calcutta was hardly pressed and unfairly asked to contribute to support people other than its own, and that it was proper that those people should be supported nearer their own homes.

105. Were the funds used contributed by Calcutta alone, or were they not obtained by an appeal from the whole of India?—The funds given for the purpose of affording relief in the district neighbouring on Calcutta were given by Government, and supplemented by contributions from the Calcutta General Committee, and those funds again, I am led to believe, were received in terms of the resolution passed at the meeting.

106. Before you left Calcutta in May, had you received intimation of great distress in Midnapore?—I believe that the first notice we got of the distress in Midnapore was received merely from noting the list of prices there, and from a remark on the retail of price list of the 21st May, in which the Collector of Midnapore noted that deaths from starvation among the old and weak and children were occurring. On that, the Board, at my suggestion, placed the sum of 5,000 rupees at the disposal of the Collector at Midnapore out of the funds placed at the Board's disposal by the Lieutenant-Governor. This must have been about the 22nd or 23rd of May, as I find it reported to the Lieutenant-Governor in letter from the secretary to the Board of the 24th May 1866, No. A.

107. At that time had the Board received any information of the distress in Maunbhoom and other parts of the Chota Nagpore district?—I think not; I cannot say without referring to the papers.

No. 114.—Colonel J. R. Pughe, Inspector-General of Police, L. P.

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867.]

Colonel J. R. Pughe. 12 Feb. 1867.

1. Q. Since what date have you held your appointment?—*A.* I have held it officiating and permanently for about 18 months.

2. Had you any experience in Bengal before your appointment as Inspector General?—I have been in Bengal since the year 1857, as Inspector of Military Police Battalions, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, Deputy Inspector General of Police in Patna, and Inspector General.

3. Where were you in the cold weather of 1865-66?—I was principally in Calcutta, but I was also in Behar, in Chittagong, and in Backergunge.

4. In the early part of 1866, was your attention drawn to the increase of crime in the western districts of Bengal and in Orissa?—It was, even before that.

5. Did you form any opinion as to what was the cause of the increase of crime?—Yes; I considered that it arose from the high prices of provisions.

6. Did you take any special measures with reference to that increase of crime?—An application was made to me, I think, first from Midnapore, on the 7th of February, for extra policemen; on the 8th I sent the application to Government, and recommended that it should be granted; and from February to September there were several applications for increase of force and increase of pay.

7. Were such increases granted from time to time?—They were.

8. In what mode were they granted?—As long as we had men I sent them down. Afterwards the Commissioner of Cuttack was told directly by Government that he might enlist as many men as he thought proper as a temporary arrangement.

9. To what extent were you able to transfer experienced men?—Two hundred and eighty-six in all, viz., 6 inspectors and sub-inspectors, 17 head constables, and 263 constables. Some were ordered from Bhootan, others from Patna and Shahabad, as good men were more easily procured from these districts. No men could be spared from Lower Bengal, nor later in the year from Behar either. If the distress culminated in Orissa, food was very dear all over the Lower Provinces. The men sent were intended as guards, and the men who were on guard were sent on general duty. The extra men were sent to Midnapore, Balasore, and Bancoorah, and a few to Burdwan and Maunbhoom.

10. Were those the districts in which the increase of crime was most conspicuous?—Those were the districts which first applied for men. I think they were the worst districts; Pooree and Cuttack came later in the season.

11. Besides this increase of force, were any other special measures taken in your department

Colonel J. R. Pughe.

12 Feb. 1867.

ment to deal with the state of the country?—The pay of the men was increased in the Cuttack division and in Maunbhoom. Extra office establishments were allowed. A troop of mounted police was, at my recommendation, retained instead of being disbanded, and the Deputy Inspector General was sent down in the commencement of October 1866, to report in consultation with the Commissioner as to what further was required. I do not recollect any other special measures at present.

12. Was an increase made to the strength of the European officers?—I offered to send down to Midnapore the best European officer in the department, but the local authorities replied that they only required men. I could not have furnished extra officers without leaving other districts unprovided.

13. Did you yourself visit any of the districts you have mentioned as most affected by crime?—I did not.

14. Have you ever visited Midnapore, and any of the districts of the Orissa division or Midnapore?—I have not myself; but a deputy inspector general went down, by my orders, in March 1866, to Orissa.

15. Do you know whether any inspector general has ever visited those districts?—I do not; I don't think so.

16. When so extraordinary an excess of crime broke out in the western districts, did you not think it your duty, as Inspector General, to visit those districts, with the view of informing yourself on the subject, and taking all measures which might seem necessary?—If I had considered it my duty, I should have done so. The administration of the police, by the orders of Government, is placed entirely in the hands of the Commissioner of the division.

17. What do you consider to be the functions of the Inspector General of Police?—To arrange for the organisation, disposition, strength, and cost of the police; to collate and revise all statistical returns, and generally to advise Government on the subject of the frequent applications that are made from all quarters on police matters.

18. Do you consider that the personal inspection of districts, especially those in which crime prevails, is no part of the duty of the Inspector General?—It is a part, but he is generally able to do it through his deputies; if he leaves the Government for any time, the more important work of the office is at a stand-still.

19. Where were you in the months of March and April?—In Calcutta principally.

20. Did you leave Calcutta soon after that?—I left Calcutta, I think, on the 19th or 20th of May.

21. Was crime then raging very severely in the western districts?—Crime in general was not; grain dacoities were, but they were generally reported to be of a petty description.

22. For what purpose did you leave Calcutta, and where did you go to?—I went to Darjeeling with the Lieutenant Governor. I am generally with him. I did not go till the month after the Lieutenant Governor, but I went with his permission.

23. Had the Lieutenant Governor expressed his desire that you should be with him?—He asked me if I was going up to the Hills originally, before I had made any arrangements at all to go, and I replied that if he had no objection I should be glad to go.

24. If, then, it was left to your discretion, was your going up to Darjeeling determined by personal considerations alone?—It was not. I do not myself care much about the Hills; during a service of 27 years I had been there but twice. It had hitherto been usual for the Inspector General, as well as other heads of departments, to go with the Government, and if the Government had not gone, I certainly should not have gone on my own account.

25. Will you tell us why you went?—Because it was more convenient that I should be near the Lieutenant Governor.

26. How long did you remain in the Hills?—I remained until the end of June at that time.

27. Did you not go down with the Lieutenant Governor; and if not, why not?—As soon as I heard that the Lieutenant Governor was going down, I wrote and asked if he considered it necessary that I should go with him, as I was prepared to leave at once; his Private Secretary replied that the Lieutenant Governor did not then deem it necessary for me to go down, but if it should be so hereafter, he would write and let me know.

28. Did the Lieutenant Governor afterwards express a desire that you should come down?—He did not.

29. When you did come down, where did you go to?—At the end of June I came down to Calcutta on business quite unconnected with the distressed districts; in fact I was summoned down to a court-martial.

30. How long did you remain in Calcutta?—Till the beginning of August.

31. Were you then engaged in court-martial duty?—I was nearly three weeks detained on that duty.

32. When you left Calcutta again, where did you go to?—Darjeeling.

33. Did you then go for the same reasons as before?—Yes.

34. How long did you stay there?—Till the middle of October. I then went up to Agra, at the Lieutenant Governor's request, on business connected with the railway police.

35. In the early part of the famine, or during the famine, did you issue any special orders to your police officers to make themselves useful in famine matters in general, and not to confine themselves to their own proper functions, and if so, will you state what orders were issued?—I did not, as Magistrates and Commissioners have full authority to issue any orders whatever to police officers; and police officers are by standing circulars bound to obey them.

36. Are police officers bound to obey Magistrates and Commissioners on all subjects, however unconnected with their proper functions?—On every subject. They are to obey orders, and afterwards appeal if the order is contrary to any regulation.

37. We have understood that there has been a great variety of practice in regard to the assistance given by police officers to the civil officers in famine matters; that while in some districts they have co-operated most heartily and entirely, without the least regard to departmental limits, it has not been so invariably; do you not think that some special orders would have been advantageous?—It was never brought to my notice; in fact, although I heard nearly every month from the Commissioner of Cuttack, he never alluded to the subject; and in one of his letters, towards the end of the year, he says, "We have all done our best."

38. Was it then never brought to your notice that there was a difference of opinion in the early part of the famine between the Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Cuttack regarding the extent to which police officers were expected to assist in famine matters?—It was not. The only instance which was brought to my notice was a difference about going out to investigate a dacoity.

39. Then I presume we may consider that in the month of July you had no reason to suppose that Captain Fisher's conduct was at all such as to create dissatisfaction?—None at all with reference to the famine.

40. On the whole, from what has passed, do you think that Captain Fisher gave his cordial assistance in famine matters, and worked as heartily to do his best as some of the other officers?—I could not give an opinion on that point.

41. Will you state why Captain Fisher was transferred from Cuttack in the height of the famine?—He wrote to say that both he and his wife were suffering from ill-health, and that if he was not transferred to a different climate, he would be obliged to resign his appointment.

42. Do you think that the tone of that representation was such as properly came from an officer in charge of a district suffering under a tremendous crisis of famine?—About that time, from all the accounts that I received, the pressure was supposed to be over, and matters were said to be mending. In fact, Mr. Shuttleworth in July wrote to say that he could dispense with the services of some of his extra men, were it not for the relief operations.

43. Do you allude to the crisis of famine, or the crisis of crime being over?—To both. Of course one followed the other.

44. Will you state whence you derived your impression that the famine was at that time on the decrease?—From those letters of Mr. Shuttleworth; and further, in one of the Commissioner's notes he said, they had had a hard time of it, but he hoped the worst was over. He had, moreover, declined to sanction the increase of price proposed by Captain Fisher, on the ground that as rain had fallen, crime would probably decrease.

45. Did you then arrange for the transfer of Captain Fisher, and if so, what arrangement did you make for supplying his place?—I recommended the removal of Mr. Lacey to Cuttack, and Mr. Thompson to Pooree. I afterwards told Captain Fisher that he could only leave his post on medical certificate.

46. Did it not strike you that it was an inconvenient arrangement that, in the midst of the famine, Mr. Lacey should be removed from Pooree to another district?—Mr. Lacey himself applied for removal, and Cuttack being the more important district of the two, I considered it advisable to send an officer there who had been long resident in Orissa.

47. Did you make arrangements for Mr. Thompson's joining as soon as Captain Fisher should leave, or was there a delay?—Captain Fisher was ordered to stop there until he was relieved.

48. Did he not apply to be allowed to leave at once, and was he not told that if he could get a medical certificate, he could go?—He wrote saying that he was very unwell, and that it would be a great advantage for him to get away at once; but I either telegraphed or wrote to him that he was not to leave without forwarding a medical certificate.

49. Did you then make an emergent arrangement to supply another officer with the least possible delay, or was there delay?—Mr. Thompson must have been at that time on his way to join. I had no officer at hand to send, added to which there were two police officers still at Cuttack.

50. Did Mr. Thompson join immediately, or was there a considerable delay?—I think he joined about the beginning of October, but I do not think there was any avoidable delay.

51. How then do you account for the delay which did occur?—Lieutenant Wilkinson, who was in Calcutta at the time, was first ordered to Pooree, but he was suddenly attacked with fever, and ordered to sea. Mr. Thompson was then directed to go, and Mr. Grant was ordered to relieve him; but Mr. Grant also fell ill, whence further delay arose. It was very difficult to get to Cuttack at all at that time of the year. I may add that some time previously Mr. Ravenshaw had reported that Mr. Poole, who was at Cuttack at the time, and who would take charge, in the event of Captain Fisher's leaving on medical certificate, was an energetic officer.

52. Did it strike you that Captain Fisher's medical certificate was of an unusual and not very strong character, and that he had got a certificate from a medical officer other than his own medical attendant, during the very temporary absence of the latter; and do you think that he was justified in leaving the district under the circumstances?—I knew

Colonel J. R. Pughe.

12 Feb. 1867.

nothing at all as to who was in medical charge of the station, and I am not aware that I saw the certificate. Captain Fisher telegraphed that he had got one.

53. Are you aware that on his arrival at Calcutta he applied for privilege-leave, stating that he was then so far well that he could not get a medical certificate?—I don't recollect it, but he certainly applied to take temporary charge of the 24-Pergunnahs.

54. In July or August Captain Fisher forwarded an application from Mr. Crouch, the Assistant Superintendent of Police at Cuttack, for three months' leave, to take effect from 1st September. Does it not appear to you that his doing so shows that he did not fully appreciate the exertions which were required from every department to meet the distress and to assist in the relief operations; and that it was incompatible with the supposition that the police agency in the Cuttack district was insufficient to meet the demands which were made on it for the furtherance of the relief operations?—No complaints whatever were made to me with reference to such insufficiency of the European staff until the beginning of October. With reference to Mr. Crouch's application for leave, it was countersigned by the magistrate, who thus took on himself the responsibility of forwarding it. It could not have reached me except it had been countersigned by the magistrate. Under the then circumstances of the district, I did not think it proper to send the application on to Government.

55. Mr. Shuttleworth has told us that he had not at the time applied for his transfer from Balasore, though he had done so previously to the famine, but that the question having been put to the Deputy Inspector General, whether any district superintendent wished for a transfer, and his health not being good, he was tranferred. Do you now think that it was right to transfer an officer from a district situated as Balasore then was?—Mr. Shuttleworth makes a mistake. No question of the kind was put. He himself had been most dangerously ill in the month of March, and as far as I recollect, in the June following, he wrote to say that his health was failing, and that he would be glad to be transferred to another district, and an opportunity shortly afterwards offered of sending an efficient officer to relieve him. Giving an *ex post facto* opinion, it might perhaps have been better that he had remained at Balasore, although, as a rule, an officer in good health is more efficient than one in failing health. As far as I recollect, he wrote to say that the ground of his wishing for a transfer was not only on account of his failing health, but also on account of the expense of living at Balasore to a man of his large family. I would likewise refer to the fact that in the month of July, about the time his transfer was sanctioned, Mr. Shuttleworth had reported, as I have said before, that crime was greatly on the decrease, and that, were it not for the relief operations, he could dispense with 40 or 50 men.

I would add that I am given to understand that it has been reported to this Commission that the police had failed in guarding and escorting rice in Orissa. I hold in my hand a letter from the Commissioner of Cuttack, dated the 27th of December 1866, in which he reported to Government as follows:—"Much has been said about the custody and charge in transport of Government rice by the police. The duty was performed willingly and efficiently in Balasore and Pooree; and in Cuttack."*

I would add that no complaints whatever on this subject were received by me, except in a letter from the Board of Revenue in the beginning of October. This letter had reference to Balasore, from which district, I believe, no complaints of want of co-operation on the part of the police have been made to the Commissioners.

56. Are the diaries of district superintendents of police sent up for your inspection?—No.

57. In the months of 1866, from January to May, was your attention ever called to any strong remarks of the District Superintendent of Pooree, regarding the probability of famine?—In the month of December 1865, the Deputy Inspector General had brought such a report to my notice, and it was sent on to Government.

58. Subsequently to that time was your attention ever drawn to such reports?—My attention was drawn to it by the applications for extra men and extra pay to the police. It was not brought to my notice officially; it was brought to my notice demi-officially by the Deputy Inspector General, with whom I was in constant communication. But I don't think the term "famine" was used generally, only that there was great distress: in Balasore it was brought to my notice officially; this I likewise sent on to Government.

59. Did you bring to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor what you had heard regarding the distress subsequently to the official report in December?—I was in the habit of seeing the Lieutenant Governor weekly, if not oftener, and I mentioned to him all that I had heard.

60. Did the deputy inspectors general furnish you with their diaries, and were those diaries confined to their own personal observations, or do they embody in their diaries remarkable reports made in the diaries of the district superintendents?—The diaries of the deputy inspectors general are forwarded to me; they are confined to their own personal proceedings,

* Note.—The original draft of this letter has been obtained by the Commissioners, and they observe there is no stop after "Cuttack." The whole sentence is appended, and does not appear to them to bear the construction put upon it by Colonel Pughe:—"Much has been said about the custody and charge in transport of Government rice by the police. The duty was performed willingly and efficiently in Balasore and Pooree; and in Cuttack it was also I consider a part of the legitimate police work, which could not be so efficiently performed by temporarily hired peons who are not under police supervision."

proceedings, and extracts occasionally from the diaries of district superintendents, in matters connected with the force.

Colonel J. R. Pughe.

I wish it to be understood that I do not recollect to have heard, with reference to Orissa, that the crisis was generally designated as a famine till the occurrence of the floods in August. Before this, Mr. Lacey was, I believe, the only officer who took so extreme a view of it.

12 Feb. 1867.

No. 115.—Major W. R. Gordon, Officiating Deputy Inspector General of Police, 1st Circle.

Major W. R. Gordon.

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867].

12 February 1867.

1. *Q.* What are the limits of your circle?—*A.* They consist of all the districts along the Coast of Bengal and Orissa, from Pooree to Chittagong, including Chittagong. It is called the "Coast Range." It includes Midnapore.

2. Did you visit Orissa and Midnapore in the early part of 1866?—Yes, I did.

3-4. Was it with special reference to the increase of crime?—I went in the month of March 1866. My whole tour was in March. I left Calcutta by steamer on the 1st of March, landed at Gopaulpoor, dawked up to Pooree, and went to Ganjam, sailing by the Chilka in a police boat.

5. What route did you then take?—From the lake to Pooree I travelled at night, and had no opportunity of seeing the state of the country.

6. At Pooree did you observe any particular signs of distress?—I found that provisions were selling high.

7. Did you observe emaciated people or other signs of distress?—No; because I was not thrown into contact with the people, and thus saw no signs of starvation.

8. Were you, from the reports of the local police officers, made aware that there was great distress in the district?—Yes; so much so that when I was at Pooree I wrote recommending an increase of pay to be given to the police.

9. Did you become aware at that time that the district superintendent held very strong opinions regarding the probability of famine?—No; I was not aware of it. I only took charge of the office on the 11th of February.

10. In Mr. Lacey's diary of the 2nd of February, we find, "rice, seven seers; I fear it will be three and four seers before we have got through the next six months. A terrible famine is now certain." Do you think that that diary did not come under your observation?—I do not recollect. I only took charge on the 11th or 12th of February, and the chances are that those diaries had been disposed of by my predecessor. If I had seen them, I probably would have noted the remark in my own diary.

11. Do you remember to have had no conversation with Mr. Lacey on the subject?—No; except with reference to the general dearness of provisions, which induced me to address the inspector general for increase of pay to the men.

12. How long did you remain at Pooree?—About four days.

13. Where did you go to then?—To Cuttack.

14. Did you travel by night or by day?—By night always, and had no opportunity of seeing the country.

15. Did it seem to you that the distress was less in Cuttack than in Pooree?—Certainly; because I heard nothing there about the dearness of provisions, or if I did, it was not of such a nature as to induce me to make a representation.

16. Then where did you go to?—To Balasore, still travelling by dawk and by night. On my way between Cuttack and Balasore I heard a great deal about the mortality both from disease and from want. Cholera was the principal cause of death, and that was probably caused by want, and the people also seemed emaciated.

17. At the station at Balasore what was the state of things?—I recollect the district superintendent pointing out a small field of rice to me, and saying, "This is a field that has never been reaped; it is so bad that they have put their cattle to graze on it."

18. Were not you aware that the starving people were being fed at that time?—I don't remember to have noticed that the starving people were being fed at that time.

19. How long did you stay at Balasore?—About four or five days. From there I went to Midnapore. On the way from Balasore to Midnapore I travelled by night. I did not see any particular distress, except that at the dawk bungalow where I put up some beggars came. They were principally children. When I was at Balasore, in communication with the magistrate and district superintendent, I submitted a proposition for the establishment of a number of outposts towards the Gurjat frontier, as I thought an increase of police in that quarter was desirable. The Commissioner of Cuttack, however, objected, and that proposition was never carried out.

20. In the course of your tour your attention, we suppose, was called to the great increase of crime?—Yes; to the great increase of crime in Balasore and Midnapore. At Balasore certainly it was caused by want; at Midnapore it must be attributed to the same cause, but it was principally confined to one part of the district, as far as I recollect, without looking into the monthly returns. When I was at Cuttack matters were so quiet there that with the sanction of the Commissioner I sent a party of 22 men to Balasore to assist the police of that district.

21. On your return from your tour, did you bring the state of the country to the notice of the inspector general, and express an opinion of the cause of it?—I brought to notice the

Major W. R. Gordon. 12 February 1867.

dearness of provisions at Pooree by asking for an increase of pay to the police there. I asked his sanction to send the 22 men from Cuttack to Balasore, which must have shown that matters were very quiet there, and Balasore was reinforced, by his direct orders through me, by no less than 50 extra constables; and 22 men being sent from Cuttack showed that there was a demand for more police there.

22. Did you also mention what you had seen and heard of disease and mortality in parts of Orissa?—I think I noted the mortality in one of my diaries in Balasore.

23. Had you much personal communication with the inspector general after your return?—I was in daily communication with him, as our offices were together.

24. Had you any interview with the Lieutenant Governor, or any conversation on the subject?—None.

25. Did you visit Orissa in the course of the hot season?—No; I did not. It was my intention to do it, but on the 9th of April a court of inquiry was ordered to investigate certain matters, on which I was appointed to watch the case for the police. This inquiry ended in a court martial, of which I was prosecutor, and the proceedings did not close till about the end of July; so it was impossible for me to have left during the sittings of the court.

26. Will you explain how you came to be involved in a military court martial?—The court martial was connected with the commissariat accounts of the troop of cavalry attached to the police levy which was on service in the Dooars. I had been there myself, and my knowledge of the matter induced the inspector general to appoint me prosecutor; the inspector general himself was a witness on the court martial.

27. Subsequently to your visit, was your attention, during the course of March, April, and the early part of May, drawn to any notes of the district superintendent which led you to believe that famine was impending or increasing?—Crime was very much on the increase, which we know to be caused by scarcity of food.

28. Don't you remember any special expression of Mr. Lacey, about the 30th of April, regarding the famine and mortality in his diary?—During the time that I was employed in the court of inquiry and court martial, Mr. Reiley very often took up my work, though the office was not specially made over to him. In such cases, even when I saw matters of that sort which were beyond my province, I concluded that the district superintendent had brought it to the notice of the magistrate; such matters as the distress of a country being perfectly foreign to the police department, I naturally came to the conclusion that the district superintendent must have brought them to the notice of the magistrate.

29. Do you remember the circumstances of Mr. Shuttleworth's transfer?—Mr. Shuttleworth met me at Bhudruk, between Cuttack and Balasore. He had then been out investigating a case, and was far from well. His illness terminated in an attack of cholera, which delayed us three or four days at Bhudruk. I knew that his general health was impaired from the exposure and hardships he had undergone of late, and on the 10th of July Mr. Shuttleworth wrote to me—"I am very anxious for a change. I have been here now more than three years; the price of everything is very dear." Soon after, knowing that Mr. Chambers was to be removed from Jessore, I spoke or wrote to the inspector general, recommending Mr. Shuttleworth for the appointment.

30. Was it brought to your notice in the early part of the famine that there was some difference of opinion between the district superintendent of Cuttack and the civil officers regarding the duties of the police in the famine matters?—No; I have no recollection.

31. When the Lieutenant Governor came down from Darjeeling, did you receive any instructions from the inspector general to communicate with his Honor regarding the police arrangements rendered necessary by the famine?—Yes, I received a telegram from Colonel Pughe, telling me to go to Belvidere with a statement of the extra men employed in the different districts. I did so, and made over the statement to the private secretary.

No. 116.—Mr. W. C. Spain, Commander of the "Conqueror."

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867.]

Mr. W. C. Spain. 12 February 1867.

The steamer "Conqueror" draws from seven to nine feet according to the way she is loaded. When carrying coals, without cargo, she would draw about eight feet. In August I first took command of the "Conqueror," and took her to the Dhamrah. At a subsequent time I had occasion to assist the vessel "James Crossfield." In assisting her I ran short of coals. I then proceeded to Balasore for coals. In the month of September, I think, I safely arrived in the Balasore river. I struck ground once or twice coming out, but did not hurt the vessel owing to the soft muddy bottom. She was drawing at the time eight feet of water. I have also been to False Point and towed down the "Mandelay." I believe the "Conqueror" was tugging in June and July in Calcutta; but I did not join her until the beginning of August. I think if Government had wished to engage her she could have been easily procured. When I was first employed to go to the Dhamrah I should have run a great risk in taking sloops to Balasore; but in a case of emergency I would have tried. There is a small steamer called the "Pilot" in the port of Calcutta; she draws less than the "Conqueror," and would have done better than the "Conqueror" for the Balasore river. She was laid up at the time, but the owner might have easily sent her in a short time if willing to do so. There are two or three other steamers of the same draught as the "Conqueror," viz., the "Mary Grant," the "Victoria," and the "Columbus." The "Mary Grant" went up the Balasore river in the month of December. The other sea-

sea-going tugs are quite as capable of coasting as the "Conqueror." I took the schooner "Twinkling Star" to Dhamrah. The "Conqueror" had 650 bags of rice on board her, and the "Twinkling Star" the same quantity, viz., 650 bags. We drew nearly nine feet at the time. Captain Harris took me in. We struck the ground on soft mud; this was on the inner bar. Before getting to the Custom House, there is an outer bar over which vessels drawing 14 feet can pass; both anchorages are well protected. Mr. W. C. Spai. 12 February 1867.

I have been to the Custom House with the "Conqueror," likewise up the Muttai. I went about 45 miles up the river. The least water anywhere in the river was about two fathoms in December last. I think the Muttai is perfectly navigable for small steamers at all seasons—I mean flat-bottomed steamers. There is another river going to Jajpoor, but I have not been up it, so do not know how far it is navigable. I do not know whether there is any communication in the rains between the Dhamrah and the Mahanuddee. I was at False Point only a fortnight ago. I know the "Olga" has been up the Jumbhoo river and Barkood creek, and has towed flats up. I was once at Pooree in September about six years ago; it is a very difficult port to land goods at during the south-west monsoon. From what I saw, I think the neighbourhoods of the Dhamrah and Balasore rivers were the scenes of the greatest suffering by famine. When I first went down to Dhamrah there were only about 500 inhabitants, but within a week, 2,500 were daily fed. The people were dying at the rate of 15 or 20 a day. There was always rice on hand at Dhamrah.

No. 117.—Mr. G. S. Sykes, of Messrs. Sykes & Co., Merchant, of Calcutta.

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867.]

My attention was first drawn to the distress in Orissa in March 1866. We are in constant correspondence with the missionaries, being agents for both the American and General Baptist Missionary Societies, and from their correspondence I gleaned a good deal of information about the distressed state of the people. I have unfortunately mislaid my first letters. At the end of March I had reason to believe that the distress was acute, and that there was actual famine all over Orissa. In consequence of what I then heard, I proposed procuring all the relief I could for the distressed inhabitants of that district. I first wrote to the Governor General, and on the same day likewise sent a letter to the Lieutenant Governor, asking them to subscribe, which they both did. I also advertised in the papers. I do not remember the exact date; it was early in April. I called personally and by letter on the editors of the Calcutta papers, and also wrote to the "Friend of India," and urged them to take up the matter, which they immediately did. As the season advanced, I heard of the great increase of distress, and sent copies of my letters to all the papers. I also sent a printed circular containing extracts of missionary letters to the merchants and others. Mr. G. S. Sykes. 12 February 1867.

We received large subscriptions, and made daily remittances of money to the different stations in Orissa. We received at least 18,000 rupees, as I see by the books I have in my hand; likewise some money was sent after that.

As the season went on, the distress got far beyond our means; larger subscriptions were required. We urged editors of papers to get up a more general relief.

Q. On the question of getting up a general relief fund, did you hold any correspondence with high Government officials?—*A.* No. We notified in the newspapers that if a committee was formed we would hand over the funds; but no public movement was made. I was not then aware of the existence of the old famine fund. We published the extracts of most of the distressing accounts in May. When we became aware of the balance of the famine fund, we still kept our fund opened, and thought a public movement was required. We sent money; but the missionaries sent back word "that there was great difficulty in purchasing rice." We sent some rice, but had not sufficient funds to send largely. We sent rice to Midnapore, but not to Orissa. Dr. Bachelor and the Collector of Midnapore asked us to send rice, which we did. I did not look into the question of the Government importation of rice. I am not in a position to give an opinion on the subject; but from what I have learnt from correspondents in Orissa, the Government supplies were not sufficient. Mr. Chapman put a letter in the papers to say that further subscriptions were not required, which was followed by a perfect storm of letters regretting Mr. Chapman's proceeding.

Later in the season, we heard that good arrangements had been made for relieving the people; but we did not hear it till November. We were the agents for the Irrigation Company, but were not concerned in the shipment of rice for them; they had one of their own officers on the spot.

Q. During the past year, do you think that the people of Calcutta have had means of realising the distress in Orissa?—*A.* I think they have had ample means of doing so, but were disheartened by Mr. Chapman's statement, and the want of action by Government.

I read the price currents published by the Board, and found several of them inaccurate. As regards the narratives, they were not full enough or coloured sufficiently deep.

When I heard the distressing accounts of famine at Oolaberreah, I made a separate appeal, and opened a separate fund for that place. I went down to Oolaberreah on the

Mr. C. S. Sykes. 12 February 1867.

28th of July, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Payne. Paupers were lying about the streets, dying for the want of something to eat; we gave them a good meal that day. They were all Ooryahs, trying to reach Calcutta, but they had not sufficient money to cross the river. I spoke to Mr. Scott, of the Irrigation Company, and he gave the people the use of a large bungalow. We established a relief depôt there. We did not want the people to come to Calcutta, as there were already too many here. I arranged with Mr. Scott to give them daily rice, dhal, &c. Mr. Scott immediately gave work to the able-bodied men, and took a list of the helpless. We fed daily as many as 125.

This voluntary relief system at Oolaberreah was continued for two months; then Government adopted our arrangements, and carried them on. The balance of our fund was handed over to the magistrate of Howrah through the Chairman of the Calcutta Relief Committee. During that time we had not applied for Government aid. There was a great want of medicine and medical aid at Oolaberreah, so I wrote to the editors to take up the matter, and then Government sent down a native doctor. Most of the people also came in here in a very reduced state; but I was not there to see whether most of them lived or died; but Mr. Scott took great care of them, giving sago, arrowroot, &c., to the sick. My attention was drawn to the crowds of starving people flocking into Calcutta. Many of them were Ooryahs. We took special notice of the Ooryahs. I was a member of the first Calcutta Relief Committee. I have been in the Orissa districts. It was about the middle of June that I first received intelligence of the number of starving people in Calcutta. I immediately proposed to open a depôt for them in the southern division of the town.

The rich natives fed them very liberally, but there was no system adopted in their relief, and I wished for a regular organised plan. I was not on the executive committee, and therefore did not take an active part. I know there was an irregularity about the issue of the notices for the meeting by which the executive committee was appointed. I am not sure if I received any notice to attend, but I heard of the meeting, and went. The meeting was not fully attended. I think it was at this meeting Mr. Hogg told the natives it would be better for them to stop their distribution of food, and establish some organised plan of relief.

No. 118.—Baboo Digumber Mitter.

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867].

Baboo Digumber Mitter. 12 Feburary 1867.

I was first asked in June 1866 to take part in the deliberations of the Board of Revenue in the famine matters.

Q. Are you of opinion that the steps which had been taken by Government at that time were as efficient as could be expected under the circumstances?—*A.* I think up to that time no steps had been taken on a scale sufficiently large to meet the requirements of the country.

In what particular way were they less than they ought to have been?—There was then some doubt as to the stock of food in the Orissa districts. The local officers thought that there was no want of rice in this country, and that it had been kept back from the market by a combination of the mahajuns. Hence I presume importation was not made on a scale commensurate with the requirements of the crisis.

Do you not think that rice might have been sent to Pooree at the end of May when it was sent to False Point and Balasore?—No; for experience has shown that it was not advisable to send it to Pooree direct, owing to the difficulty of landing it there. All shipments for Pooree should have been made to False Point, and forwarded therefrom.

Was sufficient done at Balasore for the relief of the people?—No. I think the condition of Balasore and Pooree was, if possible, worse than that of Cuttack. I wrote a letter to the Honourable Ashley Eden, expressing my views regarding Cuttack, early in June.

Did you form any opinion of what would be the most effectual method of landing and transporting goods in the Cuttack district?—I have no knowledge on that subject.

Did you concur in the steps taken by the Board of Revenue?—I did not concur in the price at which Government rice was determined to be sold in the suffering districts.

In other respects, were the arrangements satisfactory?—I always thought that sufficient rice was not being imported. I afterwards yielded my point about the price of rice, as I found we had not a sufficient stock to meet the heavy demand which low price would have created.

In your opinion, were the operations of the Board checked by apprehensions that money might run short; or why were the operations limited as you describe?—The members of the Board were, I think, under the impression that there was a large supply of rice in Orissa. I believe the Lieutenant Governor shared that opinion. It was not until the end of June that the Government and the Board seemed to realise the severity of the famine in Orissa.

Was much mortality known to have occurred about this time?—Yes; but the authorities thought that it was chiefly confined to the artisans.

How do you account for that belief?—I suppose it was from information derived from local officers.

Had you, during the period you were assisting the Board, access to all correspondence, and if so, did you see the letters of the local authorities of Pooree and Balasore?—I did not

Baboo Digumber Mitter.

12 February 1867.

not see all the correspondence. The correspondence was not sent to me, and I did not ask for it. I was merely asked to be present every Monday at the deliberations of the Board.

Were you yourself then aware of the severity of the crisis?—I was. I have property in Cuttack. I knew, since November 1865, that a severe calamity was impending, and I watched its progress; and at the meetings of the Board I stated what my impressions were.

Were you ever consulted on the question as to how far it was advisable to publish the accounts received?—No, I was not.

Were you consulted on the question, whether it would be desirable to have a public committee for managing the funds subscribed by the public on a former occasion, or to make a fresh appeal to the public?—Before joining the Board, I called upon Mr. Schiller on behalf of the British Indian Association, asking him to get up a meeting for the relief of the distressed. Mr. Schiller then informed me that he had telegraphed to Government on that subject, and was waiting for a reply. A few days after, I heard that Government had agreed to hand over the balance of the old Famine Fund, and Mr. Schiller thought a public subscription was no longer necessary. I was not consulted on the subject of the old fund, or of an application to the public for additional funds.

When did the Board fully realise the extent of famine in Orissa?—Not before August; but at that time I ceased to attend. Mr. Moncrieff's attendance had been discontinued before this. It seemed that my attendance was not wanted, so I discontinued going.

During the latter part of the season, do you think sufficient measures were taken?—I do not think much was done until the arrival of Lord Cranborne's telegram, authorising the free expenditure of the Government funds; then great activity was shown in relief measures. My impression up to that time was that they had been stinted.

When did Goverment relief first reach the people of Orissa, and with what result?—Nothing effective was done up to the latter part of July; some few relief houses had been established, but were not sufficient to aid the mass of the people. Gradually, however, assistance was extended, and in September it had become tolerably effective; but even then I do not think it was sufficient, for people then had not the means of buying rice. They were too poor. In respect of gratuitous distributions, labour of some sort was exacted from even women and children, and the work was generally of such a description that many people would not avail themselves of it; nor was such work provided within easy reach of the sufferers. I have never been in Orissa; but I believe the people to be more tenacious of caste than the Bengallees, and they are likewise more indolent.

Do you think then that, as a matter of fact, large numbers of people preferred starvation to doing ordinary earth-work as labourers?—Yes. Few high-caste people would work, except at the last extremity, and then food could do them no good, as they were too far reduced for active labour, and too weak generally to be restored to life by food. I believe that was the case with many. In the emaciated state that most of the people were in, diarrhœa was the usual consequence of taking food.

Where is your estate in Orissa?—The name of it is Pergunnah Ootikun. It is situated in the Kendraparah sub-division; it is a low-lying estate.

Did these low-lying lands yield better than the high lands in the drought of 1865?—They did; but even on my low-lying estate there was realised only a 6-anna crop. I consider that the high lands were much worse off. The average yield for the whole district could not have exceeded a quarter crop.

Did the low lands of Pergunnah Ootikun suffer more than the high lands in 1865?—Yes; I think more than three-fourths of the crop were lost by the flood. The lands were submerged for six weeks, and the result was great increase of distress and mortality.

When did you first become aware that famine had actually commenced in Orissa?—About March 1866; but even in October and November 1865, rice was not procurable in sufficient quantities by the lower classes for money. During March and April I heard of much want, and of many deaths from starvation, but it was not until June the rate of mortality was high. In July and August there was the greatest mortality.

In the earlier part of the year, did it seem to you that there were sufficient signs of the approach of famine to attract the attention of Government?—I do not know what accounts were sent to Government.

Was there sufficient in the general state of the country in the early part of 1866 to render it proper for Government to inquire into the matter?—With regard to Orissa there was. The very fact of their having been only a quarter crop was sufficient to alarm any one; and in Orissa the means of importation after a certain month is extremely difficult and expensive. Perhaps I should here say, respecting the existence of old stocks in every district, whether in Bengal, Behar, or Orissa, that they are always small; hence an 8-anna crop is barely sufficient to feed the people; less is sure to cause a famine.

We believe you would like to add something to your evidence as regards measures which you would recommend with reference to Orissa?—The settlement about to expire was made at the time on the basis of half the gross produce for the ryots, that is, if the produce for a beegah were 10 rupees, the ryots were to pay five rupees and keep the remaining five. This was a very exorbitant rate of assessment, and in my opinion it tended to keep the whole province in a state of pauperism and helplessness. The rise in the prices during the last five or six years had, to a certain extent, mitigated, but not cured the evil. In the present settlement, there was great inequality in the rate of allowance to the zemindars; for by the settlements which were made up to a certain date, only 30 per cent. on the gross rental was allowed

Baboo Digumber Mitter.

12 February 1867.

allowed to the zemindar; but after that date 40 per cent. was allowed, without reference to the capabilities of the properties assessed, and only because the order for 40 per cent was passed after a certain date. This was, I believe, brought to the notice of Government by Mr. Mills, the Settlement Officer, but the Government did not think proper to allow the increased rate of allowance to those with whom the settlement had already been made.

The temporary character of the settlement is another cause of evil. It leads to a large quantity of land being allowed to lie fallow for some time before every settlement. In this letter, which I received from the manager of my property in Orissa (dated the 27th February 1865), my manager says that many zemindars there were keeping their lands fallow, so that in the ensuing settlement they might get a remission for those lands, and he asked me whether he should do the same. I peremptorily forbade it, but I believe many had recourse to it.

With regard to salt, it appears that in 1866 the price was very high, very nearly from 8 to 10 rupees a maund, and people were obliged to forego the use of salt in consequence of the increased price; and it might be that the dropsical swelling which was generally the forerunner of death during the famine, was owing to want of salt. I merely hazard this as my individual opinion. I believe that even at the prices I have mentioned, salt was at the time difficult to be procured, because the Government golahs were situated at great distances from each other, and there were not many sellers.

No. 119.—Colonel J. E. D. Nicolls, Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*, Public Works Department.

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867].

Colonel J. E. D. Nicolls.

12 February 1867.

Q. We believe that the attention of the Bengal Government, in the Public Works Department, was drawn to the necessity of providing labour for the people in the end of 1865 in consequence of the failure of the crops?—*A.* It was.

What measures were adopted to provide employment for the distressed people?—About the beginning of December the distress in the Pergunnahs of Mallood, Parricood and Satparah, in the southern part of Orissa, was brought to notice by the general branch of the Bengal Secretariat. It appears that the relief of the distressed could be best provided for by putting in progress the earth-work of the roads of Orissa, the Pooree and Cuttack-road, and that from Cuttack to the Madras frontier. Orders were immediately issued to push on such work, and the usual restriction regarding estimates, &c., was set aside, and power given to the Commissioner and local engineers to make such arrangements as might be necessary. They were especially directed to make preparations in view to the number of workpeople who might be expected.

Will you be so good as to state what sums were obtained from the Government of India in 1865–66 for the purpose of famine relief?—The Report of the Board of Revenue having brought to notice the prospect of scarcity throughout Bengal, and a large sum having lapsed, through an informality in previous years, application was made to the Government of India to cancel the adjustment of this sum, and give a sum of five lakhs. It was explained that the ordinary requirements of the Government of India could not be complied with regarding special works of relief; but it was proposed that this sum should be granted for railway feeders in which the Government of India were interested, and the funds thus released would then be available elsewhere, and the allotment for district roads of the current year would not have to be reduced. The Government of India granted five lakhs accordingly, and permission was given to assign further sums from savings in the General Public Works Budget.

The sum of five lakhs was assigned as a grant in aid to the local fund for famine works, including feedar roads, &c., in Cuttack and Behar. State in general terms how the five lakhs were appropriated?—The five lakhs, to which afterwards 54,000 rupees were added, was expended on feeder roads in communication with the Eastern Bengal and East Indian Railways.

Was nothing then given to the local funds of the Cuttack division, which had been especially mentioned in the applications for relief, on which was founded the grant of the Government of India?—I must point out that the general applications to the Government of India were made in order to obviate the necessity of reducing the local fund expenditure, which was contemplated during the current year 1865–66; and the local works in Orissa were consequently not reduced. I must further point out that, although the application for assistance to the Pooree and Madras frontier roads was included by the Government of India in their sanction, there were not what are technically called local works, but 69,000 rupees was sanctioned for them, irrespective of the five lakhs.

The five lakhs was given exclusively as a grant-in-aid for former works; was its expenture confined exclusively to those districts where famine prevailed, or is it the fact that the greater portion of the money was spent in districts in which there was no famine?—As before stated, the expenditure of this money is shown against feeders for the East Indian and Eastern Bengal Railways, the result of which was the release of a similar sum of money which was expended throughout Bengal generally. As regards the feeders, the greater part of the expense was on the feeder roads of the Eastern Bengal Railway, which is situated within the Commissionership of Nuddea, where there was very great distress. The remainder

was

was expended almost, if not entirely, in the Commissionership of Burdwan, where there was also distress.

After the commencement of the works on the Ganjam and Pooree-roads, had you reason to suppose that there would, in any way, be difficulty regarding the rates and the procuring of food for the labourers?—No, I had not, as far as this department is concerned.

Did not the Superintending Engineer report his fears that rice would not be procurable without the assistance of the civil authorities, both by writing and telegraphing to that effect?—He wrote his fears that the assistance of the civil authorities would be necessary in regard to procuring rice; he telegraped for permission to advance 20,000 rupees.

Was that subject brought to the notice of his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor at that time?—Yes, both letters and telegram are on the records of Government, and the telegram was answered by me as secretary.

You have no doubt but that the Lieutenant Governor was perfectly well aware that there was this question about the supply of rice?—He certainly was aware of it.

In his instructions of the 3rd of February, which were communicated to you on the same date, the Superintending Engineer directs the executive officers to keep their gangs as low in number as possible, and not to offer employment to every one, but to confine themselves to cases of real distress, and he grounded his instructions on this view, that in all human probability the distress would be much more severe a few months later, and that it was, therefore, proper to husband resources. Did that instruction seem to you consistent with the purpose for which the grants were made, and was it at the time brought to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor?—It seemed generally consistent. I cannot say that it was at the very time brought to the direct notice of the Lieutenant Governor; in fact, it was not brought before me for some time subsequeni to the date it bears. It reached my office on the 10th February, and we left for Orissa on the 11th. It was not forwarded after us. The general subject was discussed during our visit to Orissa, on which occasion I accompanied the Lieutenant Governor.

Be good enough to explain what passed on the subject of these operations?—The general result was that the arrangements made by the Superintending Engineer and the Commissioner were satisfactory. To the south the works authorised on the frontiers and Pooree-roads, we understood, would take up all the unemployed hands in that direction, the Irrigation Company's works and the Cuttack Trunk-road doing the same in the northern direction. The Superintending Engineer seemed to be carefully attending to what was going on.

Were there any arrangements for the supply of food settled during your visit, and with what result?—I do not remember anything particular; the arrangement for the supplying of food rested with the Commissioner and Relief Committees.

Had you reason to suppose that the Commissioner and Relief Committees had made sufficient arrangements for the supply of food?—I had no reason to suppose they had not, and I did not make special inquiry, the duty of seeing after this arrangement not being in our department.

The Commissioner had shortly before urgently telegraphed, apparently from information received from officers of your department, that relief works were stopped for want of rice, which was not procurable on the spot; and the officers of your department have informed us that in fact in the month of February the works on the Pooree-road, close to Poore, were reduced to a minimum, owing to difficulties about rice and rates. Did not this subject attract the special attention of either the Lieutenant Governor or yourself?—I never heard of any telegram from the Commissioner, nor of the stoppage of works. My attention was never attraced to the subject. I do not know what the Lieutenant Governor's might have been.

Did it not seem to you that in the then state of the people and market, the rates allowed on the Pooree-road, which were the ordinary contract rates, were insufficient to afford special relief to the weak and emaciated?—No.

Did relief works in any shape attract the special attention of the Lieutenant Governor or yourself during your visit, and were they made the subject of any full discussion with the local executive officers?—I cannot answer for the Lieutenant Governor, nor can I remember every word that passed; but, as I have already stated, the result was generally that nothing more was considered necessary.

During your visit to Pooree, did you observe the state of the people in that neighbourhood?—I did not notice anything particular, nor did I hear remarks made on the subject.

Did you then observe no signs of distress?—I did not.

Had you much conversation with Mr. Barlow?—No special conversation on the subject, nor with any of the civil officers. I travelled from Pooree to Cuttack by night dawk, and had, therefore, no opportunity of observing the country.

On your return journey by way of Taldunda, did you observe anything particular?—No; I travelled by night up to Taldunda and by boat from thence.

Subsequently, when the correspondence of the 3rd of February came to your notice, were the instructions issued by the Superintending Engineer approved?—Yes; no orders were issued, and from that it is to be inferred that they were approved.

Are any reports made to your office showing the number of labourers employed and the work done from month to month?—We have no reports of the number of labourers employed. There was a progress report, which stated, more or less, generally what was done.

Did the reports for February and March lead you to suppose that the employment given by the relief works in the Pooree district was adequate for the emergency for which they had

Colonel J. E. D. Nicolls.

12 February 1867.

had been designed?—I have no reason to suppose they were not. The exact amount of distress could only have been known to the local officers.

From the time of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to the middle of May, did the progress of the relief works engage the special attention of the Lieutenant Governor or yourself?—There was no correspondence; I had every reason to believe that everything was being done by the local officers for which they had full authority. My attention was not otherwise directed to the subject.

Did you make no special inquiries about the progress of the relief works?—No; as already stated, I believed everything was going on well, nor had I any reason to suppose such was not the case.

In the latter part of April, was there not an order given to find work for the employment of the poor in the district of Midnapore?—Yes.

What work was it?—The work specified in the correspondence forwarded; there were orders to carry on a tank which had been in general contemplation and also for pushing on one of the roads in the district.

In the end of May, on account of the increase of famine, additional expenditure for relief work in Orissa was sanctioned, was it not?—Yes, 60,000 rupees was sanctioned.

And in the early part of June orders were given to the effect that the relief of the people should have preference over rates?—Yes, as soon as it was realised that the rates were insufficient, the remark alluded to was made, and the Superintending Engineer was directed to proportion his tasks to the strength of the people, and regulate his payments by what would afford them the means of subsistence. He was also authorised, in cases where it was represented that the civil authorities could not undertake the supply of rice, to take the arrangement into his own hands.

In the month of June, were the increased grants and more liberal rates very effective, or was the effect limited by the extreme difficulty of obtaining rice at that time?—They were not very effective since the supply was limited.

Subsequently, during the rains, were the public works carried on on a great scale or not?—There were ample funds available for carrying on what was necessary, but the season of the year was entirely against the prosecution of every suitable work.

Practically, then, has the result been that, throughout the famine, relief in the shape of public works of the Public Works Departments has not been given on a grand scale in Orissa, Midnapore, and Maunbhoom?—I believe that practically the relief afforded by the public works has been ample to meet requirements.

Do you believe it has ever been given on one tithe the scale it was given in the North Western Provinces in 1861?—I am totally unaware of what took place in the North-Western Provinces in 1861.

It appears that in the month of July the General Department of the Bengal Government referred to your department an application from Mr. McNeile for the services of two or three thoroughly respectable and trustworthy Europeans for service in relief operations; will you be so good as to explain what was done in consequence?—Inquiry was immediately made, and three men were sent down as soon as they were obtained. I saw them myself, engaged them, and sent them down.

Were they men who had been employed in your department before, or were they taken up for the occasion?—Two of them had been regularly employed in the department, and the third had been temporarily employed in the Controller's office.

Were they in the department at the time?—No.

Had you known anything of them personally?—Mr. Brooks had casually come under my notice for some time past, and I had always heard of him as a thoroughly conscientious trustworthy man; Mr. Higgs had been temporarily employed in the department and also on contracts, and I heard a good character of him; and Mr. Bancroft was the son of an old soldier, and was strongly recommended to me two or three years ago in Oude, and also latterly on my inquiring for persons to send to Balasore.

Was not Mr. Brooks a very elderly man, and, though trustworthy, was he not found physically incapable to do the work?—Mr. Brooks was an old man and not fit for hard knocking about, but appeared to me quite competent to look after bodies of persons collected together, and to do such work as I understand he would have had to do at Balasore.

The other two Europeans who were sent down seem to have struck work almost immediately after their arrival. Can you in any way account for their doing so?—I know nothing of it. Mr. Bancroft was quite a young man, and Mr. Higgs was a middle-aged man. I had great difficulty in procuring men at all, and inquired particularly about them. I went carefully over the letter with them, read those parts which related to the duties they had to perform, and asked them if they were willing and capable to undertake those duties; and I got from them satisfactory answers.

No. 120.—Mr. J. A. Charriol, of Messrs. Robert Charriol & Co.

[Examined in Calcutta, 12th February 1867.]

Mr. J. A. Charriol.

12 February 1867.

Our house has been many years concerned in the grain trade. We have exported largely from Calcutta, Akyab and from Orissa, through False Point, principally to Mauritius, Bourbon, Ceylon, and France. We have not exported to the East. There is, however, a large export trade from Calcutta and the Burmese ports to China. It is a permanent trade; but

Mr. J. A. Charriol.

12 February 1867.

but it is liable to occasional increase according to the state of the market. Our last exports from Orissa were made in June 1865.

In 1866 we exported largely from Calcutta. In the beginning of 1866 our agent at Cuttack informed us that a kind of famine was beginning, and asked for permission to re-sell the grain which he had stored for export. We authorised him to do so.

We were owners of the ship "Philaneme;" but the cargo belonged to Messrs. Borradaile, Schiller & Co., when the vessel went ashore at Pooree in December 1865. A small portion of the rice which was damaged was sold. The magistrate of Pooree wanted us to sell the rest of the cargo there; but as it was not ours, we were unable to authorise this; and afterwards we (acting as agents for the Captain) sent the steam ship, "T. A. Gibb," on which the rice was re-shipped and sent to its destination. The rice was originally despatched from Calcutta for Gopalpoor, or Madras. The captain was to receive instructions at Gopalpoor. When re-shipped on the "T. A. Gibb," it was sent to Madras, and sold there on account of the parties concerned. The "Philaneme" was a French ship. The cargo was insured by an English office. After the wreck of the "Philaneme" there was a question between the owners of the cargo and the underwriters as to the cargo. The owners wished to throw it entirely on the hands of the underwriters, and the underwriters were not willing to accept the cargo as abandoned. I personally and repeatedly called both on the owners and underwriters of the cargo (Messrs. Gladstone, Wyllie & Co.), and advised them to allow the captain to sell the cargo at Pooree, as the rice was much wanted there and the price was remunerative. A correspondence passed between my firm and those parties; but eventually neither party would accept the responsibility of giving orders in modification of the charter party. The captain was, therefore, obliged to act according to the letter of the charter party, and the result was a heavy loss to the parties concerned. The captain had no power to exercise his own discretion at Pooree unless it had been quite impossible for him to find a vessel on which to reship the cargo. The "T. A. Gibb" was sent down for the cargo, and shipped it on the 1st of March 1866. Bearing in mind the market price of rice in Calcutta at that time, I believe that if any one had offered 5 rupees maund for the rice as it lay at Pooree, it would have been a very tempting offer. The parties might have accepted it; but perhaps they would have refused on account of the existing dispute. I think the cargo was about 7,000 bags. The Board of Revenue did not communicate with me at all on the subject.

As the season advanced, we heard of the progress of the famine from our agent at Cuttack. Our attention was particularly drawn to the dreadful state of things in the month of May, a little before I communicated with the Board regarding the "Jacques Forestier." We were agents for the "Jacques Forestier," and I proposed to the captain to take the cargo of rice to False Point. I telegraphed to my agent at Cuttack to sell at the rate of *Rs.* 12. 4. per bag, delivered at False Point. He telegraphed that he could not find purchasers on our terms at False Point. I therefore cleared the ship for the Mauritius and Bourbon. That day I heard from my agent, Mr. Fressanges, that the Commissioner of Cuttack was in great want of rice, and he advised us to communicate with the Board of Revenue on the subject. I went over to the Board's office, and saw Mr. Chapman, the secretary. I offered the rice for sale; but Mr. Chapman said that the Board preferred giving me a guarantee of a minimum price. I have never been at False Point, but I know the character of the place. As it turned out our agent actually sold part of the cargo above the guaranteed price, and the whole would have been sold at that higher price. The people came and offered gold and jewels or anything else for the rice. In the meantime a letter appeared in the papers to the effect that we were locking up the rice, and that the Board should have bought it up. I went over at once to Mr. Chapman about it, when he informed me that he had just telegraphed to the Commissioner of Cuttack to take over the whole cargo at the guaranteed price. The captain objected to the arrangement, as he was getting 12 annas or a rupee per bag above that price; but as I had settled with the Board, he was obliged to deliver the cargo. A little after, we sold the cargo of the "Charles Maureau" to the Board, and she was sent down to False Point, where she arrived on the 11th of July. Subsequently (I think in October) I offered the whole cargo of the "Pie IX." to the Board (11,000 bags), but they would take 4,000 bags only. The remaining 7,000 were taken on to Galle. There was some mention of taking 500 bags a day beyond the 4,000, but I do not know why this was not done.

Q. Will you tell us the circumstances under which the "Charles Maureau" went to False Point in October?—*A.* We offered the cargo of the "Charles Maureau" to the Board of Revenue, and they refused to take it; and then, as we heard from our agent that the price of rice at Cuttack was very high, the captain, who had been there before, proposed to call at False Point to sell her cargo there.

What did you understand was the result?—The captain remained there some 15 or 20 days, and put himself into communication with the Collector of Cuttack. The Collector offered to take some of the rice, but not all. After waiting a certain time, and hearing no news, the captain went away grumbling a good deal.

Did you understand that the captain refused to break bulk, or not?—He would have been glad to deliver any quantity, and did not refuse to break bulk.

Are you aware that rice had become somewhat cheaper in Cuttack in October?—I am not aware of it.

Was there an immense demand for rice in Ceylon at that time?—Just at that time I sold the cargo of the "Franklin" at 27 *s.* a bag, clear of everything. There was a great demand for rice in Ceylon at that time.

Mr. J. A. Charriol.

12 February 1867.

Therefore, the taking of the cargo to Galle was no loss?—The cargo was not taken to Ceylon; it was taken to Bourbon and the Mauritius?—During the famine I offered some other cargoes to the Board of Revenue, but they were not accepted. If the Board had wished to have more rice than they actually despatched, they could have got it. The rice which I offered was in Calcutta. I had it here on board of different vessels.

Before offering the "Jacques Forestier's" and other ships' cargoes to the Board, we were obliged to wait till the vessels were loaded, and as these cargoes, intended for the Mauritius and Bourbon markets, consisted of best quality moonghy rice, we could not afford to offer them at less than we did. The Board was obtaining coarser rice at a lower rate, and therefore declined our offers.

No. 121.—Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff, Member of the Firm of Messrs. Gisborne & Co., and Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce.

[Examined in Calcutta, 16th February 1867.]

Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff.

16 February 1867.

1. *Q.* Was your attention called to the failure of the crops in Lower Bengal generally in the latter part of 1865?—*A.* We had been purchasing rice, when our attention was first drawn to it in October, as I find from examining our correspondence. The first allusion to famine as being more than a probability is in a letter from my firm to one of our correspondents, dated 18th October 1865.

2. When did you first bring the matter specially to the notice of the Government of Bengal?—On the 3rd of November we wrote to the Government. I find that on the 24th of October we again mentioned the probability of a famine in writing to our correspondents, and on the 3rd of November we addressed the Government of Bengal on the subject.

3. Had you any personal communication with any of the members of the Government at that time?—Nothing beyond that letter that I remember. After that letter I had several conversations with Mr. Chapman, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, but not, I think, with any of the immediate members of the Government.

4. Were you aware that the failure was particularly severe in Orissa. I was aware from Mr. Chapman himself that the failure was particularly severe in Orissa I must have seen the report of the Board of Revenue of the 25th November, and in December Mr. Chapman asked me to buy some rice for the support of the starving people near the Chilka Lake. There was a difficulty at the time in getting freight for the rice, which I reported to him, and I understood that the cargo of the "Philaneme," which had gone ashore at Pooree, would be purchased; the order given to me was then withdrawn.

5. We cannot find that any attempt was made by the authorities in Calcutta to purchase the cargo of the "Philaneme." On the contrary, we have been told by the secretary and senior member of the Board of Revenue that there was no thought of purchasing the cargo, and we learn from Mr. Charriol also that no such proposition was made to him by the Board of Revenue; was your attention at all drawn to this subject?—I remember that the order given to us to send some rice down, which was merely verbal, was withdrawn in consequence of its being understood that the cargo of the "Philaneme" would be available; but I don't say that I understood that Government was going to buy it.

6. The "Philaneme's" cargo in fact remained at Pooree till February; have you any particular knowledge of the matter?—No; I have not.

7. In February rice had approached what might be called famine prices in the Pooree district, and was not procurable in any quantity at that price, so much so, that at the end of January the Commissioner of Cuttack had telegraphed that relief works were stopped for want of rice; on the other hand we learn that, although it would have been advantageous to the owners of the "Philaneme's" cargo to sell it at Pooree, it was not so sold on account of a dispute between the owners and the underwriters of the cargo, and that the cargo was carried off and sold at Madras in one of the ships which was a little later employed to bring back rice to Pooree. The owners and underwriters of the cargo being both at Calcutta, do you think that the purchase of the cargo might have been arranged at Calcutta, or are questions of insurance so difficult as to obstruct very much any arrangement of the kind?—I think that the question of insurance might obstruct seriously such an arrangement as purchasing the cargo, raising important legal questions which neither the agents nor owners of the ship might feel themselves in a position to settle.

8. In the early part of 1866, did you become aware that the chances of a wide-spread famine were increasing in Orissa?—I remember very well that when the new crop was coming in, prices in Calcutta and Bengal were falling, and that I and others were in hopes that this would lead to the lowering of prices in Orissa and alleviation of the distress, so much so, that we did not again at that time urge the views which we had held earlier.

9. When were you again more seriously alarmed?—In March; after a conversation with Mr. Chapman on the subject, looking to the rising prices all over the country, and the fact that the new crop had fallen very far short of the expectation, I again urged importation from Burmah and Orissa, because the setting in of the monsoon would render importation very difficult after a time.

10. At that time did you think the circumstances of Orissa much more critical than that of other parts of the Lower Provinces?—Most unquestionably.

11. Did you, about that time, have any personal communication with the higher officers of Government?—None.

12. Were you at all aware whether your opinions in any way reached the Government?—I am

I am not at all aware that they went any further than Mr. Chapman, with whom I was in the habit of having conversations.

13. Where were you in the months of March and April?—I was in Calcutta up to the middle of April, I then went to Tirhoot for a fortnight.

14. Before you left Calcutta for Tirhoot, had you reason to believe that actual famine had commenced on a large scale, or was it only impending?—I remember well, before going to Tirhoot, my attention being called to the prices in Orissa by Mr. Chapman, as not being more than nine seers for the rupee; and I was told at the time that the general belief was that there were stores in the hands of the grain dealers, which such prices would certainly, if they rose, bring forth.

15. Did you gather that that was the belief of the Board?—I was talking to the secretary of the Board, and he seemed to have that idea.

16. Were you able to find out how he gathered that idea?—My impression is that he had the idea from the local authorities. I thought it was quite possible that it might be so, from the very great difficulty that we ourselves find to get at the facts as to stores, whether in grain or in any other produce, in the hands of natives.

17. Have you any personal knowledge of the local officers of Orissa?—I used to know Mr. Ravenshaw, intimately, many years ago.

18. Were you yourself in any correspondence with Orissa at that time?—No; I had no particular opportunities of judging.

19. Was your attention called to any correspondence in the press on the subject of the famine in Orissa before you went to Tirhoot?—I cannot remember; but the matter was so much in my mind that I would have read anything I saw on the subject.

20. When you returned from Tirhoot, had you any reason to suppose that the state of things either in Orissa or in other districts in Lower Bengal was very much worse than they had been?—When in Tirhoot I was amazed to find the extent of the distress there which had not been made public, grain robberies being reported in different parts of the district, and actual deaths from starvation. When I came down, I immediately mentioned this to Mr. Chapman, and my attention was drawn to it more than before, and it struck me that there was a general amount of distress of which the public had no idea.

21. Did you then receive any special information regarding Orissa?—I was aware of what was going on in Orissa, and was convinced that the distress there was undoubtedly of a very serious character.

22. Soon after you returned, you addressed his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, did you not?—Yes, I did. On the 12th of May I addressed Major Raban, the private secretary of the Lieutenant Governor.

23. You made special allusion to the people dying in Orissa, and strongly recommended importation?—Yes, I did.

24. Had you at the same time any communication with the members of the Board or any other Government officer in Calcutta?—I don't recollect that I had.

25. You had not at that time in any way brought the matter to the notice of his Excellency the Governor General?—On the 12th of May I wrote to Dr. Farquhar, with a copy of my letter to Major Raban.

26. What was the result of your communications to the Lieutenant Governor and the Governor General?—It led to the re-opening of communication between Mr. Chapman and myself with reference to the importation of rice from Rangoon or Akyab to Orissa. I cannot remember now whether I received any direct answers to my letters. Very probably the Government at that time did become alarmed. I find that I did receive a note from the Lieutenant Governor, dated the 16th of May, but I have not got the note. I replied on the 19th of May again, urging importations. I mentioned the existence of an old famine fund, and also a proposal for a public meeting, stating that I thought far more than the balance of that fund would be required, which at that time was supposed to be about 98,000 rupees.

27. Did you become aware that soon after that the Government recommended to the Board to import rice to Orissa?—At the end of May I was authorised, if possible, to arrange with all despatch for the shipment of a cargo from the rice ports for Orissa.

28. We find that on the 22nd of May, the Board of Revenue, after deliberation, declined to import rice. Were you at all consulted on that occasion?—I was not aware that the Board had declined to import rice.

29. When you were first authorised to import rice from the rice ports, were you able to do so at once?—There was no steamer available at either of the rice ports when the order was first given. I took up the "T. A. Gibbs" in Calcutta, and sent her to Rangoon for a cargo. She was to leave on the 3rd, but did not leave till the 9th.

30. Why did she not leave till the 9th?—I understand that she got some cargo for Rangoon, which was not contemplated when I took her up; but the owners having got the offer of some cargo availed themselves of it, and delayed the vessel.

31. In the end of May and beginning of June, did you consider it patent that a famine of a dreadful kind was raging in Orissa?—Certainly; I had brought the matter before the Chamber of Commerce at a public meeting about the 24th of May.

32. In the early days of June, did you think that the Board and Government authorities realised the full extent of the famine?—I did not think so then.

33. Do you think that they then did all that they might have done, if they had thoroughly realised the famine?—I think that by the end of June they seemed to have thoroughly realised the danger, and that they were doing all they could to meet it.

Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff.

16 February 1867.

34. Do you think that they could not have done more?—I think that at that time they could not have done more. I believe they were buying rice at Calcutta, and I had orders to buy at the rice ports.

35. Were you then at all consulted as regards the details of importation?—No.

36. No rice was sent to Pooree at that time. Do you not think that some rice might with advantage have been sent there from Calcutta, in anticipation of the arrival of rice from Burmah?—If rice was not sent, I think it might have been sent. I was not aware that it was not being sent. My attention was wholly devoted to the importation of rice from Burmah.

37. Do you think that more than one cargo of rice might have been obtained from Burmah if it had been ordered in the last days of May?—I don't think that they could have sent off more than one cargo of rice from Burmah between the end of May and the time of the despatch of the "Gibb." On the 15th of June I was ordered to buy 15,000 bags, and on the 20th I was ordered to buy till further orders. There was a limited price; but I was under the impression at the time that price would not have been an object.

38. Have you any personal knowledge of the ports and coasts in Orissa?—None.

39. And you have not at any time been consulted regarding the details of landing and such matters?—When the Lieutenant Governor came down from Darjeeling, it was urged on him to have a general committee, official and non-official; but he preferred to invite two non-official gentlemen to sit at the meetings of the Board of Revenue, for the consideration of famine questions. He invited Baboo Degumber Mitter and myself to act in the matter.

40. Will you describe the mode in which you co-operated with the Board?—I attended regularly every Monday from the first meeting, when the Lieutenant Governor was present. The famine papers were not sent round, but they were placed on the table of the Board room, and I was at liberty to examine them and ask any questions that I chose, which I did to the fullest extent. The Lieutenant Governor gave every encouragement to the non-official members present to afford information, and to express their opinions. I supplied him with information from Tirhoot and other places with which we had connection.

41. Did it seem to you at that time, that the local officers reported the full severity of the famine?—No; I thought the reports very meagre, with the exception of those from Orissa.

42. Did it seem to you that the local officers in Orissa fully realised and fully reported the intensity of the prices?—From the time when I first joined the Board, I was satisfied that they really realised the full extent of the famine.

43. Did you think that the Board had then become aware of the full extent of the calamity in Orissa?—I think that they were as regards Orissa.

44. We find that about that time the Lieutenant Governor, referring to the statement of the Chamber of Commerce that the famine in Orissa was appalling, stated that the accounts received by his Honor did not support the statement of the Chamber. Are you in any way able to account for that opinion of his Honor, or did it seem to you that any of the reports received were such as might give rise to an opinion that the crisis was not so severe as the Chamber of Commerce had supposed?—No; and I cannot account for that opinion entertained by his Honor.

45. Had you at that time any personal communication with the Lieutenant Governor?—Nothing, apart from these meetings at the Board, which his Honor attended. I had the most free conversation with him.

46. Did you express your views with regard to the intensity of the famine to the Lieutenant Governor?—I have no doubt that I did, as I was deeply impressed with the subject at the time.

47. Taking the whole of the information of which you have become possessed, in what month would you say that the famine was experienced with the greatest severity?—I believe in August and September, that is my present impression.

48. Did you continue throughout to co-operate with the Board?—I ceased to attend their meetings after the formation of a general committee which was appointed at the public meeting held in the Town-hall, on the 13th of August.

49. What was the reason of your ceasing to attend the meetings of the Board?—The whole conduct of the famine relief appeared to me to have been made over to, or assumed by, the general committee, and it was very difficult for me at that time to attend, though I was always willing to do so: but I cannot recollect that I was particularly asked to do so. It was not the impression on my mind that I was not wanted.

50. Were you a member of the Calcutta Committee?—I was.

51. Did you take any active part in the proceeding of that committee?—No, I did not; my hands were quite full with the work at Rangoon, and I thought I was doing my part sufficiently.

52. While you were at the Board, did the subject of the landing and transport of the rice sent to Orissa attract your attention?—It was frequently discussed when I was present, and various suggestions were made; but I never till then knew how difficult the matter was.

53. Did you become aware that for all purposes of transport and communication, False Point was practically very far from Cuttack?—I then became aware of it as regards the rainy season.

54. Did

54. Did it seem to you that the Board did wisely in leaving the whole matter to the local officers, who had in fact very little local experience?—I urged a special Commissioner being sent down to undertake the whole work, independent of the local authorities.

55. Was there any question of a member of the Board, or some other high authority, going down there to see for himself?—Not to my recollection.

56. Do you consider that Mr. M'Neile was a special Commissioner of the character you would have liked to have sent, or was he sent in another capacity?—I thought that he was a special Commissioner of the kind that I myself would have liked to have sent, till I learnt that he was not to act independently of the Commissioner of the division. I thought that we wanted both a special report from a man free from local influences, and also special authority vested in such a man to act as he might think necessary.

57. Did it seem to you that some kind of a practical man might have been sent with advantage to superintend the landing arrangements?—I understood that they had such a man there, whose whole attention would be given to the matter.

58. Did any special arrangements regarding the landing of cargo suggest themselves to you, or were any such brought to your notice?—As soon as it became evident that rice had to be imported in large quantities, I thought that receiving ships should be stationed at those places where rice was most required, and proposed it at the Board. It was not done, if I recollect rightly, because the master attendant considered that no ship could lie off the coast with safety for any length of time during the south-west monsoon.

59. Was it not suggested that at False Point there was a perfectly secure anchorage where any number of ships might have lain with safety?—I do not remember that it was particularly suggested; but I know that my proposition was discussed and negatived. I also suggested the employment of cargo boats and mussoollah boats, and was told that all the arrangements that could be made had been made.

60. While you were in communication with the Board, did it seem to you that they were doing all that could be done?—I certainly thought so at that time, and I think so still.

61. Did it seem to you that the operations were in any way restricted, either as to quantity or speed, by any fear that the balance of the Famine Fund would not be sufficient?—No, certainly not.

62. Did you continue to be of opinion that it would be desirable to have a public committee?—I thought so all along. I recommended it to the Lieutenant Governor; but he was satisfied with merely inviting two non-official members of the community to attend.

63. Do you think that if an appeal to the European and native public, backed by all the weight of the Government, had been made in April or May, the result would have been successful; that, for instance, if such an appeal as was privately made by Messrs. Sykes & Co., had been publicly made by the Government and a public committee, much money would have been raised?—I don't think so, because already the commercial news was very bad and getting worse and worse, and as soon as it was known that there was a balance of upwards of six lakhs of rupees of the old Famine Fund in hand, it would have been hopeless under those circumstances to ask the public to subscribe, as it was then thought that six lakhs would suffice to meet the famine requirements.

64. Later in the season, when it was first understood that the famine was of such extreme severity that the six lakhs would probably not suffice, do you think that an appeal to the public would have succeeded?—About the beginning of August the public became so impressed at the necessity of themselves coming forward with contributions, that not only natives had been freely giving their assistance, but in European quarters the idea was very generally entertained that something must be done by the public, the result of which was that a committee was formed in the beginning of August, to invite subscriptions, and at the same time measures were taken which led to the meeting of the 13th of August for the same object.

65. Do you think that the public was even then fully aware of the intensity of the famine?—By no means.

66. To what do you attribute that state of the public feeling?—They had not at that time received the accounts, both public and private, which came pouring in from all quarters as the season advanced.

67. What do you think would have been the advantage of a public committee early in the season?—Had a general committee been formed in the beginning of June, with the view of inviting subscriptions, I believe the attempt would have been a failure for the reasons I have already given; and I do not think that such a committee at that time could have done more than the Board itself was doing. But I think that it might have been very useful in bringing information from various private sources to the notice of Government, which it was not likely to get through official sources. For the purpose of subscriptions, I think that the public meeting was held, and the general committee formed at the right time.

67*a*. Do you think that it was right to devote the efforts of the committee in the first instance to Calcutta only?—I always thought that the general committee should have been formed to meet the distress all over Bengal. But there was a very wide difference of opinion on the part of the public as to this point, very many people thinking that the general committee should not attempt to meet the distress beyond the limits of Calcutta.

68. After you ceased to attend the meetings of the Board, did you still act as their agent for the purchase of rice?—Yes.

69. Did you receive orders to import specific quantities of rice, or was the general order continued?

Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff.

16 February 1867.

continued?—On the 16th of July I had an order to continue purchases; on the 13th to buy one or two more cargoes, with reference to the order of the 11th; on the 20th August to stop purchases, the reason being given that there was more rice likely to arrive on the coast than could be at once landed. On the 13th of September, 25,000 bags additional were ordered for shipment without delay. On the 14th September, 10,000 bags more were ordered; and on the 2nd October, another order was sent to make up a cargo of 20,000 bags for the steamer "Asia;" 15,000 bags had been already secured for that steamer under previous orders; the order, therefore, amounted to an order for an addition of 5,000 bags. It was understood that the whole of the cargoes were to go as quickly as possible.

70. Will you describe what arrangements were made for importing the cargoes which had been ordered from the 13th of September to the 2nd of October?—On the 20th of August we had still to arrange tonnage for 15,000 bags of rice already secured, and I then engaged the "Mahratta," on the 24th of August, for 7,000 bags from the British India Steam Navigation Company. But I wish it to be understood that, throughout, it was rather a matter of engaging tonnage than engaging particular steamers; it was understood that if the Company could not give us one steamer they should give us another. It was a positive engagement, but subject to the explanation I have just given, and I was quite willing to take another ship. We had also some rice at Bassein, waiting for shipment. I find that on the 31st of August we wrote to our agents at Rangoon, after communication with the Board here, authorising them to allow the "Mahratta" to tow a sailing vessel across the bay with rice to Gopalpoor, for the Madras Government, if it should be required. On the 14th September we telegraphed to Rangoon that the steamer "Coringa" would take the place of the "Mahratta," as we had been informed in the interim that the "Mahratta" would be required to carry the mails to Madras in lieu of some other steamer which had broken down. The "Coringa" left Calcutta for Rangoon about the 22nd of September, to take the "Mahratta's" place, and left Rangoon with a cargo for False Point on the 1st of October; she carried about 5,000 bags. Then there was very great difficulty in securing tonnage, both here and at Rangoon, for the service of carrying grain from Rangoon to False Point. We instructed our agents at Rangoon to take up tonnage as fast as possible. The rice which was required was secured and ready, and there was no delay for want of rice, the only difficulty being about tonnage. We were also ready to take up steamers here if we could get them, but steamers were not to be got. The "Robert Henderson" was taken up at Rangoon by our agents, and so was the "Sparkler;" these were both sailing vessels and brought their cargoes without the aid of steam. We thought of employing the "Coringa" to tow a cargo over, but found she was urgently wanted in Orissa. The "Thurso" was also taken up by our agents at Rangoon. We were not deterred by expense from taking up ships; we were in hopes of getting both the "Oriental" and "America" sailing vessels, but were disappointed. About the end of September, tonnage was required for the conveyance of a quantity of rice purchased in Rangoon, and we engaged the "Asia" to carry 20,000 bags, which would complete the importation. She was engaged under these terms. She was then on her way to China. A telegram was to be dispatched to Galle, directing an order to be sent by the mail from Galle to Hong Kong, that the "Asia" should return to Rangoon and load. It was arranged that if the "Asia" should prove to have been engaged before the order reached Hong Kong for any other service, the steamers "Arabia" and "India," carrying between them 20,000 bags, were to take her place in conveying the rice from Rangoon. It was not anticipated that the "Asia" would be back to Rangoon before the end of October, and it was possible that she might have been even later if engaged at all; but it was so arranged that if she should prove to have been engaged, the "India" and the "Arabia" were to be at Rangoon by the time the "Asia" should have been expected there. The "Asia," as it happened, did not reach Rangoon till about the second week in November, and left again on the 21st, with a full cargo.

71. Do you know of any special reason why the "Asia" was later than she was expected?—No, I am not aware of it.

72. Was the "Dundas Castle" also later than she was expected?—She was; she was a sailing vessel, and had to go to Madras first to discharge, and took a longer time to discharge than we anticipated. I put in a statement showing the vessels in which all the rice ordered from us up to the 2nd October, was imported.

73. After Mr. Chapman went on leave, with whom did you communicate at the Board?—With Mr. Lane.

74. Did you communicate to the Board, from time to time, the difficulties about tonnage, and the delays which occurred in the later part of the season?—I did communicate it, either by letter or word of mouth, to Mr. Lane.

75. Were you in frequent communication with Mr. Lane?—Only occasionally in communication with him, when I found it necessary to write to him or to see him.

76. Did you receive from the Board any intimation that there was a very pressing want of rice in October?—Yes; I remember Mr. Lane telling me so personally.

77. However great the emergency, and supposing money to be no object, could it not have been possible to obtain sailing vessels and tugs to tow them in Calcutta?—Tonnage was not available at the time in Calcutta for that service, but it might possibly have been got at an enormous price. The reason of the unwillingness of shipmasters to take cargo for the coast was the utter uncertainty as to how long the vessels might be kept discharging. The steamers were taken up to go to China before I was aware of the emergency,

emergency, and there was also a great expectation that there would be more demand for tonnage after the holidays, which made shipmasters unwilling to go down the coast.

Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff.

16 February 1867.

78. The monsoon was, in fact, over by the end of September or the beginning of October; if there had been receiving ships, this difficulty would have been perhaps obviated?—I believe it would.

79. Did Mr. Lane come to you to make inquiries about the progress of the "Asia" and other vessels that were expected during the month of October?—He certainly made such inquiries, and seemed very anxious about it; but from the time that she was engaged through the telegraph to Galle, we could receive no information till her arrival in Rangoon, and therefore we could have no information till she actually arrived at Rangoon, where she was originally expected.

No. 122.—Mr. F. Schiller, Member of the Firm of Messrs. *Borradaile, Schiller, & Co.* and President of the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. F. Schiller.

16 February 1867.

[Examined in Calcutta, 16th February 1867.]

1. Have you been for some years engaged in the grain trade?—Yes.

2. Have you been concerned in the shipment of rice from Orissa?—We have never shipped rice from Orissa except once, when we shipped paddy from the Dhamrah to Coconada, five or six years ago.

3. You have not yourself then any personal knowledge of the Coast of Orissa?—No, I have never been there.

4. In 1865 were you at all engaged in grain trade?—We have been shipping every year to various ports, chiefly to China and Colombo, and to Europe and the Western Coast.

5. Are the Mauritius and Ceylon entirely supplied from India?—Mauritius is almost entirely supplied from India, because the Indian population like the Indian rice; but a little comes from Madagascar, where, however, the exportation of grain is often prohibited, as I observe it has lately been. Sometimes also there are importations from Java.

6. Does any grain go down to Australia from this?—Yes, fine table rice goes from here, a little wheat and oats. Australia imports flour from Chili and wheat from San Francisco.

7. Is the trade in rice from the ports of British India to China a large one?—That entirely depends on the China crops. In ordinary times the exportations of grain from here to China are almost *nil*; but whenever a deficiency occurs in the China crops, India is called on to supply that deficiency, and therefore it sometimes occurs that China wants 100,000 tons of rice, and gets it.

8. Are the exportations from Siam very large?—They are very considerable. I don't think it is a country which produces as much as British Burmah, and the exportations of Siam are not large as compared with British India. The exportations of Calcutta alone exceed the whole exportations of Arracan and Burmah. Five hundred thousand tons were exported last year.

9. Is the export trade in rice from Calcutta and Bengal generally one which is quite permanent, and does not depend, for the most part in bad seasons, on particular countries for the supply?—It is permanent as regards certain countries; as regards Mauritius and the West Indies, for instance, where we have a certain amount of cooley population; it is permanent to the Cape of Good Hope, and to a small extent as regards Australia; and it has been permanent latterly as regards Bombay, and some of the nearer ports where they are curtailing the production of cereals.

10. In the autumn of 1865, was your attention drawn to the extreme failure of the crops?—My attention was drawn first to the failure of the crops on the western coast of the Bay of Bengal; and our correspondents at Madras, Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., ordered us to ship a cargo of rice which went to Gopalpoor by the "Philaneme." That vessel was wrecked at Pooree, and her cargo was afterwards transhipped by the captain as the representative of all concerned. I believe that at the time an offer was made by the Collector of Pooree to buy the rice; but this offer not covering the cost of the rice, and pending the consent of the underwriters, we could not accept it. Our endeavours to arrange with the underwriters were futile, and the cargo was finally transhipped to our own detriment and loss. A few weeks later this rice would have sold at a large profit on the very coast where it was wrecked.

11. Would it not have sold at a very large profit at the time it was taken away?—Possibly; I had an idea that the offer made was more advantageous to us and the underwriters than was afterwards obtainable by the transhipment, but we, of course, could do nothing without the consent of the underwriters.

12. Besides the offer of the Collector of Pooree, was any proposition made to you in Calcutta to buy the rice?—No.

13. The Collector seems to have offered about three rupees per maund; if in Calcutta the Board of Revenue had taken active measures to secure the cargo, and had offered a much higher price, even four or five rupees a maund, do you think the underwriters would have accepted the offer?—No doubt, because an offer made on the coast could not have been entertained. We had to deal with the underwriters on the spot, and if a fair offer had been

Mr. F. Schiller.

16 February 1867.

made there is no question that we could have arranged for allowing the cargo to remain where it was.

14. We find that in the beginning of February, when we understand the "Philaneme's" cargo to have been taken away from Pooree, rice was there, in fact, nearly as high as five rupees per maund; have you any doubt that it might have been sold at that price with great advantage?—I have no doubt that five rupees a maund would have paid well, and settled all difficulties with the underwriters.

15. Do you know what was the price of rice in the Burmah ports in the early part of 1866?—Prices were rather higher than usual; they ruled between 6 *s.* and 6 *s.* 6 *d.* free on board, and I believe that afterwards prices went even higher, to 8 *s.* 6 *d.* per cwt.

16. In the course of March and April was your attention at all called to the increasing distress in Orissa?—My attention was first drawn to it by Mr. Long; that was about the end of April. The subject was also brought to my notice by Baboo Degumber Mitter, and I was urged to take steps through the Chamber of Commerce to obtain assistance for the distress, and a public meeting was suggested. Mr. Moncrieff likewise held certain information from indigo planting friends in Tirhoot, which he placed at the disposal of the Chamber, and he himself entered into communication with the Board of Revenue. In May we discussed the question whether a public meeting should be held, and the conclusion that we came to was, that the information we held, though indicating certain distress in certain districts, was not sufficiently decisive to induce us take so important a step as calling a public meeting as it were in opposition to those who were responsible for the good government of the country, and we decided that before doing this the proper plan was to address the Government, which was done at the end of May. We then urged, both on the Government of Bengal and the Government of India, the importance of the impending famine.

17. Were you satisfied with the reason given by Government for not calling a meeting and not having a public committee?—I won't say that I was satisfied; but I considered that the Government had better means than we had of ascertaining the real state of things in certain districts, and particularly in Orissa, where no mercantile people resided. I blame the Government for not listening to private representations as regards the state of affairs in Tirhoot, where a great many planters sounded, I believe, on an early date, the alarm. I did not consider the reply of Government by any means satisfactory. We felt that public assistance might be wanted, though, until the Government actually called for public assistance, we could scarcely blame them for carrying out the relief in the famine districts through their own machinery.

18. From the time when, in the end of May, Government took action, do you think that that action was sufficient?—No; certainly not.

19. In what respect do you think it was deficient?—They did not see the magnitude of the distress, and attempted to relieve it by small measures, which were inadequate.

20. Do you think, in the last days of May and beginning of June, more rice might have been obtained in Calcutta, and that it might have been sent down to Orissa without delay?—I don't know as to the quantity that might have been landed in Orissa, but as for the quantity that might have been sent down, it was almost unlimited. The means of sending it down at that time were unlimited too, but the difficulty was in the landing arrangements. I have no knowledge of what has been done with regard to landing arrangements. I believe there were very great difficulties, in that season of the year, on account of the monsoon having set in.

21. Do you think that rice might have been sent to Pooree direct from Calcutta at that time?—I question whether you could have done so in sailing vessels; it might have been sent down, but whether it could have been landed is another question.

22. Do you think that small steamers drawing not more than nine feet could have been obtained to take rice into the Balasore River?—There are very few such small steamers here; the inland steamers at that season could not have gone, and most of the tugs draw between 12 and 13 feet.

23. As the time went on, did it seem to you that Government became convinced of the magnitude of the crisis, and did all that could have been done?—They gradually became convinced, no doubt; they became fully convinced when the people had got into a state of extreme starvation.

24. Do you think that rice might have been sent to the Dhamrah by the end of May?—I think it was possible with the aid of steamers, but I have not sufficient knowledge of the place to speak positively. Whether at that season the rice could have been sent to the Dhamrah, and whether, when it went there, it could have been dispatched to the interior, are local questions.

25. When did it first seem to you that the balance of the old Famine Fund was insufficient to meet the whole crisis?—We felt it when we wrote to the Government in the end of May. We first applied for the balance, and then wrote a letter that a committee should be appointed, and said that the six lakhs would not be sufficient; it would be a drop in the ocean.

26. To what do you attribute the unwillingness of the Government to accept the aid of the public?—I can only believe that the Government must have been misled by information given to them by those who were in charge of particular districts, and must, therefore, either have been entirely ignorant of the magnitude of the impending distress, or unwilling to accept the aid of the public from fear of acknowledging their inability to grapple with the difficulty.

27. In

27. In July and August did it seem to you that rice was being poured down to Orissa as fast as could reasonably have been expected?—I was not here all the time, and cannot tell you what occurred then. I went in the end of July to Simla. I can only say, that what struck me was, that the Government commenced on too small a scale, and only gradually increased their operations when it was too late.

28. Are you aware that Government might have obtained larger quantities of rice in Calcutta and Chittagong than they actually did?—Undoubtedly; we purchased rice in Chittagong at a price that laid the cargoes down in the Mauritius at a cheaper rate than they could have been procured in Calcutta; and we were prepared to ship rice at that time from Chittagong to the coast ports, and I have no doubt that we could have obtained easily something like 60,000 to 70,000 bags. In Calcutta, also, large quantities could have been procured. In June I asked Mr. Moncrieff whether the Government would like to take one lakh of maunds of rice which was offered to me on the Berhampooter river, but I got no definite order, and the result was, that within a week the same rice had been sold at an advance of 12 annas a maund. Mr. Moncrieff mentioned this to the Board, and I believe we were authorised verbally to purchase within certain limits, but rice could not be obtained within those limits, as the prices had rapidly risen in the districts

29. When you left Calcutta, did it seem to you that the public had been sufficiently informed of the state of the famine in Orissa?—No; the public had no idea of what the distress really was.

30. To what do you attribute the ignorance of the public?—To the difficulty of getting information from any part of India where there is no public; and I can only come to the conclusion that Government also had not sufficient information.

31. Have you considered the question what measures would be advisable to prevent the recurrence in the future of such famines as we have had in Orissa?—In my opinion, the first thing to do is to make good roads; to restore those parts of Orissa that have been devastated by the floods; to improve the navigation of the rivers that intersect Orissa, such as the Mahanuddee and Brahminee; and to give encouragement to the fullest extent to the irrigation works now under construction in Orissa. I should likewise be in favour of a railway or tramway from Calcutta *viâ* Midnapore down to Cuttack, and *viâ* Sumbulpoor, Rajpore, to Nagpore, which would open out in its latter course a country which, I may say, is almost unknown, which is very thinly peopled, but which has considerable natural resources.

32. Have not the Irrigation Company, working with private capital, undertaken a system of internal irrigation which will, to a great extent, supersede the use of the rivers of Orissa for purposes of navigation, and supply for heavy traffic much of the facility of roads and railways; and might not, then, the efforts of Government be more profitably bestowed in some other direction?—There is no doubt that the irrigation works, if completed as originally contemplated, and if extended as might become necessary, will provide in a great measure substitutes for roads; but the improvements that I more specially alluded to in the navigation of some of the rivers of Orissa might be carried out by a comparatively trifling expense. I allude particularly to the higher parts of the Mahanuddee and Brahminee.

33. You suggested a railway from Calcutta to Cuttack; have you formed any sort of estimate of what such a railway would cost, crossing, as it would, the large and numerous drainage lines?—I believe there would be some considerable bridge works in the line from Midnapore to Cuttack; while the other line from Cuttack to Nagpore is in fact nothing but the old road to Bombay, and I believe there are only two large rivers to be crossed; but I have never considered the question of cost; I have merely looked at the map of the country, and to the desirability of connecting Central India by that route with the metropolis of Bengal.

34. As respects Bengal, are you prepared to suggest any measures by which the chances of famine might be averted, and the country generally improved?—Talking of Bengal, and of the agricultural classes generally, I should suggest that they should be educated agriculturally and otherwise, that is to say that they should be taught to be industrious, which they are not now. I would establish agricultural schools at some of the head districts, where the natives could be taught to use all those appliances which have been introduced into the agriculture of other civilized nations.

35. Does it seem to you that people in the stage in which the natives of this country now are, holding small tenures, are unfavourably situated as regards agricultural development?—I certainly think that it is a mistake to split up properties, and to convert every peasant who has got perhaps only sufficient money to live from week to week, and in many instances is even indebted to a native banker for his daily wants between crop and crop; it is certainly a mistake to convert such a man into a landowner, and to make him an independent farmer, because, in times of adversity, he has nothing to fall back upon.

36. Has not this been done in many parts of Europe, Prussia for instance?—Yes; it has been done particularly in France, where property has been split up in a terrible manner, but not so much in Prussia; on the contrary, you have to deal there with estates small or large; but with a few exceptions, the peasants themselves have no rights in those estates, but are merely tenants. They may not be able to turn the men out, but in most instances they have no rights in the land itself.

37. Have large farms been tried in India with any success within your knowledge?—I have no personal knowledge of any example in which large farms have been successfully tried on this side of India; nor do I think that such are to be found in any part of India.

Mr. F. Schiller.

16 February 1867.

38. Is it your impression that rice could be grown successfully by a large farmer, supposing that he had the land and hired the labour?—If a large farmer were to hire labour and cultivate his rice, and if he could get out of his labourers a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, I believe it would pay him; but in the present state of the country, and the present state of the law, it would be very difficult to get a fair day's wages out of a labourer.

39. Then you think that in the present state of the country and of the law, large farming will not succeed?—Yes; I think so.

40. And if you must have small farmers, would the small farmers having no rights, have an advantage over small farmers having rights?—I assume that small tenants without rights would be sub-tenants of a large landholder, either Government or a private individual, and it is clear that a large landholder, particularly an enlightened native or European, would have greater means of helping his tenants over their difficulties than if the tenant was left to himself.

41. Is it your experience that the majority of the native landholders of Bengal are of that provident and enterprising class who develope the resources of their estates and support their tenants?—On the contrary, I think the zemindars of Bengal are not quite that enlightened class of men that we would like to see. There are a few laudable exceptions, but most of them do not belong to that class, and I would certainly endeavour to plant in the country as many European zemindars as possible.

42. Do you think that there is reasonable hope that Europeans will be induced to settle in this country in so permanent a manner as to give the country the full benefit of a fixed and settled landholding class?—There are many natural difficulties against such settlement, and there is no doubt that Europeans come here for the purpose of making money and then retire. But that does not prevent them in many instances from remaining the best part of their lives, and sometimes during their whole lives, in the country; and during the time that a European is in the country he generally exercises a beneficial influence on those who immediately surround him, and in any case we should assume that when he does retire, he would have successors or heirs, and that his estate would then go to his children or be sold to some one else. If it were once satisfactorily proved that the holding of landed property, such as described by me, offered a fair field of profit to the European, there are millions of acres of land which would be taken up for the purpose. As a rule, I believe, from what has occurred and is daily occurring in India, that we may come to this conclusion, even the natives themselves rather prefer to be under an European settler; and I would mention in proof of this that latterly some of the great rajahs and landowners have been employing European managers.

43. Do you think that an extensive change in the law or system of administration is necessary in order to give a fair chance to enterprising people?—I have not looked into all the Acts; but I think that a good deal has to be done in the way of amending Act X. of 1859. With reference to the actual judicial proceedings, what we much want is a short process by which a man can be compelled to perform what he has promised without having the opportunity of appealing through two or three successive courts.

44. Do you think that in respect of the performance of contracts, the natives of this country are worse than the people of other countries?—I think there is a good deal of disposition in the Bengalee character not to fulfil their engagements whenever inconvenient to themselves.

45. In ordinary commercial transactions, and in trades which are regulated by commercial principles solely, for instance the purchase of silk, do you think that there is a large amount of bad faith amongst the natives?—I should certainly say that they are more apt to deceive than natives of other countries.

46. Have you had any experience of any other people in India other than the Bengalees?—No; I have only had experience of the Bengalees.

47. Is there any other class of remedial measures which it strikes you to suggest with the view of improving the agriculture of the country and of diminishing the chances of famine?—I should certainly continue the system of holding agricultural shows, and I should even give greater encouragement by premiums on the production of certain articles than what has been done hitherto, for instance, with the view of introducing the cultivation of the finest description of cotton into Lower Bengal, with profit to India (I believe that Bengal is quite capable of growing cotton as fine as Sea Island and Egyptian); I should give a certain premium per bale on the first 5,000 bales that are raised equal in quality to fair Egyptian, with the view of tempting agriculturists to enter on the cultivation.

48. Have you thought of any system of irrigation for Bengal?—The only scheme of irrigation that I can recommend is the great canal proposed by Sir Arthur Cotton some years ago, which would bring down the water of the Ganges from Rajmehal. I had a proposal myself before Government for a canal from the coal districts to the River Hooghly, which, though meant in the first instance for navigation only, I have no doubt, could be applied to purposes of irrigation also.

49. Have you informed yourself about the materials and cost of the canal from the coal districts which you have mentioned?—The approximate cost is a million sterling. I can only add that if I were the Governor General, I would try to do everything to encourage private enterprise, and get as many millions of money into the country as I could, and I think that the present time is a particularly opportune one, inasmuch as money is fast accumulating in Europe, joint stock undertaking of all descriptions are entirely at a discount in public

Mr. F. Schiller.

16 February 1867.

public opinion, and investors would gladly avail themselves of any scheme which has either directly or indirectly a Government guarantee, or something equivalent thereto.

50. Is it not rather the function of Government to give good laws and good administration, and trust to private enterprise for the rest?—No doubt; but in a country like India, where the Government is everything, and where there is no public, it is necessary that the Government should inaugurate all those measures which would be inaugurated by private enterprise in other countries.

51. Does not a Government guarantee emasculate private enterprise?—Government guarantees no doubt interfere with private enterprise; and while I certainly would not encourage Government guarantees in all descriptions of industrial undertakings, I do think that all those works which come under the class of public works of a reproductive character, such as canals for navigation and irrigation, railways, &c., should be constructed with the help of Government, and the Government having once inaugurated this system of guarantees, will find it extremely difficult to get rid of it.

52. You decidedly think then that the guarantee system must be further extended?—The Government must either give guarantee or something equivalent to them. For instance, if I were to go into the London market, I must go with a distinct concession which I must show to the public, and be able to assure them that if they give their money, they will get certain things in return. If the concession is not obtained, but has to be applied for afterwards, people will not give their money; I may get a certain concession from the local Government, which is disapproved and modified by the Governor General, and finally it may come before the Secretary of State, who may say that he will have nothing to do with it. At least it is so at present.

53. Have there not been found to be in England inconveniences about the system of granting concessions before the money is found, and have not those inconveniences been felt in this country?—There is no doubt that if concessions are given injudiciously for objects that are not wanted and to people who are unscrupulous, certain mischief may arise out of the system; but it is the duty of the Government in all such cases to discriminate whether a scheme is wanted, and whether the person proposing it means honestly. It must not be forgotten that in all instances parties making such proposals expect to receive some profits in return for what they consider their property, namely, their brains.

54. Is it not very difficult for Government to hold the balance evenly between different projectors, and to judge what projects ought to be accepted and what rejected before the projects are tested in the money market; is there not great temptation to speculative projectors, who feel that they cannot lose and may gain by obtaining concessions which bind the Government, but do not trust them in any way?—If the Government have well considered the scheme in virtue of which they have granted certain concessions, and if they have no doubt as to the desirability of carrying out that scheme, they need not ask any questions as to whether the men who have proposed it are going to make any money or not; the country cannot be a loser, and the public are not likely to be duped quite so easily as is generally supposed.

No. 123.—The Honourable Sir C. Beadon, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant Governor of *Bengal*.

The Hon. Sir C. Beadon, K.C.S.I.

[Examined in Calcutta, 5th March 1867.]

5 March 1867.

1. *Q.* Can your Honour be good enough to explain to us what is the line between the duties of the Government and of the Board, in such matters as collecting information with regard to a great impending crisis, such as extreme scarcity and famine?—*A.* No definite line has ever been laid down; the course of the correspondence shows, I think, the view which I took.

2. Does your Honour consider that in the course of the scarcity, which eventuated in the famine of 1866, the duty of watching the country and ascertaining the state of the people was delegated to the Board?—I think that in that point, the best thing I can do is to refer the Commission to the orders I issued to the Board when a scarcity was first known to have occurred in 1865. See my letter of the 31st October 1865.

3. As respects the actual results of the autumn crop of 1865, and the state of the country at that time, did your Honour consider that the report of the Board of the 25th November was a final one, or that the duty committed to the Board was of a continuing character, making it the duty of the Board to inquire and report further?—I think my view of the continuing nature of the duty is sufficiently evident from the letter, which I addressed to them, dated the 11th December, in which I approved of what the Board had done and concurred in the opinions expressed by them. The view I then took of the duties of the Board was that they should keep themselves informed of the general state of the country, taking action so far as was within their power, and reporting to Government on all matters beyond their own competence. I thought that the attention of the Board would continue to be given to the state of things, as mine was given, as long as the scarcity lasted.

4. We find that with the exception of certain price currents, the Board did not call for any report of the out-turn of crops subsequent to their report of the 25th November. Does your Honour consider that it was the duty of the Board to have called for any such detailed reports?—My impression is that they did call for certain reports on receipt of that Government order.

The Hon. Sir C. Beadon, K.C.S.I.

5 March 1867.

5. We believe your Honour is aware that towards the end of November Mr. Ravenshaw started on a tour to the tributary Mehals. Does your Honour consider that, in the face of the warning conveyed in your secretary's letter No. 6908, dated the 1st December 1865, Mr. Ravenshaw was warranted in leaving the regulation districts, and going into a remote part of the country, where his presence did not seem to be so urgently required?—The inspection of the hill tracts has always been considered a very important part of the Commissioner's duties in his capacity of Superintendent of Tributary Estates. In his letter dated the 14th December the Commissioner wrote that he anticipated no necessity for special measures in connection with the scarcity, and on this assurance from him, I approved of his proceedings then, and must approve of them now. Assuming that the circumstances in the regulation districts were as he then represented them, I think he was quite justified in going into the Tributary Estates.

6. Putting apart Mohurbhung, which Mr. Ravenshaw did not then visit, does your Honour remember any political questions of an unusual and urgent nature which necessitated the Commissioner's visiting the hill country?—No, I do not.

7. We presume your Honour is aware that it has become the practice to grant remissions of revenue in Orissa in consequence of great calamities. The Board of Revenue had recognised that practice;, but had directed that no inquiry, with a view to such remissions, should be entered upon without the special sanction of the Board. We find that all three collectors of the districts in Orissa did apply for sanction to make such an inquiry, and that in the case of Pooree, the Commissioner gave a conditional assent to the institution of such an inquiry. Is your Honour aware that the Board had summarily prevented such an inquiry?—I have no personal remembrance of the subject having been brought to my notice, nor was I aware that applications to make such inquiries had been made.

8. We find that in the months of January and February a very considerable correspondence was carried on regarding the difficulty of obtaining grain in Pooree, and more especially with reference to the public works which were then ordered by Government with a view to relieve the existing distress. We find that both the Collector of Poorce and the officers of the Public Works Department represented in very strong terms that rice was not to be obtained in the market; that, although there was a nominal price, rice was in fact not to be got in any quantities, and that to render the works practically operative, it was absolutely necessary that grain should be imported and stored in some shape. The Commissioner seems also, on two previous occasions, in a somewhat undefined manner, to have proposed the importation and storing of grain, and, on his return from his tour, the information which reached him was such as to induce him to send to the Board of Revenue a very emergent telegram in these words, "Famine relief is at a stand-still. Public Works Department refuses to advance money to collector to purchase rice. Pooree must get rice from elsewhere." To that telegram the Board, on the 1st February, returned a very decided answer in the words, "The Government declines to import rice into Pooree." The consequence of which was that the Commissioner, considering that the Board of Revenue and the Government had finally and conclusively decided against the importation of rice and payment of labour in grain, issued a series of orders to the collectors in that sense. The secretary and senior member of the Board of Revenue have informed us that the words "the Government decline to import rice into Pooree" were used on a general knowledge that it was the established policy of Government not to import rice, and in fact the senior member said the matter had already been reported to Government, which declined to import rice. It has also been stated that the personal communication between the Board of Revenue and your Honour was at that time intimate, the senior member especially being in frequent communication with the Government. Does your Honour remember that the general subject of the difficulty of procuring rice in Poorce and the consequent stoppage of relief works, and the question of importation was at that time brought to your Honour's attention?—The only ground that the Board could have for saying that the Government declined to import rice into Pooree, was the answer given to those letters which Messrs. Gisborne & Co. wrote in the month of November. Certainly, I had several interviews with Mr. Grote at that time, and I have no doubt that I must have repeated, in my interviews with him, that the Government had determined not to import rice by sea into Pooree. When it was reported by the officers of the Public Works Department that they had a difficulty in getting labourers because they could not obtain food with the money themselves, and when they proposed to purchase rice and pay the labourers in grain, the answer I authorised was that the Public Works Department had nothing to do with the procuring of rice, but that the supply of rice to the labourers must be managed through the civil officers, and the instruction I desired Colonel Nicolls to give to the superintending engineer was that he should arrange for the feeding of the labourers in communication with the Commissioner of the division. The system I supposed to prevail was that wherever public works were going on, the Public Works Department were paying the labourers in money, and the labourers would be able to supply themselves from the shops established by the civil officers. The order that was actually issued by the Board, directing that labour employed by the local civil officers should be paid in money and not in grain, so far from being in accordance with my wishes, was opposed to them; my wish was that the labourers should get their grain from the civil officers. The Board's orders were founded on an entire misapprehension of the orders I issued in the Public Works Department. I don't remember to have seen the letter which was issued; but if I did, the point must have escaped my attention; if I had observed it, I should have undoubtedly set the Board right.

9. Is

9. Is it your Honour's impression that at that time the fact that the civil officers were unable to make arrangements for the supply of grain for the labourers employed in public works was not brought to your attention?—I was under the full impression that such arrangements had been made.

10. We find that on the receipt of the telegram of the 1st February, the Commissioner not only issued orders to the collectors of a very stringent and final character regarding the payment of cash wages on Government works of all descriptions, but also, conceiving it to be a matter of principle, ordered that relief works carried on from private funds under the superintendence and with the aid of the collector, should not be remunerated with food, as the persons who had subscribed the money wished to do. Does your Honour consider that that was also an entire misapprehension?—I think it was an unfortunate mistake, and so far as it was supposed to be founded on any order or opinion of mine, it was an entire misapprehension.

11. We believe that Mr. Cockburn, then a member of the Board of Revenue, accompanied your Honour to Orissa, and it has been shown to us that to that order, which finally decided the question regarding importation and payment of grain, Mr. Cockburn's signature was attached; did he not bring those circumstances generally to your Honour's knowledge?—Not that I remember. At that time I had scarcely any conversation with Mr. Cockburn on the subject of the famine, and I never heard of the order.

12. Mr. Cockburn was in tolerable health up to the time that he left Pooree; was he not?—Yes, and was quite capable of attending to business.

13. Did your Honour arrive at Pooree on one day, and leave the next?—Yes, we arrived in the morning of one day, and left in the evening of the next.

14. Did Mr. Barlow, the Collector of Pooree, have full opportunity of reporting all that he knew or feared?—The fullest opportunity. Besides being in constant conversation with him, he had a special separate interview with me for the purpose of talking over all matters of interest in the district. I was a guest in his house.

15. Did Mr. Barlow then take a very gloomy view of the state of his district?—No, certainly not.

16. Did he not report that there was considerable mortality from want?—There was a report of such a state of things previous to my arrival; but in every instance in which sickness and distress and mortality were alluded to, Mr. Barlow told me that by late accounts there was a decided improvement, with the exception of one place called Gope.

17. Did he not give your Honour to understand that the extreme want was more widely spread over the district than the pergunnahs of Malood and Parricood?—Mr. Barlow's report, which I had read and which contained the report of the superintendent of police, referred to starvation and distress in other parts; but he told me that that distress had been greatly relieved, that funds had been subscribed for relief, and that still further subscriptions were expected, and that all that was wanted was employment for the distressed. And when I left, almost the last words I used to Mr. Barlow were, that he should give me a full report of the state of the district before I left Cuttack. He did not do so; but told me at Cuttack that he had been unable to do so, and when he was there I spoke to him again, and he said he had not had time to prepare the report, because it depended on further reports from the police, and that it should follow me to Calcutta.

18. Did Mr. Barlow bring to your Honour's notice that the superintendent of police entertained strong opinions regarding the approach of a severe famine?—I don't remember Mr. Barlow's alluding to the opinion of the superintendent of police further than is expressed in Mr. Barlow's report. I saw Mr. Lacey and heard what he had to say. He certainly did not impress me with the idea that he had any such opinion, nor did he represent to me the necessity of taking other measures than had been taken.

19. Was the difficulty experienced in obtaining grain for the labourers brought to your Honour's notice by any of the officers of Pooree at that time?—No, not that I have the slightest recollection of.

20. We find that in fact the employment of labour on the Pooree road was, during the month of February, reduced almost to a minimum by the difficulty of getting grain, and also by perseverance in the ordinary task-work rates; was that circumstance not mentioned to your Honour?—I knew that they had a difficulty in getting labourers enough for the works; but it was not represented to me that the rates being insufficient was a reason, nor that the difficulty of obtaining rice was a reason.

21. Mr. Crommelin and other officers seem to say that they do not remember any special consultation on this subject; but we find that instructions regarding relief works in great detail had been issued by Mr. Crommelin on the 3rd of February, in which the executive officers are specially directed to limit their employment of labourers as much as possible, on the ground that the distress must be much greater in future, and funds should be husbanded; and allusion is also made to the necessity of arrangements for procuring food for the labourers; Colonel Nicolls tells us that, in fact, that letter was not brought forward till after your Honour's return from Cuttack, and then it was noted as having been discussed in Orissa, and marked "no orders;" do you remember such a discussion?—I don't remember having any actual discussion on this subject with Mr. Crommelin; but he was in constant communication with Colonel Nicolls, and I also had occasional conversation with him. But I cannot remember now when it was I first saw those instructions, whether when it was there or afterwards. I am quite sure I did not see those instructions when I was in Cuttack; but I was aware that full instructions had been given to the executive engineers to carry out the orders of Government in respect to the employment of people in public works.

The Hon. Sir. C. Beadon, K.C.S.I.

5 March 1867.

The impression I derived from Mr. Crommelin's conversations and all I heard there was that the works were going on satisfactorily.

22. Is it then decidedly your Honour's impression that the question of the difficulty of procuring grain for the labourers, and the consequent effect of that difficulty in rendering the relief works ordered by Government to a very great degree inoperative, was not pressed on your Honour's attention at that time?—Certainly; it was not formally brought forward at all.

23. Some of the witnesses examined by us have informed us that people suffering from want, who had come in from the district to Pooree at that time, produced the roots and jungle produce on which they had been living, and that Mr. Cockburn took those things and showed them to your Honour. Will your Honour tell us the circumstances?—I heard that story the other day. The only thing I can recollect was this. The circumstance happened at Pooree. We were walking along the road, and there were people with roots in baskets sitting near the Cutcherry. They said something in Ooryah which I did not understand. I asked Mr. Cockburn what roots they were, and he said that those were the roots the people lived on, and he brought the roots to me. But that was not mentioned as symptomatic of distress, but rather as specimens of roots which form the ordinary food of the people at that season of the year. As far as I can recollect, the roots were a species of yam called cuchoo. But no representation was made to me that they were food to which they had been driven to resort for want of better food, and the people who had them had them for sale.

24. Some of the native officials have told us that they were aware that considerable mortality was going on and was likely to increase, and that they had interviews with your Honour, and said so. Will your Honour tell us if such was the case?—I saw several of the natives; in fact all who wished for an interview I saw and talked to; and what they said to me about the famine was very much the same as what Mr. Barlow had said to me. No doubt they said there had been a failure of the crops and that people were dying; but as far as I remember, they all seemed satisfied with what was done, and all I was asked to do was to fix a nerrick and prevent exportation.

25. Was it brought to your Honour's notice that in the three weeks or month preceding your Honour's visit to Pooree the price of grain had enormously increased?—Certainly; the state of prices was one of the things I inquired into while I was there.

26. Was it brought to your Honour's knowledge that the cargo of the ship "Philamene" was then on the strand in Pooree, and that the agents would not or could not sell?—Yes, I heard of it.

27. What was the special object of your Honour's visit to Orissa?—As far as it had any specialty in it, it was with reference to the famine. I had not had an opportunity of visiting Cuttack before, and took the opportunity of going down to see the officers and people there, and particularly also to see the irrigation works going on there.

28. During your Honour's visit to Orissa was there any special discussion whether the stocks of grain in the province were sufficient for the food of the people?—I had a great deal of conversation with Mr. Ravenshaw and others on the subject, and when we talked of it at Pooree Mr. Barlow was also present; but there was but one opinion expressed, which was that the stocks in the country were ample. Mr. Barlow certainly expressed no opinion to the contrary then. The burden of all that the natives said to me was—"there is plenty of rice, but the mahajuns won't sell it."

29. Was not that opinion principally expressed by the urban population?—I scarcely saw any other, except the labourers on the Irrigation Company's works.

30. Did it seem to your Honour that Mr. Ravenshaw had any good and substantial grounds for the confident opinion which he at several times expressed on that point, or that he had only listened to the popular cry of the people immediately surrounding him in Cuttack?—I certainly relied on Mr. Ravenshaw. He did not show me any papers or returns to justify his opinions; but spoke of having made inquiries in all parts of the district; and one particular thing that he stated was that the prices were higher in Cuttack itself, and that they were lower the further you got from the station, and he certainly spoke as if his information was based on inquiry.

31. Does your Honour remember whether any other officer of local experience and standing did express any such opinion?—There was no collector in Cuttack when I was there. The impression I derived from all whom I saw and spoke to, including native zemindars and officials and gentlemen connected with the Irrigation Company, was, that there was grain in the country, but that owing to the short crop, the holders of rice were keeping their stocks in hand. No one gave me a hint or the slightest intimation of holding the opinion that there was not rice enough to feed the people.

32. Was it not brought to your Honour's notice that the officers of the Irrigation Company had themselves imported rice, and were paying their labourers with it?—I don't think I heard of that till afterwards; it is one thing to import rice in small quantities for a particular purpose, and another thing to import rice in large quantities for the population in general. It is a very common thing for jail officers all over Bengal to purchase quantities of grain in the beginning of the season when it is cheap, and to keep it in store for the year's consumption. It would not be at all improbable if the magistrate should ask permission to purchase grain at Calcutta for the jail there, and keep it in store for the year. I should not argue from that that there was no rice in the district, but that he would wish the jail accounts to stand well.

33. Some of the civil and public works officers had in their correspondence, shortly previous

previous to your Honour's visit, expressed very strong opinions regarding the necessity of importing rice; does it occur to your Honour to express any suggestions why, on the occasion of your Honour's visit, they kept silence or expressed different opinions?—I can give no explanation, but only state the fact that no such opinions were expressed to me while I was there.

34. Did Mr. Ravenshaw bring to your Honour's notice that some of the officers in his division held the opinion that there were no sufficient stocks of grain in their districts, but that he, for such and such reasons, did not agree with them?—No; he did not. It was never brought to my notice that such an opinion was seriously entertained by any one while I was in Cuttack.

35. Up to that time, had your Honour reason to think that Mr. Ravenshaw's conduct was reliable and prudent, or that he hazarded somewhat rash opinions, he not being fully cognizant of the state of his districts, inasmuch as he had not visited them himself?—Mr. Ravenshaw is an officer of activity of mind and intelligence, a man who has always had the character of being well acquainted with his work, and his statements and opinions were supported by all those with whom I had conversation in Cuttack. It never occurred to me to question his opinions, because I had no ground to raise any objection to them.

36. Did Mr. Ravenshaw seem to be in some considerable degree credulous as regards the people amongst whom he was more immediately thrown?—Not in the least.

37. About the latter part of February and early part of March we find that the deputy inspector general of police had brought to the notice of the inspector general, from information derived from the superintendent of police at Pooree, that a famine was imminent then, and also a little later, when he visited Balasore, that a very great degree of distress, amounting to starvation, was visible in the Balasore district; was that circumstance brought to your Honour's notice?—The inspector general never brought to my notice anything connected with the famine, except what we find in his official letters.

38. We believe that it was generally brought to your Honour's notice that the disorganisation, in the shape of plunder in the early part of the year, was attributed to want?—Yes.

39. The inspector general has told us that, such being the state of things, he did not consider it necessary that he should visit the disorganised districts; that, in fact, he had never visited Orissa, or even the district of Midnapore; that the superintendence of the police was entrusted to the commissioners of divisions; that he considered that his own duty was confined to arranging the pay and distribution, and such like particulars regarding the police force, and advising the Government. That seems a view of his duties entirely different from that which is taken in other provinces. Is it your Honour's opinion that the inspector general is justified in taking that view of his functions and duties in Bengal?—I think that his primary duty is to administer the force from head-quarters. It is equally his duty, either himself or through the deputy inspectors general, to visit such districts. I have no knowledge of what the rule is in other provinces; but I think the inspector general is right in saying that his primary duty is "to arrange for the disposition, the strength and cost of the police force, and generally to advise Government on the subject of the frequent applications that are made on police matters." I think that for the suppresson of crime the magistrate is primarily responsible, and over him the commissioner. The inspector general is, of course, responsible for the efficiency of the force placed at the disposal of the magistrate, and if any particular crime in any district is owing to the conduct of the police it would be equally his duty to go, or send a deputy, to see that the police were put on a proper footing. If there was no question of the police, but simply an abnormal state of things, altogether distinct from the organisation of the police, I don't think it would be the inspector general's duty to go down to ascertain the state of things.

40. Does your Honour consider that the criminal disorganisation caused by want, and the degree of want which caused it in Western Bengal, was sufficiently brought to your Honour's notice by the superior officers of police in the spring of 1866?—The first intimation that I received was from the inspector general, asking for additional police, and it was on that that the Commissioner of Burdwan was directed to report. I forget when we first heard from the Commissioner of the state of crime in the Burdwan division. I cannot say at this time when the increase of crime began to show itself, and when it was reported. I think that the state of the districts of the Burdwan division ought certainly to have been reported at an earlier period with reference to the famine.

41. Mr. Ravenshaw tells us that no special instructions were left with him regarding the conduct he was to adopt in the event of scarcity merging into severe famine, and that in fact neither he nor the collectors were aware that Government would have incurred so large an expenditure. Will your Honour tell us whether that is a correct representation?—The question did not arise as to any further expenditure. It was considered, when I was there, that the expenditure on public works was sufficient.

42. We find that on the 25th of February Mr. Barlow, on the part of the Pooree Relief Committee, drafted a resolution, in which he records that a system of general gratuitous relief was impracticable, both in view of the magnitude of the distress and the smallness of the funds; and we are told that, with his concurrence, Baboo Ramakhoy, deputy magistrate, addressed an appeal to the "Hindoo Patriot," in which he represented the state of the distress in very strong terms. We find that Mr. Barlow approved of that appeal, but, almost at the same time, on the 5th of March, he reported that further measures were unnecessary on the part of Government. Does your Honour think that those proceedings on the part of Mr. Barlow are capable of being reconciled, and if so, how?

The Hon. Sir C. Beadon, K.C.S.I.

5 March 1867.

Had Mr. Barlow reason to suppose that Government would not give direct aid?—I cannot understand what reasons Mr. Barlow had for supposing so, because I repeatedly told him that he was to represent the state of things as occasion required.

43. The Board seem to have circulated their report of the 25th of November as a guide to officers regarding the principles on which Government considered itself at liberty to afford assistance in times of scarcity. Does your Honour think that the principles laid down by the Board were considered in any degree by the local officers to preclude them from expecting or asking direct assistance from Government?—I was not aware that the Board had circulated that report. It was a very natural thing for them to do, and I suppose they circulated the orders of Government with it.

44. It appears that in pursuance of a determination of the Pooree Relief Committee, Mr. Barlow also addressed Mr. Schalch, then chairman of the Calcutta municipality, regarding the distress in his district, with the view of obtaining assistance. Was that circumstance brought to your Honour's notice?—I never heard of it.

45. Mr. Barlow's reports during March and April were much less frequent and much less urgent than those he had previously sent. Does it appear to your Honour now that he was labouring under a misapprehension as to what aid he might expect from Government?—I have looked through his letters for the purpose of satisfying myself on that point, and I cannot find anywhere a trace of any feeling on his part that he was precluded from making any request, or that the Government would not accede to any request. He was repeatedly asked what more Government could do, and he replied that Government could do nothing more.

46. Was the crime and want in Balasore brought to your Honour's notice at an early date? There is an allusion in the letter of the 7th April that the Government had demi-official information?—The first I heard of it was on the 2nd of March, in Calcutta; but I do not remember the demi-official correspondence referred to.

47. Before your Honour left Calcutta for Darjeeling, was it by anyone, as far as your Honour remembers, brought to your Honour's notice that there was a famine of a very severe character in Balasore?—I had not any information on the subject before I left Calcutta, beyond what is contained in the papers before the Commission.

48. Was the Commissioner's absence from Mohurbhunj from the 20th April to the 21st or 22nd May absolutely necessary?—I think that the maintenance of the peace in Mohurbhunj, and in the surrounding districts, made it absolutely necessary for him to go there.

49. We find, at the most critical period, when the famine was rapidly increasing, the reports, both from Pooree and Balasore, were forwarded to Government by an extremely roundabout channel, in a very dilatory manner. Does your Honour consider that the local officers were in fault for not addressing Government in a more emergent and direct manner. For instance, the superintendent of police at Balasore having reported in extremely gloomy terms regarding the prospects of the districts on the 27th March, it does not appear that the report reached Government till the 11th May, and the Collector of Pooree having made a report, in which he depicted things in a very gloomy view on the 10th May, that report did not reach Government till the end of May?—No doubt the letters ought to have been forwarded at once to Government; but the reason why they were not was because the Commissioner was absent at Mohurbhunj, and his attention was entirely taken up with the state of affairs there.

50. Does your Honour think that the Commissioner seems to have made such arrangements as were necessary for putting the local officers into intimate communication with the Board and Government regarding the serious state of things which he admits that he realised before he went to Mohurbhunj?—It would depend on what his impressions were. He does not seem to have had an impression that there was such a serious state of things, or he would not have gone to Mohurbhunj.

51. When the local officers became thoroughly aware of the state of things, does your Honour think that they acted with sufficient promptitude?—No, I don't think they did. I think they were bound to lay the whole facts of the case prominently before Government. At the same time, I think great allowances should be made for them. I don't think any of them realised the serious position of affairs till towards the end of May.

52. In the end of May and first days of June, does your Honour think things were sufficiently reported?—I think, after the 28th May, there was no want of reports and information.

53. When your Honour returned from Calcutta, did your Honour think that all was done that it was possible to have done?—All that I thought was, that the importation should have begun somewhat earlier. I think the Board of Revenue carried on the importations as well and as expeditiously as it was possible to do, after they received the orders.

54. Your Honour does not think that the local officers were at any time in any degree deterred from stating fully all the information that they might have afforded by the feeling that they had not the machinery for substantiating all that they might hazard?—I have no ground for supposing that they were deterred from representing what they knew by any circumstance whatever. I think that every encouragement was given to them to communicate their views, both officially and unofficially.

55. Is it at all to be inferred from your Honour's letter to Mr. Chapman, of the 11th June, that your Honour thought that some of the officers were inclined to make random statements of a too alarming character, which were not supported by ascertained facts?—No; what I think I alluded to in that letter was long unnecessary disquisitions. My impression

now

The Hon. Sir C. Beadon, K.C.S.I.

5 March 1867.

now is, that I objected to the publication of long disquisitions. I do not think I at all meant that they should suppose that I found fault with them for reporting. On the contrary, I had always encouraged them to report as fully as possible. What I objected to was the publication of irrelevant disquisitions. I said that what the public wanted were facts.

56. In the course of the relief operations ordered by Government, was your Honour satisfied with the conduct of them, that they were conducted as efficiently as they could have been under the circumstances?—I think that, considering the difficulties under which the Board of Revenue had to act, the arrangements were as efficient as possible.

57. Was it brought to your Honour's notice that there was in October a considerable shortness of importations, which led to a curtailment of the supply of grain at that time, and did your Honour think it sufficiently accounted for?—Yes; I had some conversation with Mr. Schalch about it, and he explained that it was owing to an unfortunate mistake, in which, I think, the contractors or shippers were concerned.

58. Was it with your Honour's express knowledge and consent that Mr. Schalch and Colonel Pughe left Calcutta in the latter part of May?—Yes; it seems that previously to that time I had told Mr. Schalch that I wished him to come up to Darjeeling, as there were several matters that I wanted to discuss with him.

59. And again, in September, was it with your Honour's direction or consent that Mr. Schlach returned to Darjeeling?—Yes.

60. Was it at any time brought to your Honour's notice by the officers of the Public Works Department and by the Chief Engineer and Secretary that, as a matter of fact, the public works started for the relief of the starving were carried on on an extremely small scale during all the early months of the year, and that the money granted was never expended?—Certainly not. It was not till after we returned to Calcutta from Darjeeling that it was brought to my notice that the work done was so little, and then it was that fresh orders were issued. Nothing was reported at the time. There were general reports of Mr. Crommelin about the difficulty of getting labourers, which resulted in the order that he was to pay in grain, on the 2nd June.

61. Does your Honour not think that throughout those operations the efficiency of the action of the Government has been a good deal cramped by the fact that so many of the officers were new to the district and division in which they were acting; and do you not think that generally the efficiency of the administration would be improved, especially under extraordinary circumstances, if any scheme could be devised by which the experience of officers in their respective parts of Bengal might be increased?—I have not the slightest hesitation in giving assent to that general proposition, and it has always been my view to keep officers in one district. If officers of local experience and knowledge had been in Cuttack, the result might have been different; but in the case of Orissa it was absolutely unavoidable. Mr. Shore, the Commissioner, had just retired from the service; Mr. Money had gone on furlough before the famine had at all developed itself, and Mr. Barlow also went home on furlough, after suffering very severely in health; he did not go till October, and only stayed because he was anxious to do what he could. Mr. Fisher sent up a medical certificate, and we were obliged to allow him to go. I am of opinion that it is impossible to make arrangements to keep officers in their districts on account of the frequency of changes from ill health, retirement, and the like.

No. 124.—Lord H. Ulick Browne, Magistrate and Collector of *Nuddea*.

Lord H. Ulick Browne.

[Exmained in Calcutta, 18th February 1867.]

18 February 1867.

1. *Q.* Please tell us what parts of your district were especially affected by the failure of the rains in the autumn of 1865?—*A.* Of the six subdivisions of the district, the crops failed pretty generally in Kishnagur, Chooadangah, Ranaghat, and Meherpore, but not so much in Kooshtea and Bongong; the worst places were parts of Chooadanagh and Kishnagur.

2. In what proportion of your whole district was the failure so complete as might cause a famine?—The actual result in famine depends on several circumstances, beyond the mere failure of the autumn crop. I think that in two-thirds of the district, the crop was a decided failure.

3. In those two-thirds of the district, have you formed any estimate as to what proportion of the crop actually failed in the autumn of 1865, in comparison with an average crop?—I have not formed any reliable estimate, as I think it impossible to do so; but I should say, as a rough estimate, that about 10-16ths of the crop failed.

4. And in the parts of Chooadanagh and Kishnagur, which you describe as the worst parts, do you think that the failure was greater?—In one or two other localities it may have been as bad as in the actually starving districts; other circumstances caused the parts to which I have referred to suffer more.

5. What are the other circumstances to which you allude?—The people generally are not so well off in those parts; they do not raise such good cold weather crops. They had suffered more from the effects of the cyclone, and also in part from the litigation in connection with indigo and rent disputes. In Chooadanagh, certainly, their resources were considerably diminished. But as regards the north-west of the Khansnagur subdivision there

Lord H. Ulick Browne.

18 February 1867.

there was a special cause; in 1866 a great inundation caused great destruction to the early rice crop.

6. Have you been able to form an opinion whether, in the country immediately surrounding your own district, the failure was not as great as in your own?—Certainly in Jessore there was no distress to speak of; I understand they have more extensive cold weather crops, and also date cultivation and other resources.

7. Do you think that the failure of the crop in a great part of your own district was due to a smaller rainfall than in the neighbouring districts, or that it was a higher and drier country?—Nuddea is not higher than the western part of Jessore; but in the latter district, the people are much richer, and I attribute the difference in the two districts a great deal more to the wealth and resources of the people than to any difference in the rainfall.

8. To what do you attribute the greater wealth and resources of the people in Jessore in comparison with Nuddea?—Principally to the date cultivation. I do not know why the date cultivation has been introduced to a much larger extent in Jessore than in Nuddea; in those parts of Nuddea where there is a date crop, the people are certainly better off.

9. Have you any machinery in your district by which you can obtain information regarding the out-turn of crops, and such matters?—None whatever.

10. The system of subdivisions has been introduced into your district more than in others; are the subdivisional officers usually native officers of experience, and in some sense at the top of their own profession, or are they more frequently European officers at the bottom of the tree, as it were?—They are generally European officers of from two to four years' standing.

11. Have you sufficient acquaintance with other parts of India to judge whether the Bengal subdivisional officer in any degree supplies the place of the tehsildar in other parts of India?—I have no sufficient knowledge of the duties of the tehsildar in other parts of India to enable me to answer.

12. How many subdivisions are there in Nuddea?—Five subdivisions and a sudder subdivision, in an area of 3,500 square miles, and a land revenue of 11 lakhs. The population is about one million.

13. When was your attention first drawn to the failure of the crops, and when did you first form the opinion that it would lead to a famine?—My attention was drawn to the failure of the crops long before I thought it would lead to famine. I had at first no reason to suppose that it would lead to famine. About February 1866, one or two incidents came to my notice which led me to think that there would be something approaching to a famine before the second rice crop of 1866 could be reaped.

14. What were the incidents which first led you to apprehend famine?—For instance, about February, it came to my notice incidentally that a woman had picked berries off a tree for food, in consequence of her neighbours saying that they were unable to give her charity any longer. I also obtained a good deal of information of a general character.

15. When did you first take any measures with the view of obtaining the means of alleviating the distress?—As soon as I thought there was any necessity for it. Mr. Schurr, a missionary in the district, was the first to make a complaint in the matter. Either he or the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society wrote to Government in March, and complained of the great distress in Mr. Schurr's neighbourhood, and asked for some relief for the people. On this an inquiry was ordered, and was instituted by me all over the district. The result was, that I was of opinion that the time had come for relief works to be undertaken in some parts of the district.

16. In January 1866, five lakhs of rupees were granted by the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, as a grant in aid to local funds for famine works, and this sum seems to have been principally appropriated to railway feeders; were not many of those in your district, and were they effectual for the relief of the distressed poor?—From the replies received from the Executive Engineers of Nuddea and Berhampore, I gather that no money was expended for special works on feeder roads, with a view to provide employment for the distressed, in addition to the ordinary grants for the year.

17. But in the early months of 1866, were feeder roads being actively carried on in your district, and were the arrangements such as to give employment to the poor?—To the best of my knowledge, work was progressing on most of the feeders, and of course assisted materially in giving employment to the distressed.

18. Do you know whether the work just alluded to was carried on under the ordinary system of petty contracts, or whether any special arrangements were made to enable distressed people to obtain work with facility?—I have no knowledge of the matter.

19. Will you state the result of your application for the special works for the relief of the distressed, and what works were undertaken for the purpose?—On the 30th of April, in reporting the result of my inquiries as to the state of the distress, I roughly estimated that, in one shape or another, a lakh of rupees would probably be required before the crisis terminated, and asked for money at once for relief works. On the 3rd of May, the Commissioner of the division authorized the expenditure of 20,000 rupees from the Annual Road Fund Allotment of the year 1866–67, and directed the formation of relief committees. With this sum, surface repairs of roads were commenced all over the district where there was any distress. A central relief committee at Kishnagur, and several sub-committees in different parts of the district were formed; subscriptions were collected on account of charitable relief to be given to those unable to work at hard out-of-door labour, and the Commissioner was asked to obtain assistance to this charitable fund from Government.

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Lord H. Ulick Browne.

18 February 1867.

On the 30th of May the Commissioner intimated that the Government had sanctioned 5,000 rupees for Nuddea, and enclosed a letter from the Board of Revenue, asking what the Relief Committee intended to do with the money if placed at their disposal; also intimating that no large sums could be allotted to any particular district. On the 1st of June I replied, stating that the money would be spent in purchasing food, that the distress was getting worse and worse, and that the sooner money was sent, the better. I further stated that I had no doubt whatever that Government would have to give a great deal more money before the crisis had passed over. On the 15th of that month a further application was made by the Secretary of the Relief Committee for 5,000 rupees. On the 16th I reported in continuation, that things were getting worse, and that there was every probability of their becoming still worse later in the season; that the 20,000 rupees granted for relief works was being expended fast, and that more would be wanted very shortly. I pressed the immediate commencement of all public works that would, in the ordinary course of things, not be commenced till the cold weather. I expressed a hope that there would be no more delay in sending the 5,000 rupees for the charitable relief fund, as the local subscriptions were nearly exhausted. I repeated my recommendation that a lakh of rupees should be set aside for relief works, to be granted by degrees as the Commissioner might become satisfied that it was required, lest the delay between making an application and its being granted might be attended with serious consequences the poor. On the 20th of June I received a cheque for 5,000 rupees for charitable relief. On the 28th of June I recommended special expenditure on the imperial road to Moorshedabad. On the 9th of July the Commissioner intimated that the Board of Revenue had asked Government to give employment in public works. On the 12th the Commissioner sent me a copy of a letter from Government in reply to a letter from him asking for a further grant of 30,000 rupees for relief works. Both Government and the Commissioner wished to know what had been done with the 20,000 rupees, and what works it was proposed to undertake with the 30,000 rupees. On the 17th I replied, stating generally what works were required, and explained that it was impossible to give any detailed estimates; that in order to give relief to starving and weak people, we must be prepared to make a sacrifice as to the value of the work done, in order to give relief to the people who needed it within a reasonable distance from their own homes. On the 4th of August the 30,000 rupees were granted, on the Commissioner supporting my application, and further requisition for estimates was received. I did not expend the whole of the last grant, but the greater part of it; at a subsequent date part of it was transferred to other districts; besides the first grant of 5,000 rupees, further sums were subsequently received for charitable relief from the Board of Revenue. As respects the imperial road to Moorshedabad, the sum of nearly 23,000 rupees was expended between August and November.

20. Are we to understand that up to August no special works were undertaken for the relief of the distress by the Public Works Department as distinguished from the local funds, and that from August and onward, the work on the Moorshedabad road that you have mentioned was the only work undertaken for the purpose?—I do not know what sum was sanctioned as the ordinary annual allotment for feeder roads during the years 1865-66 and 1866-67, nor what was expended, and I am consequently unable to say whether any additional grant was or was not expended during the season; but, as I said before, I gather from the reply of the executive engineer that there was no such additional expenditure. Correct information on this point can be obtained from the Nuddea executive engineer.

21. Are you yourself aware of any works of an altogether distinctive character undertaken for relief by the Public Works Department other than the Moorshedabad road?—I am not aware of any.

22. On the Moorshedabad road, were the arrangements specially adopted for the relief of the poor, and what was the nature of the arrangement?—The executive engineer of Berhampore came to Kishnagur to consult with me on the way in which the repairs of the road should be carried out, and it was arranged so as to exclude contractors altogether, the work being paid for by contract with the actual labourers themselves.

23. Do you think that the work was in practice effectual to give relief to the starving?—Yes; it was so to a very great extent. The works extended over about 18 miles through districts which had suffered severely from the floods of 1866, and gave efficient relief.

24. Will you explain the nature and amount of the local funds of your district applicable to road-making and such works?—The funds are derived from collections from ferries, tolls, and cattle pounds, and also from the receipts of the Nuddea rivers and Calcutta Canal tolls. No portion of these funds is devoted exclusively to the district where they are raised, except in the case of the funds of municipalities. All the other funds from tolls, ferries, and pounds are united in a common fund for the whole of the lower provinces, and the money is allotted by the Government in two branches; one is the general branch for feeder roads and such works conducted by the Public Works Department, the other is the local branch for repairs and construction of roads and bridges by the district magistrate.

25. About what amount is usually receeived by your district?—I do not know what is spent in the general branch. In the local branch, last season (1866-67) the amount allotted was 45,000 rupees, and in the previous year (1865-66) 38,400 rupees.

26. Have you reason to suppose that the metropolitan districts, such as yours, obtain a much larger share of the funds than other districts, such as Orissa, for instance?—Yes; I understand that to be the case as a rule, subject to such exceptions as Tirhoot, which is at a considerable distance, but receives a larger amount than any other district.

Lord H. Ulick Browne.

18 February 1867.

27. To what do you attribute this disparity in the assignment of the funds?—I consider it is all part of a system of advanced administration; that is to say, in the districts that have been fully subdivided and fully officered, more is known of the wants of the district in the matter of communications as in other matters; there are also better means through the subdivisional officers of seeing to the proper expenditure of money allotted for roads.

28. Do you think that districts which contain people capable of making their wants known, and urging them efficiently on the Government, get a much larger share than those whose wants are not thus made known?—Yes, as a rule, I believe that to be the case.

29. At the time when you first became aware of the existence of distress in your district, had you a good sum available for local works?—The state of the case was this: the distress began about the end of March and beginning of April, and there was very little of the allotment of the current year in hand; but on the 1st of May the allotment of the next year became available; under ordinary circumstances, the expenditure of that money would not have commenced till November, but the Commissioner authorised me to expend some of it at once.

30. Taking into account both your ordinary local fund income, and the extraordinary grants you received, will you explain to what extent and in what manner local funds became available for the relief of the distress during the famine?—The sum of 40,000 rupees was expended under my especial instructions on relief works. This sum consisted,—1st, of an extraordinary grant of 20,000 rupees given to replace a similar sum which the Commissioner had at first authorized me to expend from the annual road allotment; I believe it came from some imperial funds; 2nd, a further sum of 20,000 rupees, being a portion of the 30,000 rupees subsequently granted for the same purpose (the balance of 10,000 rupees being, as before stated, transferred to other districts). Owing to these grants the annual road fund allotment remained available for the work for which it had been originally intended.

31. Were the ordinary works pushed on to an extraordinary extent between the months of May and November, or were they extended in the ordinary course?—I began to expend the money, but being replaced, it became again available, and in November the ordinary income was nearly intact.

32. What was the system pursued by you in carrying on relief works from local funds?—The money was expended under my own superintendence with the assistance of the subdivisional officers and European and native residents; it was expended in repairs of roads, and also in digging tanks and repairing bunds; one or two new roads were also commenced.

33. What was the system of paying labour adopted by you?—I adopted the system of daily wages to each person either in money or food. Payment was chiefly in money, as it was found that we had enough to do in distributing charitable relief in food.

34. Did you find that the people worked willingly, and that the system was successful for their relief?—Yes, certainly.

35. Did you find that under that system you got a large proportion of the value of your money?—The value obtained varied considerably according to the means and superintendence available. In some works I got a much better return than I had thought possible, considering how many weak people and women and children were employed; in other places where close supervision was impossible, and above all cases where the people had suffered from several months of privation, the return of work was small in proportion to the amount expended; but, on the whole, I can point to some very successful works as the result of employing people in distress.

36. Are you able to form an estimate as to what proportion of the full value of labour obtainable in ordinary times was obtained during the famine?—On an average I think I got about half the value, but a great deal more in some places.

37. Was there much emigration from your district to Calcutta and elsewhere?—I made no special inquiries on the subject. I believe there was not much emigration. A few more people than usual may have gone to cut grain in the Soonderbunds, and so on; but there was no general emigration as far as I heard.

38. Did you receive any instructions to prevent emigration as much as possible, or did you attempt to prevent or discourage it?—I heard nothing about it, as far as I remember; the subject was never mentioned to me in any letter, and there was no occasion to stop anybody.

39. Will you explain the system of charitable relief adopted in your district?—The ordinary system was to distribute at depôts a certain quantity of food and one pice to each person considered to be in distress. In a few cases of the more respectable people, relief was given without requiring the recipients to come to the depôts, but these instances were extremely rare. Relief was also given in supplying materials to weavers, and paying them daily for their labour; this was chiefly in Kishnaghur, and the result was sometimes successful, even in a financial point of view. In Kishnaghur about 1,330 rupees were spent in relieving and purchasing materials for weavers, and the whole of the amount was subsequently realised by sale of the cloth woven. The result was, that about 300 people were relieved for two months without any real expenditure whatever.

40. Had you only these two systems of labour and gratuitous relief, or had you any intermediate system of selling grain below the market rate?—No; we did not sell at all.

41. In how many places, and to what extent, was gratuitous relief given?—There were about 16 depôts at which extensive operations were carried on, and about 25 other centres of

of relief through non-official residents scattered here and there in different parts of the district. In the worst weeks the daily average of persons under charitable relief was from 8,600 to 10,700.

42. What was the quantity of food given to each person?—We at first fixed an average of half a seer of rice and one pice for each member of a family; subsequently, in accordance with the orders of the Board of Revenue, the quantity of rice was reduced to six chittacks for adults and four chittacks for children, the pice being paid as before.

43. Did you think that this latter quantity was sufficient?—No; I think that after so many months of privation, no smaller average than half a seer was sufficient; of course the lesser quantity would keep people alive.

44. What was the test of admission to gratuitous relief?—Every effort was made by inquiries through village gomashtas, &c., to ascertain if applicants were proper subjects for relief, and when the relief was in full operation, every one who assisted the Relief Committee at any depôt, was particularly requested not to admit any body to relief without a certificate from the gomashta, unless the person admitting the applicant had personal knowledge of the circumstances of the individual.

45. Work being at the same time offered, were persons capable of working at any time, systematically admitted to gratuitous relief?—No; not systematically. I ascertained that in some cases native gentlemen in charge of the relief depôts were giving charitable relief to able-bodied men, but this was checked as much as possible. For a short time previously to the grant of 30,000 rupees for relief works, some persons quite fit for such work were relieved gratuitously. As soon as the grant of 30,000 rupees was intimated, a circular was issued to every depôt, requesting that all persons able to work at out-of-door labour should be referred to the relief works. I should like to mention, with reference to the answers to the last few questions, that at first the system of selection for charitable relief was not what could have been wished at every depôt; but as soon as anything was discovered, it was immediately rectified, and inquiries were constantly made with this object.

47. To what classes of persons then was gratuitous relief given?—Chiefly to the coolie or labouring class, but almost entirely to women and children, and only to men in cases of infirmity; and able-bodied men were employed on relief works.

48. Was gratuitous relief in any degree confined to those who had already become so emaciated that there could be no doubt of their starvation?—It was not entirely confined to people who were emaciated, but as a rule, there was no person receiving charitable relief who was not in such a condition as to show traces of having suffered privation for some little time.

49. Did you find that the gomashtas whom you have mentioned, were reliable as instruments for finding the necessities of the people?—No case came to my notice of their recommending unworthy objects. It is difficult to say whether, in some cases, a certificate might not have been given to a person not deserving of it.

50. In what proportion were the funds administered in charitable relief in your district, derived from public sources through the Board of Revenue, and in what proportion from local subscriptions?—Nearly 11,000 rupees from local subscriptions, and 24,500 from the Board of Revenue.

51. As respects the local subscriptions, what classes subscribed most liberally?—A few leading zemindars, Europeans, and some respectable native residents of Kishnagur, Ranaghat, and other places.

52. Was much private relief given independent of the Relief Committees, and if so, by whom?—In only one part of the district there was private charity extensively given, viz., at Ranaghat, where some leading zemindars spent 2,000 rupees in feeding and clothing distressed people; but several indigo planters and European and native zemindars did a little in this way.

53. Did not the wealthier residents of the towns distribute food as they did in Calcutta?—I believe but little was done in that way, as far as I have heard.

54. Are there many considerable towns in your district?—Not many; Santipore and Kishnagur are the only two towns of importance.

55. Was relief at any time given to the distressed in your district, in other shapes than those already mentioned?—Under the orders of Government, 5,000 rupees were given to Mr. James Hills, of Nischindpore, to be lent to his ryots, and repaid by him on the reaping of the crop in October.

56. Is that the only instance in which such an advance was made?—I was further directed by Government to send Mr. Hills such relief as he might require, for distribution to the poor in his neighbourhood, and I did so.

57. What were the months in which most distress was experienced in your district?—There was most distress during the period immediately preceding the cutting of the early rice crop, that is to say, in July; but I may say, that from the 1st of June till near the end of August, the distress was severe.

58. Is the Aus cultivation large in your district, and was the crop abundant in 1866?—It is not very large, but considerable; and in the year 1866 both a larger area was sown, and a larger crop was reaped than had been known for a great many years.

59. Was there effectual relief throughout the district at the time the Aus crop came in?—The Aus crop was not nearly sufficient wholly to relieve the distress, though it assisted materially in lowering prices.

60. In your district do you think the relief operations effectually reached the masses of the people?—Yes; I think they did.

Lord H. Ulick Browne.

18 February 1867.

61. Was there any considerable class of people who endured great privation rather than work, or come for relief?—No; I believe not.

62. Do you think that in any shape in your district, much mortality has resulted from the scarcity, either from the direct effect of want, or from disease induced by want?—It is extremely difficult to reply with accuracy, as there are no statistics; but owing to my having obtained money in sufficient time and provided relief and employment, I think that there were a very few deaths indeed from absolute starvation, and where such did occur, it was in out-of-the-way places, owing to people not having come to the relief depôts; but I believe there were more deaths than usual, owing to poor people having been reduced for some months to one meal (and that a poor one) a day. Such privation, of course, told on them in course of time, and they succumbed to illness that would not have been fatal in other years. Children in arms also died owing to their mothers' nourishment being too poor for them.

63. Was there at any time much visible mortality, such as occurs in great famines; were unburied bodies of people who died from starvation anywhere to be seen?—There was nothing of the kind in my district.

64. Had the population generally, at any time, a decidedly emaciated appearance?—All about the worst places I think there was such an appearance; and in the worst time the majority of the people showed by their appearance that they had had insufficient food for some months.

65. Were you always able to buy rice in the district, or how did you procure it?—We never attempted to buy rice and failed; but there being a general impression in the district that the stocks of rice were getting very low, and also in order to prevent a sudden rise in price at any market in consequence of the Relief Committee making extensive purchases, the Committee purchased rice at Calcutta and other places out of the district, and also from boats on the opening of the rivers.

66. Is there any enterprising bunneah class largely spread over your district?—No.

67. In whose hands is the grain trade mostly in your district?—There are a few large grain dealers at the principal towns and on the river banks; and throughout the interior, the village mahajuns buy the crops from the ryots as soon as the crops are reaped.

68. Is the business of buying from the ryots, and lending to them, almost exclusively in the hands of these village mahajuns as a separate class, or do the zemindars do much in the way of buying grain, storing it, and advancing on interest?—The business is chiefly in the hands of the mahajuns, but some zemindars also act in a similar way to the mahajuns.

69. Of what caste and class are most of the mahajuns?—There is a considerable variety of castes and classes.

70. Are the ryots generally much indebted to the mahajuns, or are they well to do?—They are almost always indebted to the mahajuns; the mahajun advances rice and money to the ryot as he requries it, and takes the whole of the ryot's crop as soon as it is reaped.

71. Are very many of the ryots deep in the books of the mahajuns, or are they merely, according to the ordinary custom, under advances which they repay at the end of the year?—I believe the advances are, generally speaking, repaid at the end of the year, but of course there are some in debt to a greater extent.

72. Do you think that the failure of the past year has much affected the ryots, or have the enhanced prices obtained by them made up for the deficiency in quantity?—I believe that the high prices obtained have not sufficiently made up for the failure, and that they have suffered as a class, but I should say not very severely. Altogether, the crops of this year have been remarkably good, and have made up to a great degree for the previous deficiency.

73. In your district is there a large proportion of ryots who have mokururee, ganteedaree, and other highly beneficial rights in the soil?—I should say not as a rule.

74. Do you find that ryots who had such rights were able to stand bad seasons better than the others?—There were no opportunities of observing this.

75. Is the proportion of ryots who have rights of occupancy very large?—No; there is a good deal of Ootbundee cultivation: *i. e.*, the cultivation is varied from year to year, is measured annually, and rent paid accordingly.

76. The Nuddea division being in the vicinity of Calcutta, is the land-owning class generally a wealthy one?—No; I think the division, considering its position, is rather the other way as regards resident zemindars; certainly it is as regards the Nuddea district.

77. Is the greater proportion of the land held by the old land-holding classes, or in the hands of purchasers?—I believe there have been considerable changes of late years. Europeans have acquired a great deal of land in the district, and many natives who have made money in different ways, have invested it in land.

78. Is most of the land held by resident or by non-resident zemindars?—A good proportion is held by non-residents.

79. Are the non-resident zemindars generally wealthy men?—I should say that the native non-residents are, as a rule, wealthy. As respects Europeans, their estates are generally in the hands of managers, who are not themselves proprietors, but there are one or two remarkable exceptions.

80. Should you say that a poor resident proprietary or a rich non-resident proprietary is most beneficial to the country?—I should say that very little is done for estates in Nuddea by either class, except perhaps the roads made by the European proprietors and managers.

81. Do you think that native zemindars, in the capacity of zemindars as distinguished from mere ordinary wealthy men, recognise any moral obligation on the part of a zemindar to support the poor of their estates in times of famine?—As a rule, I should say not.

82. And

82. And if they do not regard it as a moral obligation, is there any legal means of compelling them to support the poor?—None.

83. But do you not think that wealthy native gentlemen recognise the moral obligation of feeding the poor in times of starvation?—At such times charity is undoubtedly given, and in some cases very liberally, without inquiring whether the applicants are proper recipients of charity; but there is no such thing as a zemindar inquiring into the circumstances of his ryots.

84. Then you think that, if, in the past year, aid had not been obtained through Government, it would not have been possible to relieve the starving by any local means at your command?—Certainly; without such aid it would have been impossible.

85. Independently of charity, do the native zemindars expend much money in the improvement of their estates?—As a rule, I should say no. Sometimes they contribute towards digging a tank in a village for drinking-water.

86. When they make such contribution, is it by way of investment of reproductive capital, or merely by way of taking a share in what is considered a good work in Hindoo estimation?—They contribute as to a good work.

87. Have native zemindars often undertaken works of irrigation and such like?—I am not aware of anything of that nature having been undertaken in my district; and it was remarkable that towards the end of 1865, when the crop was perishing for want of water, there was scarcely an instance of a well being sunk even in places where the operation would have been easy and inexpensive.

88. Have the better class of ryots not sufficient energy to undertake such works?—I think they are entirely deficient in energy and much disinclined to do anything that was not done by their fathers and grandfathers.

89. To what do you attribute the want of energy on the part of ryots in your district?—I believe it natural to the Bengallee character among the lower classes.

90. Do you consider the Bengal ryots, as a rule, inferior to people of the same class in other parts of India?—In comparison with the people of Behar, of whom I know something, I should say the Bengallee agricultural classes are very inferior.

91. Is it not the case that in Jessore, which you have mentioned as comparatively rich, the date cultivation and such like has been introduced by an energetic class of ryots, the ganteedars for instance?—I do not know how the date cultivation was introduced into Jessore.

92. Have you had much experience of other districts of Bengal besides Nuddea?—I was at Hooghly for two years, and in other places for a short time.

93. Generally speaking, do you think that the nature of the zemindaree tenures as now existing, is such as to admit of an energetic individual improving his estate without much practical difficulty in respect of the co-operation of shareholders and the like?—I believe that the system of shareholders interferes very much with any such operations.

94. Is there not in Bengal Proper an extraordinary practical difficulty in respect of the division of estates?—There are very few partitions in my district. I have never heard difficulties as to carrying them out given as a reason for their not being more frequent.

95. Do you mean that generally the zemindars are content to receive their shares in the old way, and have no wish for individual property in land?—I believe that the great majority are quite content to hold property as shareholders with all its inconveniences. But the operation of Act XI of 1859, as to the opening of separate accounts, has probably had some effect in diminishing the number of partition cases.

96. In your own time have you known of the successful partition of any considerable estate begun and ended in Nuddea?—No; but one was brought to a conclusion after I joined the district. The proceedings had been almost entirely completed before my arrival, and they were reported while I was in Nuddea; but owing to a flaw brought to notice by the officer who finished the proceedings, the case was returned to be done over again.

97. Do you know when those proceedings were commenced?—I cannot remember; but I know that they lasted for some years.

98. Do not such proceedings usually last for generations?—I do not know of any lasting so long as that.

99. Then, in fact, in your own experience, you have never seen a butwarrah in Bengal brought to a conclusion?—No; but I have only been a collector in Bengal for two years. During that time, out of two cases pending, neither was brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

100. In addition to the difficulty on account of undivided shares in the same estate, is it not the case that there is much uncertainty regarding the rights of superior and inferior holders in the same land, and in respect of contingent rights owing to a very extensive system of sub-infeudation, and the great frequency of widows' holdings and such like, and that in consequence it is sometimes hard to say who is practically the landlord of any particular land?—Yes; it is often very difficult to say what the rights of different parties possessing interest in land really are, and great inconvenience arises in consequence, as, for instance, in cases of acquisition of land for public purposes, money given as compensation remains in deposit for years owing to conflicting claims and interests preventing all persons interested from giving a joint receipt or being able to prove satisfactorily to what share of the compensation each person is entitled.

101. Owing to the great complication of tenures, the absence of any authoritative record of rights, and the extent to which litigation is carried, is it not extremely difficult for any one wishing to invest money in land, to obtain a good title free from the risk or rather probability

Lord H. Ulick Browne.

18 February 1867.

bability of endless litigation?—Yes; I should say that there is considerable risk in investing in land in any case in which there are a number of shareholders and in which litigation has been going on.

102. What is the nature of the tenure of land usually acquired by Europeans?—Chiefly putnee and sub-putnee tenures; but in some cases they are zemindaree.

103. Is not a greater proportion of the land held by Europeans in the lower provinces held by mere leasehold tenures?—I think in my district they are chiefly putnee. I cannot speak confidently about other districts. In Tirhoot villages are held in farm for short terms of years, but I believe that putnee tenures prevail extensively in Bengal Proper in the case of European landowners.

104. Do many Europeans hold land for proper agricultural purposes and invest money in developing agricultural resources as distinguished from the mercantile pursuit of certain special products?—No; I believe very few.

105. What are the special products which are sought for for mercantile purposes?—In my district indigo is the only produce in the cultivation of which Europeans are engaged, excepting perhaps a very small mulberry cultivation in connection with a silk factory.

106. Is almost all the land held by Europeans in your district for the purpose of obtaining indigo?—Land is also held in the ordinary way of profits from landed property by means of rents.

107. Except in the cultivation of indigo have any Europeans embarked in considerable farms held directly by them?—I am not aware of any.

108. Have they succeeded in showing their ryots improved modes of agriculture?—I do not think that any symptoms of improved modes of agriculture are to be seen in my district owing to suggestions of European proprietors; but I believe that the ryots of Nuddea are exceedingly averse to any change.

109. Have you seen any improved modes of agriculture tried on a small scale which they might advantageously follow?—No, I have not; none have come under my observation, though attempts may have been made on a small scale. I have seen a steam plough at a factory, but that of course would never be available to a ryot.

110. Do you think that a European, undisputed owner of the land, could grow rice with advantage by hired labour?—I doubt very much; but I do not know the result of any experiment of that nature.

111. Up to what point in the progress of the people towards the cessation of distress, did you carry relief works, and on what principle did you regulate the point at which they ceased?—I tested the necessity of continuing relief works at several places and at different times by reducing the remuneration and then seeing the result in the course of four or five days. In cases where the incoming Aus crop had benefited the people considerably they went away and did not return: in other cases they went away for perhaps three or four days, but then returned quite willing to work as before at the reduced remuneration. I consider this a good test of relief works being required.

112. Do you think that the system of relief by distributing food, as it has been pursued, has had a demoralizing effect on the people, using the word in its broadest sense?—Where relief lasted for comparatively so short a time as it did in my district, I do not think any such effect would follow.

113. Judging from your experience of the past, in what form would you recommend relief of the distress in case of another famine?—I think the different ways in which relief was given in Nuddea answered satisfactorily, and I think they would be equally applicable in cases where the necessity for relief might be still greater if applied in time, that is to say, if relief works are applied in time they will save the necessity of much charitable relief. Of course, the extent to which any particular class should be relieved indirectly, such, for instance, as giving employment to weavers, would depend very much on the numbers and necessity of those particular classes. At the commencement of a famine much might be done by the construction of new roads running through and across distinct areas. The great object should be to employ people without requiring them to go any great distance from their homes, unless any great work would enable employment to be given regularly for two or three months.

114. Do you think that it is not possible to attempt what might be called out-door relief on a large scale, that is to say, by relieving the really indigent at their homes instead of requiring them to come to relief centres; or are the abuses which must result an obstacle altogether insuperable?—I think it would be liable to very great abuse, and would never recommend its being attempted, except in the case of respectable families, who would perhaps rather die than come publicly forward to a relief depôt to receive charity.

115. Is there any other form of relief than those which you have already mentioned which you could suggest?—No other sort of relief occurs to me, except perhaps selling food cheap to people who are above the point of extreme distress.

116. The public feeling having now become so sensitive as respects the miseries of the poor, that it will be impossible for Government to stand by while great misery is endured, and the resources of local private charity having proved insufficient, do you think that it would be necessary to impose some special taxation for the relief of the poor, or that the object may be effected by voluntary appeals to the general public in India and England in the case of particular calamities?—That is a question to which I have not given sufficient consideration to enable me to reply at a moment's notice.

117. Have you learnt any thing of the traditions of the people regarding the nature of the great famine in 1770, and judging of what you have seen in the past year, do you think that it

Lord H. Ulick Browne.

18 February 1867.

it is within the bounds of ordinary probability that Lower Bengal might be desolated by a famine caused by drought?—I inquired from many people about the traditions of the famine of 1770, but could never obtain any information except that it was a calamity much worse than this one. With regard to the second part of the question, it would entirely depend on the extent over which the drought might prevail. I do not know over what area the famine of 1770 extended; but as long as a considerable portion of the country has good crops, I should think it would be sufficient, with the stocks in hand, to tide over a famine year without desolating the whole of Bengal.

118. Does it seem to you that of late years the price of rice has risen more rapidly than the wages of labour?—In some districts more than others. In the district near Calcutta the disproportion is the least from all that I have heard.

119. Should you say that, generally speaking, a man depending on daily wages is worse off now than he was a few years ago?—Certainly not in my district, as a rule.

120. Do you think the class dependent on daily wages is increasing?—I have had no means of forming an opinion on that point.

121. In your district is there a large class of agricultural labourers who are not farmers on their own account?—There are considerable numbers of that class; no difficulty is experienced in getting any number of coolies for road works when required.

122. In Bengal do you think that English cloths have superseded the use of Native cloths to a great extent amongst the lowest classes?—I think they have supplanted the Native manufacture to a considerable extent.

123. Do you think that the trade of the Native weavers is dying out, and that their reduced state is more than a temporary cause of the cotton famine,—that their condition, for instance, is analogous to that of the hand-loom weavers in Great Britain?—I am unable to give a satisfactory opinion on that point; but in the towns in my district, in which there are many weavers, the numbers engaged in that employment have certainly diminished.

124. Do you think that in Nuddea a large system of artificial irrigation would be attended with commensurate advantages?—I should doubt if it would ever pay, commercially; a a famine is of rare occurrence, and when there is no famine irrigation is not required, excepting for special crops grown in very small quantities.

125. Have you heard of any partial famine to the extent of the past year occurring in the Nuddea district within the memory of man?—I have heard it mentioned that about 30 or 40 years ago there was similar distress for one year.

No. 125.—Mr. C. F. Montresor, Commissioner of *Burdwan*.

[Examined in Calcutta, 21st February 1867.]

Mr. C. F. Montresor.

21 February 1867.

1. *Q.* Since when have you been Commissioner of Burdwan?—*A.* Since June 1863.

2. Was your attention drawn to the state of the crops in the autumn of 1865?—Yes; in the latter part of it, at which time I issued a circular to all collectors, calling for weekly price lists of grain.

3. Will you tell us in general terms what you consider to have been the yield of the crops in the districts of the Burdwan division in that year?—I might say that the crops throughout the whole of the six districts suffered more or less from want of water; perhaps more so in Midnapore and Bancoorah, than in any other district. When I say Midnapore, I mean the western part of it. But my attention was attracted to the high price of grain in the south-eastern part of Midnapore, which in 1864 had been devasted by the cyclone. At that time a large quantity of rice was being exported, which was noticed by the collector, Mr. Herschel, who proceeded to that part to see how the ryots were able to pay up the instalment of the year previous, which had been postponed. The khas mehal farmers there had been allowed great indulgence, and it was left to them to regulate the remission in each village, in accordance with the destruction caused by the cyclone; that is, the terms which we offered them were not in respect to each particular village, but to each particular circle, and consequently we were not able, in offering those terms, to state precisely how the demand in each village should be postponed. The collector, therefore, went also to see about this, and that was the time the rise in price attracted attention. The result was that Mr. Herschel thought it necessary that we should grant some assistance to the people of that part, by establishing kitchens for feeding the poor; and he suggested that some loans should be made out of the khas mehal funds. One of the zemindars especially assisted Mr. Herschel while he was there. I authorised Mr. Herschel, in anticipation of the sanction of Government, to make any loans he thought necessary, out of the khas mehal funds, and to spend the money as an incentive to other landholders; but a local committee that had been formed in Midnapore thought it was wise not to spend the money. The harvest in that part of the country turned out very much better than we anticipated, and consequently no measures of relief were required. Our attention was directed not so much to the high prices at that particular time, but to the circumstance that that part of the country had previously suffered from the cyclone of 1864, and rather to the khas mehal farmers whose farms had been devasted by the hurricane.

I don't remember that there was any decided failure of crops in the greater part of the other districts, but prices had risen throughout the division. In Bancoorah the prices continued to rise, and though there had not been a material failure of the crops in some parts

Mr. C. F. Montresor.

February 1867.

of the district, there had been an exportation from the district. I was there myself in the month of January, and the crops were not so bad; they had all been reaped, and the produce had not been so very bad. I may say the same about Beerbhoom. The crops in the western part of Bancoorah and in Beerbhoom are generally cut earlier than in the other districts, and consequently the crops there did not suffer so much from the failure of the later rain.

In the district of Burdwan, though there was not a full crop, and it suffered in a great measure from the drought, there was no great distress.

In Hooghly, with the exception of the western part which joins on to the north-eastern part of Midnapore, the crops were comparatively good, and in the part of the Hooghly Collectorate, which constitutes the Howrah magistracy, the crops were almost as good as they generally are.

4. *Q.* Did you visit Midnapore in the autumn of 1865, or the very early part of 1866, and are you able to say whether, in the western parts of the district, the crops were a total failure or not?—*A.* I was at Midnapore in the month of January, and in parts adjacent to the jungle mehals. I saw that they had suffered very much from want of rain. There was not a total, but an extreme failure of the crops. The crops had all been cut. I did not, therefore, see them, but speak from what I heard.

5. Were you in the southern and western parts of Bancoorah, and did you form an opinion as respects those particular parts of that district, that there was an extreme failure of the crops?—I was in the southern part of Bancoorah in the month of January, the crops were cut when I went, and I heard that the out-turn had not been so favourable as in previous years. I should think that the crop there about Bishenpore was what I should estimate about a half crop; but in the western parts of Midnapore, I should think it was worse, because there they had less means of irrigation.

6. Will you state the condition of the parts abutting on Maunbhoom?—I was not there, and received no special information about it. The part of the country immediately to the west of Bancoorah station is in the collectorate of Maumbhoom (Pooroolia), and consequently did not come within my cognizance.

7. Is it the custom for collectors in Bengal to take particular notice of extraordinary seasons, and to make special inquiries regarding the state of the crops?—I have never known them to make any reports regarding the crops.

8. In the autumn of 1865, did you receive any instructions to make special inquiries?—No; I cannot recollect any such.

9. Have the collectors any machinery for obtaining information of such sort?—None whatever. Any allusions to such matters that they might make, would be entirely from their own observation.

10. If a collector was specially desirous of obtaining correct information, more complete than he could derive from personal observation, do you think it would be possible for a zealous officer to obtain it?—I don't think that the collectors, with the little time they have at their disposal, would be able to collect any information with any amount of accuracy.

11. Besides the inquiry made by Mr. Herschel in the tract previously devastated by the cyclone, do you know whether any of your collectors did make any special inquiries regarding the crops at the time they were reaped and cut?—I don't remember that any inquiry or report was made.

12. Did the Board of Revenue not call on you at that time, officially or demi-officially, for a report on the state of the crops and of the country?—No, they only called for returns of prices, which I find I had called for from all the collectors, before I got the orders of the Board.

13. Did you not receive any demi-official notes, in October or November, to say that the Board were making a report of the state of the crops, and wishing to know the nature and extent of the crops in each district; and did you make no report on the subject?—I don't remember any special report being called for by the Board further than the information demanded in their circular regarding the prices current in each district received in November.

14. Subsequently to the reaping of the crops, what were the first signs of distress that came to your notice?—The first signs were the increase of crime in Midnapore, which was in the months of January and February; in that district there is in those months generally an increase in the crime of dacoity, but these continued on till March and April in comparatively greater numbers.

15. Was there also an increase of crime in other districts?—Yes, in Bancoorah, about the same time, but not in Beerbhoom, or other districts to any extent.

16. Did you give special attention to the increase of crime in Midnapore and Bancoorah, and did you form any opinion as to its cause?—I went down to Midnapore in the month of April, and made special inquiries, and immediately reported to Government. The cause was the high prices of rice and the facilities with which a body of people could plunder in that part the storehouses, which themselves were very fragile and ill-protected.

17. Did you visit the Bancoorah district at that time?—Yes, and came to the same conclusion there.

18. When you were in Midnapore and Bancoorah, did you notice any signs of distress and suffering from want of food?—I saw no cases of very severe distress, but I heard a good many complaints from the poorer classes, who were in the habit of receiving gratuitous

tous food in the villages, that they could not get it any longer, and I found them moving about from place to place begging. It was subsequent to my leaving Midnapore, that Mr. Herschel, after consulting me, proceeded to the southern part of the district, towards Balasore, to ascertain whether the distress was increasing, and in the event of finding that it was so, it was proposed to establish the kitchens that he had contemplated starting in the month of November. The result was that the kitchens were immediately established, and the deputy magistrate was deputed by the magistrate to go down and superintend them.

19. Was anything done in Bancoorah in the early part of the season?—Subscriptions were collected in the early part of the season at a meeting called by the judge, Mr. Tucker, and assistance was granted to all people in distress, in the shape of offering labour. This was, I think, in March or April. Rice was also distributed to those who could not work.

20. When had you reason to suppose that the distress in Midnapore and Bancoorah was beyond the power of local charity to meet?—I should think about May or June; it was about that time that I thought larger subscriptions than those collected on the spot were necessary.

21. Up to that time, that is up to May or June, had you heard of any particular distress among the weaving and non-agricultural classes in the Hooghly district?—No, I had not in the Hooghly district, though I had known for some time that the weaver population there, owing to the introduction of English piece goods, had been in difficulties.

22. Had you learned that the weaving population of Bishenpore, in the southern part of the Bancoorah district, were specially distressed?—Yes; I heard that a great number of the journeymen weavers, as distinguished from the master weavers, had been thrown out of employ for the same reason, and were seeking employment and provisions elsewhere. I might mention that these journeymen weavers had been in the habit of receiving small salaries and food from the master weavers, who, on account of the failure of their trade, were about to discharge them. The master weavers themselves, generally speaking, up to the present time are well to do, because they deal in English cloth as well, and also cloth manufactured in other districts, and they also possess land.

23. What is the system of weaving in the Burdwan division; are there large manufacturers, or what is the relation between masters and journeymen?—There are no large manufacturers. When I use the term "master weaver," I refer to the proprietor of the looms. Some of them employ as many as six or eight or even ten weavers, and especially a great number of women. I think the business of weaving is usually carried on by people who employ such numbers, which include the members of their own family.

24. When did you first become aware that severe distress had extended to the weaving class in Hooghly?—Directly the people began to come down to Calcutta. I heard that some of the weavers, who had been relieved by public charity in the Hooghly district, had left and come down to Calcutta.

25. Had relief in the Hooghly district commenced before the weavers came down to Calcutta?—Yes; but it was not given specially to the weaver class.

26. What was the nature of the first relief that was given in the Hooghly district?—It was given by local subscriptions, collected at the instance of the Collector Mr. R. V. Cockerell, by the Deputy Collector of Jehanabad, Baboo Issun Chunder Mitter.

27. Was there not some private relief established by Mr. Turnbull before that?—Yes; and by some native zemindars in the district. Mr. Turnbull got up a subscription among the Mahomedans and Hindoos at Ghattal and took great interest in the matter.

28. Was there a great influx from the districts of your division to Calcutta?—Yes; I heard a very large number came from the sub-division of Jehanabad, representing themselves to be weavers, many of whom had not been brought up to the trade; but who, on hearing of the sympathy for the weaver class in Calcutta, applied for relief, stating themselves to be weavers. This fact was ascertained on the return of gangs of those parties who, on being directed to weave cloth on looms that had been prepared for them, were found to be altogether ignorant of the trade.

29. When you first became aware that people were going down to Calcutta, did you think it necessary to stop them, or did you receive any instructions on the subject?—I came down to the Board of Revenue, and consulted with them about it. I think that was on the 7th or 8th of August. The result was that they adopted some system here in Calcutta for returning those people to the sub-division of Jehanabad. The Board were of opinion that it was inexpedient that they should be allowed to remain in Calcutta, and many were sent back.

30. Up to that time, had any public money been granted for the relief of the distress in the Hooghly district?—No; except money available from the local funds for affording labour.

31. Had any special relief works been opened from local funds?—No; merely the ordinary works, which were carried on in the ordinary way.

32. Had you received larger grants than usual from the local funds?—No; less was received in that year than usual, owing to there being a smaller surplus fund at the disposal of the Local Government.

33. Were there any railway feeders in your division carried on at that time for the relief of the distressed?—There was only one road for which a special grant was made for the relief of people in distress.

34. What was that road, and when was the grant made?—The road was the Laghatta road, in Burdwan, and the money, I think, was given in July; but the Executive Engineer could not get labourers, and the whole of the money was not expended.

Mr. C. F. Montresor.

21 February 1867.

35. Do you know what system of paying labourers he adopted, or why he could not get labour?—I don't know whether any increased rate was given or not. There were no people available for the work; the people who were in the habit of doing such work were engaged in agricultural pursuits, and none of the weavers would work.

36. But in the months of February, March, April, May, and June, was work going on on railway feeders, and was that work in any way specially regulated to give relief to the distressed?—There were railway feeders going on throughout four districts, but I cannot say that the work was regulated in any such way. There were no special relief works in any part of the division till the month of May, when the first works of that nature were carried on in Midnapore.

37. Did you take any measures to prevent people flocking to Calcutta?—Yes, I issued a circular on the subject.

38. What was the nature of the measures taken to prevent people coming to Calcutta?—I put in a copy of my circular; but I cannot say exactly what measures were adopted, nor am I aware that any direct measures were adopted.

39. Do you think that any interference was exercised by the police and the people in charge of ferries to keep people back?—I don't think so.

40. Were people sent back from Calcutta?—I think they were just beginning to be sent back when I went on leave. I left on the 23rd of August, and was absent till the 12th of December; when I returned, the whole operations were at a close, or were just closing.

41. When the distress became more severe in Midnapore, in June and July, did you go there again?—No; I did not go there after my visit in April.

42. Do you think that in Midnapore measures of relief were taken sufficiently early?—Yes, I think they were.

43. Do you think the measures taken were sufficient when they were taken?—I think if they had had more money, more people might have been relieved, and the operations could have been very much enlarged if we had more funds available. I say this merely from what I have seen and heard since. I did not at the time ask for more money than I got.

44. What part of the Bancoorah district do you consider was the most distressed?—The south-eastern part about Bishenpoor, and also that part about Rugghoonathpoor, in the north-west.

45. Do you think that the same classes were affected in both those parts, and did they suffer from the same causes?—No; in the Bishenpoor part, the artisan class especially suffered, not so much on account of the great failure of the crops there as on account of the number of people thrown out of employ on account of the high prices of provisions. But in the north-west, which is the part bordering on north Maunbhoom, the distress was among people whom I call semi-agriculturists; they are partly labourers and partly agriculturists; they cultivate the land under the regular cultivators, and receive as remuneration a part of the produce.

46. Under the system in your division, who finds the bullocks and other necessary cattle?—The proprietor, that is the ryot, finds the bullocks, and such like. The "bhageedar" cultivator is merely a labourer, whose wages are paid by a portion of the crop. There are a great many of that class in that particular part, and they especially suffered.

47. Did the ryots, having some substantial rights in the land, fare better?—Yes.

48. Do you consider that the distress was worse in and about Bishenpoor than in and about Bancoorah itself?—I should say that the distress was worse in the town of Bishenpoor than in Bancoorah, but not in the immediate neighbourhood.

49. Are you aware that at a meeting in June a resolution was passed recognizing the necessity of sending rice out to Bishenpoor, but that no rice was sent till the middle of August, the reason given being that there was none to spare from Bancoorah, as the committee were using for relief in Bancoorah all the rice which could be imported with the small capital of 5,000 rupees, which had been granted to them by Government?—I don't remember the circumstance.

50. When were the first public funds given for the assistance of relief in Bancoorah?—On the 27th of May I sent to the Bancoorah Committee the orders of Government of the 21st instant, giving a grant of 5,000 rupees.

51. Before that, had unsuccessful applications for grants been made by the Bancoorah Committee?—I think they applied for a grant from the old relief fund. I referred the matter to the Board of Revenue, and on that I believe 5,000 rupees were granted.

52. Were not some applications made a good deal earlier in the season?—No, not for Government aid. I am quite sure of that.

53. On the 26th of May the Bancoorah authorities asked for 10,000 rupees, but up to the first week in August they had received only 5,000 rupees; and the second instalment of 5,000 rupees, which was sent in the beginning of August, was sent in compliance with another urgent application of the 13th July, repeated on the 23rd for a further grant of 10,000 rupees for the express purpose of importing rice and selling it; are you aware that this failure to supply the whole sum demanded prevented them from affording any relief whatever in the interior of the district to such places as Bishenpoor, Rugghonathpoor, and Gourangdeehee, which were recognised to be in urgent need of assistance?—That matter did not attract my attention; but one month after the committee received the 5,000 rupees, in their resolution of the 23rd June it is stated that the Government donation of 5,000 rupees has not yet been taken up for the purpose indicated in the Government resolution.

54. Did

54. Did you visit the district of Bancoorah in the months of May, June, July, or August?—Yes; I was in Bancoorah in June, from the 18th to the 20th, but not in July or August.

55. Did you then form the opinion that the sums demanded by the local authorities were or were not required?—From what I have seen and heard recently, I think that the whole sum of money applied for could have been advantageously expended, although there was always a good sum in hand.

56. Did you at the time support the demands of the local authorities or not?—The sums had been altered, but I sent all applications in original to the Board.

57. Who reduced the sum?—I must explain that the first application for 10,000 rupees and the first grant of 5,000 rupees crossed each other. On referring to the correspondence I find that on the resolution of the committee of the 23rd, I recommended that an additional grant of 5,000 rupees be made.

58. Are you aware that in the last days of July and the beginning of August there was very great pressure in Bancoorah?—The committee said there was great difficulty in purchasing rice, and were therefore importing rice from Calcutta. I believe it was reported that there was at that time no purchased stock of rice for sale. My opinion is that the sales at Bancoorah were not very judiciously managed, that is to say, rice was sold at a low rate indiscriminately to persons who could have afforded to pay a higher price.

59. On the 13th of July, in addition to the demand of 10,000 rupees for the purchase of rice, the committee recorded a resolution, asking for 10,000 rupees to be put at their disposal for the employment of labour at the rate of 2,000 rupees per month; can you explain how it is that no such sum was ever granted for works; certain specific works were also recommended which appear not to have been carried out?—I may say that resolution was forwarded in original for the consideration of the Board of Revenue, who, for want of a distinct recommendation as to the works to be undertaken, stated they were unable to make any assignment. The Board's answer is contained in their letter, No. 1765 B, dated 21st July. They also requested the Public Works Department to take into consideration the subject of giving employment to people in distress. The magistrate had also a large sum of money at his disposal for public works.

60. Before the issue of your circular of the 9th of August, had any communication reached you from Calcutta regarding the influx of people there?—I think I must have heard of it in Calcutta. I was summoned down by a telegram from the Board of Revenue to attend a meeting.

61. Who took part in that meeting?—The members of the Board, Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, who is the zemindar on whose property the weavers chiefly reside, Baboo Degumber Mitter, the Collectors of Howrah and Hooghly, Colonel Nicolls, and the Commissioner of Police for Calcutta. The meeting was held on the 8th or 9th of August.

62. Did you, at the meeting, gather that there were complaints of the influx of people in Calcutta?—Yes, the Commissoner of Police complained, and I think Mr. Chapman, who was connected with the distribution of relief going on, represented to the meeting the large number of people who had flocked in. I know that it was brought forward as a complaint, and it was with a view of getting rid of them that the meeting was held.

63. Up to that time had any public relief been given in Bishenpoor or not?—I am quite sure that some relief had been given from local subscriptions early in the season, and in July the Bancoorah Committee referred to their intention to send assistance, but I am not certain when it was sent. At one time the difficulty was to find a reliable person at Bishenpoor to whom to entrust the stores of rice; this is mentioned in the proceedings of the Committee in their resolution of the 13th of July.

64. Have you been able to form any opinion as to the extent of the mortality that has been caused, either directly or indirectly, by want in the Bancoorah district?—No; I have heard different reports of mortality, but none that I think are reliable. I might mention that with a view to get some tolerably correct data, I inquired from the magistrate and police in those districts, where a large number of cases were sent up for trial connected with grain robberies, whether any of them broke down in consequence of the absence of witnesses, owing to their death from starvation. Both in Bancoorah and Beerbhoom I could only hear of one case which fell through, owing to the want of witnesses. I don't say that no witnesses died; but I came to the conclusion that mortality was not of such a wholesale nature as to cause the cases to break down from the absence of witnesses.

65. Do you believe that there was in fact a large mortality in the Bancoorah district?—I do not think so.

66. In the early part of the season there seems to have been a question whether deaths were due to starvation or cholera; do you suppose that the cholera was in a great degree attributable to the want of food?—I believe that cholera was caused a dood deal by exposure, rather than from want, and unwholsome food. In Bancoorah, and especially in Midnapore, there are a very large number of people suffering from diseases of different kinds, who are in fact, permanent paupers and cripples, and who have always been more than half starved. These are termed "kangalees;" they were obliged to travel about in those hard times, and were consequently more exposed than usual to the inclemency of the rainy season.

67. To what do you attribute the existence of a larger class of permanent paupers in those parts than in others?—I think that I can give no satisfactory reason further than that the people in those parts live in a very poor manner, and very much on the produce of the jungles, and there is a great mortality amongst that class.

Mr. C. F. Montresor.

21 February 1867.

68. Was the assistance rendered by private charity throughout your division very large?—I should not say very large, speaking generally.

69. Did the zemindars as a body contribute very largely towards the relief?—Certainly not as a body, but some of them did very well.

70. Did the monied classes in the towns distribute food?—Some of them did, but not a large proportion of them; one man in Howrah, named Ram Sing, especially did so, and Jeebun Pal at Hooghly.

71. The Maharajah of Burdwan gave large assistance, did he not?—Yes, he did, and volunteered to take into his hands the fund organised for the support of the poor of Burdwan, and carried the relief operations with great liberality.

72. You had 6,000 rupees sanctioned for works on a road specially to give employment to the distressed weavers; did they take that employment?—There was very great difficulty in getting anybody to take employment. The weavers in particular would not; they said that their caste prohibited them from taking such work, and they would not work.

73. Do you think that they starved in consequence?—No, I don't think they did, because they had the option of going to the relief depôts.

74. Was relief given to that class of people though able-bodied?—I believe it was; some of the local committees would not refuse relief to anybody.

75. Are you aware that in Bancoorah some of the same class of people accepted earthwork?—I heard some of them did; one village especially in Beerbhoom that I examined very lately, I found to be in a very flourishing condition; many of the weavers in that village employed themselves in agricultural labour as well as in fabrics.

76. What has been the result of the deliberations as to what should be done in the way of assistance to weavers in future?—The weavers have been informed that the Government cannot continue to support them in their failing and unremunerative trade; but if they desired to work, Government would afford them every aid. The letter in which this determination was come to is a letter from the Board of Revenue, No. 175 B, dated 11th January 1867.

77. Have you ever considered the possibility of improving the means of artificial irrigation in the Bancoorah district, and is there at present in that district any system of dams?—At present there are no dams except of a petty nature made by the ryots. I have often thought that an extensive system of inclosing valleys in the undulating country might be very advantageously adopted.

78. Do the larger zemindars ever undertake such works?—I don't know of any instance of their having done so.

79. Except for works on a very large scale, such as the Irrigation Company's Works, would not the position of the zemindars make it difficult for Government to undertake such works?—Yes, unquestionably; I should not be surprised if some of the zemindars were to oppose the execution of such works.

80. Do you think that the Irrigation Company's Works will do a great deal of good?—Yes, I think so, if the assessment of the water rate is properly made, that is to say, if fair rates are asked and carefully levied.

81. Looking back, do you think that the distress which actually ensued was not fully foreseen and not realised till it did actually occur?—I don't think it was sufficiently clearly seen.

82. To what do you attribute this?—To imperfect information, and to the information which we had not being precisely correct.

83. Do you think that there is anything about the system of administration in Bengal which renders it particularly difficult to obtain information?—All the information that a Commissioner can get is through the Collector, and the Collector has really no agency at his command further than his own observation, by which he can form any estimate of the state of the crops and people in his own district.

84. Do you think that the want of this kind of machinery is a fault, and that it ought to be remedied?—I am sure it is, and it ought to be remedied.

85. How would you remedy it?—I would introduce the system in operation in the North-Western Provinces; but I am not sure that I know exactly what that system is. I hear that they have means at their command, through tehseeldars and others, by which correct statistical information can be acquired, and the state of the crops and markets known.

86. Do you think that some such system is desirable here?—Certainly, to meet such a case as we have had.

87. Do you think that the Bancoorah Relief Committee, on the whole, did well?—Yes; I think they did very well, and were very ably superintended by the judge, Mr. Tucker, who showed great liberality.

No. 126.—Mr. W. T. Tucker, Judge of *Bancoorah*.

[Examined at Calcutta, 6th March 1867].

Mr. W. T. Tucker.

6 March 1867.

I have been at Bancoorah since the 14th March 1865, and was previously in the district of Backergunge. During the rains of 1865 it was evident that the crops of that year about Bancoorah would not be in excess of a six-sixteenth crop, that is to say, there was no alarm previous to September of that year, when the rains prematurely ceased, and the latter rain being altogether wanting, the rice crop dried up. In December I made the round of the civil

civil jurisdiction of Bancoorah, visiting the Moonsiffs' Courts. About Kotulpoor the crop was a little better, possibly half; about Sonamookee and Barjorrah it did not appear to be a quarter crop. In January and February 1866 there was much rain, and the rubbee crop was entirely destroyed. This crop is, however, sown in very few places; when it was sown it was destroyed by the incessant moisture. The chief rubbee crops are kullye, mustard seed, a little barley, and sugar-cane. I had not noticed any special distress during my tour, but I heard of it about February 1866. The district is a very thinly populated one, and unless one goes into the village, distress is not easily seen. On the 28th of February Mr. Wells, magistrate and collector, Mr. Wetherall, district superintendent of police, and myself, met to concert measures of relief, and on that day I find that I have recorded in my diary, in very large letters, the word "Famine"; it was then we first understood that there was positive famine. Mr. Wells and Mr. Wetherall went out on that day to Bishenpoor, to inquire about the sickness and great distress prevalent there. On the 1st March, Messrs. Wells and Wetherall having returned, there was another committee held, to take measures against the famine. On the 6th March Mr. Wells called a famine meeting in the new bazar, and all the respectable inhabitants of the town assembled. Subscriptions were collected, and it was determined to import rice into the district. The natives did not subscribe freely at that time; the principal subscribers were Europeans. The only native who subscribed liberally was Godadhur Banerjee, Gomashta of the indigo concern of Dr. Cheke, and who has himself acquired large landed property; he has been liberal throughout. On the 12th March, Messrs. Wells and Wetherall went to Sonamookee to endeavour to raise subscriptions for building a market-place, in order to give the people labour. At that time there were about 600 poor people employed in Bancoorah in digging a tank, for which they were paid from private subscriptions. At that time there was a regular relief committee, of which I was president. In conformity with our resolution above referred to, we then bought rice in Calcutta through Messrs. Mackillop, Stewart, & Co., and imported it. So far as it went, it was advantageous, for we could not have bought any in the market; but it was a mere drop in the ocean; our fund, which was formed only from private subscriptions, not allowing of importation on a larger scale. There was at that time in the town of Bancoorah a very general idea that the mahajuns were keeping back rice, but this turned out afterwards to be false. It was very generally entertained. The people petitioned Mr. Wells to prevent export of rice from the district; there could have been no export from the town of Bancoorah itself, but there may have been a small export from villages in the part of the district adjoining Midnapore. We heard that at Midnapore pice was being distributed to the labourers, and that drew in grain. Mr. Wells left the district in May, and was succeeded by Mr. Cunliffe. Through March and April the distress increased; it became very visible in the town of Bancoorah. No application for aid was made to Government until we heard that the Governor General had sanctioned the expenditure of the balance of the North-Western Famine Fund for relieving the people of Bengal. Neither I nor any of the residents had any notion that the Government would assist in time of famine, and therefore we did not apply sooner. I was myself present in the Monghyr district some time between 1854 and 1856, when there was severe famine; there was some mortality; I myself saw the bodies of persons who had died of starvation. We got up subscriptions to relieve the starving people, and I believe no one died at Monghyr itself, but people coming from the interior of the district died from weakness before they could reach the station. At that time there was no Government aid, and no one dreamt of applying for it. I mention the matter to explain why on this more terrible occasion we did not apply earlier. That famine at Monghyr was nothing like so severe as this one; and I think it was within the compass of local relief. The rice that we imported, we sold at first at 12, and afterwards at 10, seers; in the bazar at that time the bazar rate was five-half to six seers per rupee. Up to the beginning of May I did not observe any deaths from starvation in the town of Bancoorah. In Bishenpoor there was much mortality from cholera, and it was a matter of discussion whether the cholera was caused in whole or in part by starvation. There is no doubt that at that time there was very great want at Bishenpoor; had there been a good crop, I do not think the cholera would have been so bad. During the spring months of 1866 the people about Bancoorah were gradually deteriorating, as well as those who came in from the surrounding country. The people who were employed on our tank were in a miserable state; it was begun in March; the numbers increased so rapidly that we had at last to exclude men, and to employ women and children only. We paid them at first in money, and subsequently in grain; and latterly in money, with which they were allowed to purchase at the Committee's cheap sales. I believe that there was no time at which people working at our tank could not buy enough with their daily earnings to keep themselves alive. What they earned at the tank sufficed to keep body and soul together only; nothing more. Our funds were very limited till June, and our object was to spread the relief over the greatest possible numbers. From March to May the famine was not within the compass of local relief; and if we had thought we could get aid from Government, we should certainly have applied for it. In June the misery was very great. I find in my diary of the 11th of June a note that the misery was intense, and that I went to see the sale of the last batch of rice which had been imported from private subscriptions. I wrote, "it was a terrible sight of misery." We applied first for 10,000 rupees, and got 5,000 only. Most of the money thus received was applied to importing rice from Calcutta. From that time we devoted private subscriptions to the payment of labour only. On the 25th of June the first batch arrived, and we had great difficulty in getting it across the rivers; it was partly spoiled in transit. On the 27th of June we commenced sales at 16 shops close to one another

Mr. W. T. Tucker.

6 March 1867.

other on the Musafir Khanah. The crowd was tremendous; we have sold to upwards of 5,000 persons in one day; we sold at the rate of 10 seers (80 sicca weight) for a rupee. We did not send rice into the interior for some time after we received Government rice. I do not think that the public aid received was sufficient to meet the wants of the district. Our sales had on more than one occasion to be discontinued for a few days in consequence of the failure of the supply of rice; we had not funds enough to keep up a sufficient flow of rice; this was not the only cause of the failure of the supply; sometimes our rice was delayed in transit by the difficulty of crossing rivers. If we had had more funds we could have found means of distributing it to the people. After our first applications, we continued to apply for more money than we got; in fact, we shaped our applications in view of the extent to which they would probably be complied with; that is, we applied for more than we expected to receive. If we had received the full sums for which we applied, I think we could have made good use of them; but with reference to the wants of neighbouring districts, and the sums which were granted to them, we could not have expected all that we applied for. We did not get as much as we expected. On the second occasion on which we applied for money, we asked for 10,000 rupees for importing rice, and 10,000 rupees for works. We got 5,000 rupees only for the importations, and we never got 10,000 rupees for works at all at that time. The magistrate actually had money available from the ordinary approved assignment from local funds. He never mentioned this, and it was unknown to the other members of the Committee. The Commissioner, Mr. Montresor, visited the district in June. He had to cross the river on a raft. There was, I think, no meeting of the Famine Committee while he was there. I cannot say whether he turned his attention to famine matters; the recent outbreak in the gaol was then occupying all our minds. At the time the Committee were of opinion that sufficient attention was not paid to their applications; they have since ascertained that the magistrate did not press each application as he should have done; he merely forwarded copy of the proceedings of the Committee without making the separate application regarding each matter which the Committee had directed to be forwarded. When Mr. Jenkins was in charge of the Commissionership, he did not visit Bancoorah. I do not remember any application of the Committee not being properly attended to after he took charge. The famine was then beginning to abate. As soon as it was apparent that the rice crop of 1866 would be magnificent, things began to mend. The number of applicants to purchase rice began to decrease. On the 28th of August I have noted, "not many payers; great relief;" and on the 6th of September, "distress evidenly abating." Several weeks before rice was sent to Bishenpoor it had been resolved to send it, but we could not do so as we had not more than enough rice for Bancoorah. I do not think that we were able to reach the mass of distressed people in the interior of the district until the month of August. From that month we did reach it by opening centres at different places; the district is very thinly peopled; it was difficult to select proper places for centres, and also to find trustworthy agency for superintending the operations. There were other places besides Bishenpoor to which the Committee wished to send rice long before they could do so. From August four centres were established in the district exclusive of Raneegunge; and I think that these were sufficient, as the distress was abating. I am not aware that it was specifically brought to the notice of the Commissioner that we were unable to send out rice to the places at which it was required. We sold rice at a uniform rate of 10 seers a rupee, from the time when we used the public funds. I do not remember any change in the rate; we sold at a loss. On referring to my diary book, I find that, in consequence of the shortness of rice, we sold rice dearer in the beginning of August. We made an attempt each day to exclude from the sales persons who were not properly entitled to the privilege of purchasing at cheap rates. The quantity sold each day was not limited. It was most difficult to make selections. I think the result was that every one who chose bought. There was scarcely any rice being sold in the bazar; what was sold always commanded a higher price than that sold by the Committee. I have known the rate to differ as much as 7 to 10 seers. We gave no gratuitous relief in the shape of money payments. The works were never carried on on a large scale; they were almost entirely confined to the civil station at Bancoorah. Subscriptions were promised, and some of them realised early in the season for employing labour in constructing a market-place at Bishenpoor, which is in the Gurbettah subdivision. Hemchunder Kur, the deputy magistrate in charge, levied some of the subscriptions; but there was difficulty in getting any amount, and nothing was done. I have no doubt that much good might have been done by spending the money at Bishenpoor on the object for which it was raised. What are called Bishenpore weavers are the tussur weavers generally of the Bancoorah and part of the Midnapore districts. In the Bancoorah district they fared very badly. There was little opportunity of labour for them; public works were nil. I believe that they were perfectly willing to labour at earthworks, for I know that many of that caste worked at our tank. Their weaving trade was quite at a stand-still. I do not know if many of them emigrated; I am not aware that any encouragement was given to them to emigrate; on the contrary, there were complaints that they had been allowed to go to Calcutta for food and clothing. In February they suffered from cholera, that is the residents of Bishenpoor. I have heard contradictory accounts as to the degree of mortality among them. Some people say that they have not died largely, but do not explain this; others say that the women of the better classes who did not like to go for relief died largely in their houses. I can't myself form an opinion. I think that there has been an increased mortality, but that the number of the population generally who have died from actual starvation has not been large. In my subsequent tours I did not perceive any very great reduction of the population, so

for

Mr. W. T. Tucker.

6 March 1867.

far as I could observe. I do not think that there was any very large emigration. Those who had property sold it, and the superior classes of weavers had funds. The journeymen weavers and labouring population generally must have obtained relief, but there never appeared to be an extreme want of money, it was only a want of rice; whenever rice was to be sold, the very poorest people seemed to be always ready to buy. The people seemed to be very stout and well off when I first joined the district before the famine. Even now I do not think that the people are very much impoverished; the harvest has been magnificent, and they are recovering; but they live from hand to mouth. The weavers have been told that they must change their trade, as it is no longer profitable. There is no enterprising trading class in the district. The traders are very petty, and not enterprising. There is no such trading class as there is in Behar. We offered to bring rice for them if they would pay for it, and even then they would not. I do not remember that Hem Chunder Kur applied for money for gratuitous relief at Bishenpore. One difficulty with Hem Chunder was that he would not have been able to superintend operations at Bishenpore, his head quarters being at Gurbettah. We thought he behaved badly about the money not accounted for or made use of.

No. 127.—Mr. H. M. Wetherall, District Superintendent of Police, *Bancoorah*.

[Examined in Calcutta, 6th March 1867.]

Mr. H. M. Wetherall.

6 March 1867.

I have been about 16 months in the Bancoorah district. I had before been in Purneah. I know the Bengalee language fluently. I noticed the autumn crop of 1865. I should call it a total failure, but not so much to the south as north-east and west. The previous year, the crop had been short, and prices were higher than usual, but crime was less than usual. In the latter part of 1865, prices rose not very rapidly, but steadily. It was not till April or May that they reached what I should call famine prices, *Rs.* 4. 8. to 5 rupees per maund. In February and March there was distress, but not amounting to starvation. The people of Bishenpore did not suffer so much from famine as from cholera. I attribute the cholera principally to the unhealthiness of the town and surrounding jungle. In February, the people still looked well-to-do. About April, I think starving people began to come into Bancoorah. Famine meetings had been held before that, and subscriptions raised. The people were told that nothing could avert the distress but large importations of grain. None of them would import on their own account, but one man brought up rice imported by the committee. I account for the backwardness of the dealers by combination; a few people had a monopoly. They sold rice to cultivators only, at very high rates, and took registered lands for repayment in kind; it was some of the zemindars who did this, and their ryots were preserved; two of them established feeding depôts. The traders of the town had rice, which they sold at famine rates. They imported very small quantities to keep up their prices, but rice was always to be got at Bancoorah at famine rates. In April and May, the distress in the district became very bad; crime also became very bad in those months; previously, it had not been usually bad. This crime was due to want. In June, the famine was very bad. There was mortality among those who came into the feeding depôts, that is, soon after their arrival; the average was about 80 per month in Bancoorah itself, but we did not hear of much mortality in the interior of the district. In November, when Mr. Dampier visited Bancoorah, I took special pains to ascertain the mortality. I went from village to village, but could not find a single instance in which any person had died of starvation at his own home.

At the first sign of distress, they flocked into the several centres of relief. Emigration was also going on to a great extent. Large numbers emigrated to Cachar and Assam. Some few found their way to Calcutta. Few will leave their own districts. The ryots did not leave, only the labouring classes. There was great distress among the weavers, but it is a hopeless trade. Employment was given to them in their own trade early in the season. They are principally silk weavers. Very few of them died; if they did die, it must have been from natural causes; there was plenty of employment for them. The relief committee gave employment principally from private subscriptions. In the dearest part of the famine, rice was about six local seers per rupee; that is a famine price. An ordinary labourer's wages will not suffice at that rate. Baboo Guddadhur Banerjee behaved well during the famine; he treated his ryots kindly. I should also like to mention Baboo Radhabullub Sing; he behaved well. The principal zemindars behaved well. I can't speak of the others. I think that the funds supplied by Government for relief were sufficient,—abundantly so; we returned a surplus of 3,000 rupees last month. We applied for more than we got, but what we got was sufficient. We might have imported more rice, but we wanted also public works; we did not get money for that purpose. We did not know that local funds were available, but in November, we were given to understand that 20,000 rupees of local funds had been in hand, and only 4,000 rupees or 5,000 rupees expended in ordinary repairs.

Comparing the statement of crimes for the last four years, that of 1866 is in excess of the total of the previous three years; the excess is principally in grain robberies, committed without concealment, and in which the robbers confessed, and pleaded starvation of whole families as the cause. They got provided for in gaol. The families came to the feeding depôts. To prevent high prices, I think that the railway feeder roads should be completed by bridging the rivers.

No. 128.—Mr. S. S. Hogg, Commissioner of Police, *Calcutta*, and Chairman of the Justices of the Peace.

[Examined in Calcutta, 1st April 1867.]

Mr. S. S. Hogg.

1 April 1867.

1. *Q.* When did you take charge of your office?—*A.* In the commencement of April of last year.

2. Mr. Schalch has told us that, while he was commissioner of police, a report had been called for by Government with reference to the influx of pauperism in Calcutta; was that report made by you?—I think it was called for in January, and was still unanswered when I took charge of my office.

3. What was the result of that call?—The subject was referred to a committee of justices, and they asked the commissioner of police for a report, and he informed them that there was no pauperism to a great extent at that time in Calcutta. Subsequently, before replying to Government, there was a marked increase, and the justices suggested that extraordinary measures should be adopted with the view of preventing the influx of pauperism into Calcutta. That was in the end of April or beginning of May.

4. By what body of justices was that recommendation made; by the justices in general meeting, or by sub-committee?—The justices at a general meeting assembled passed a resolution that the Government should be moved to take extraordinary measures to prevent the influx of pauperism into Calcutta.

5. What was the result of that representation?—The Government wrote and said that it must be obvious to the justices that their request could not be complied with, as Government could not take any exceptional measures to prevent paupers crowding into Calcutta.

6. What was the progress of events as regards pauperism in Calcutta?—It commenced to increase rapidly about the commencement of June, and continued increasing.

7. Up to the early part of July, where no measures taken either by the police or the municipality regarding these paupers?—In July the justices, by spontaneous action, assigned 8,000 rupees to provide shelter, and also hospital accommodation if necessary; and the Government allowed them to construct sheds on the strand bank, but the sheds were not actually constructed till August.

8. Was nothing else done in July?—No; but the Lieutenant Governor, on several occasions, spoke to me when he returned from Darjeeling, to know whether any extraordinary measures were necessary, and we came to the conclusion that no extraordinary measures were necessary at that time; the paupers that were in Calcutta, and requiring food, were being amply supplied by private charity.

9. What was the next measure adopted?—As commissioner of police, I started a relief committee, and proposed to commence the administration of public relief. I subsequently heard of the movement for a public meeting before my committee had actually begun operation.

10. When was that public meeting held?—On the 13th of August.

11. Had you any instructions as commissioner of police, to represent the Government on that occasion?—I was told demi-officially by the Lieutenant Governor, to state to the meeting what measures had been adopted up to that time, and to assure the meeting of his Honor's cordial support. I was the representative of the Government in some sense. I was chairman of the general committee started before the meeting, and continued to act as such subsequently. I was in fact, the working member.

12. The general committee appointed a sub-committee?—Yes.

13. Was there some mistake in the issuing of notices to the general committee, in consequence of which the meeting, at which the sub-committee was appointed, was very ill attended?—There was no mistake; the letters were posted, but were not delivered in time, and consequently the meeting was very badly attended.

14. After the sub-committee was appointed, did the general committee continue to meet periodically or not?—I think the general committee used to meet about once a month. It was never very largely attended. The executive committee were the working committee; they used to submit their proceedings to the general committee for confirmation at their monthly sittings. The attendance of the general committee was small, but the attendance of the executive committee was admirable.

15. Did the executive committee make any distribution of their business amongst themselves?—Practically, all the work was done by Mr. Davis and myself, and the collections were made by Mr. Wood, who had the entire management of the accounts. We were guided by resolutions passed by the executive committee.

16. After the meetings, were any steps taken to remove vagrants from the town?—There were no steps taken, so far as I am aware, by the police to interfere with the beggars of the town; but at the end of August I was very much impressed with the necessity of removing paupers from the town, and I accordingly brought the subject to the notice of the executive committee, who passed resolutions having for their object measures to remove paupers from the town. In accordance with those resolutions circulars were issued to the native gentlemen who had unnochatros, requesting them to co-operate with the executive committee, and to remove their unnochatros to Chitpore, where suitable accommodation would be placed at their disposal for the gratuitous distribution of food.

17. It has been said that the very morning after the issue of that circular, the paupers sleeping at the strand sheds erected for them, were seized by the police and carried out of the

the town: can you tell us whether that is true or not?—A day or two after the issue of those orders, some trustworthy European policemen were deputed to the strand bank, where the sheds had been constructed; they were desired to use their influence to remove the paupers to Chitpore, and accordingly about 2,000 of them proceeded there that day.

18. When you say that the police were directed to use their influence, do you mean that they were told to remove the paupers?—Only a few policemen were sent. The police undoubtedly told them to go, the strand bank being at that time nothing better than a public latrine, and it was in such a filthy state that it was almost impossible for any body to pass by; and the streets and bazaars were so infested with paupers that there was a very serious apprehension of an epidemic breaking out. At night, in every hole and corner, paupers were seen begging about, and it was by no means of unfrequent occurrence that bodies were picked up on the strand bank either dead or in a dying state. I believe that, if the executive authorities had not adopted measures for the removal of the paupers, the health of the public would have been imperilled. Before removing the paupers, ample accommodation was provided at Chitpore, and arrangements were made there on the most extensive scale for feeding them gratuitously. Chitpore is only two miles from the strand bank, and is just beyond the outskirts of Calcutta.

19. Had you previously arranged with the native gentlemen who fed the poor that they should give tickets to the paupers whom they proposed to continue feeding, and that those persons should be allowed to remain?—The managers of the unnochatros were invited to meet me, and were requested to issue tickets for the distribution of food at the different unnochatros, but this system really never was practically carried into effect, but was found to be almost impossible.

20. When the paupers were removed by the police, was any exemption made in favour of the ticket-holders?—No; none.

21. Was the relief committee consulted on the subject of removing the paupers, or was it done by you as commissioner of police?—It was done with reference to the resolutions passed by the committee. Executive action was taken in consequence of the resolution passed by the executive committee on the 30th of August.

22. Previously to that time, had any measures been taken to prevent the influx of paupers into Calcutta?—I don't know that any action was taken before that, but I remember once having met the Commissioner of Burdwan at the Board of Revenue, and the expediency of directing the magistrates to use their influence in preventing the influx of pauperism into Calcutta was discussed, and, at the same time, of taking steps to provide for them at the local centres of relief.

23. Soon after that time, were any measures taken to get the paupers out of Calcutta?—Yes; in consultation with the Board of Revenue, arrangements were made for assisting paupers to return to their own country.

24. Were efforts also used to induce the paupers to return to their homes?—The only efforts used were, by supplying them with food for the road and presenting each man with a small gratuity; no persuasion or force was used; they were all too ready to go.

25. Were not some paupers sent in a steamer to Balasore in the month of September?—Yes; and each pauper was supplied with half a maund of rice and three rupees in cash, and also with some clothing. No paupers were sent by the relief committee without the previous sanction of the Board of Revenue, with the view to their making arrangements for their reception at the districts; when the magistrate of Midnapore remonstrated against paupers being sent, the relief committee at once stopped sending paupers to their homes, and wrote officially to the Board of Revenue, stating that they would not send them.

26. Was the Government of Bengal at all consulted about the policy of removing the paupers from the town and sending them to their houses?—The Board of Revenue were the representatives of Government, and they entirely approved of the proceeding; and I imagine that I might have represented it demi-officially to the Lieutenant Governor.

27. Was the general committee of the Famine Relief Fund at all consulted?—All the proceedings of the executive committee were periodically submitted to the general committee, and received their full sanction and support. I find that on the 24th of September, by their resolution, the general committee approved and confirmed the proceedings of the executive committee. I don't think any persons were ever sent to Cuttack (except one shipment of people by a steamer supplied by the Board of Revenue), because the Board did not think it advisable to send paupers to that district.

28. We find it stated that at the meeting the following words were used by you: "It is not intended to interfere in the slightest degree with those native gentlemen who have so nobly taken the lead in supplying food to the starving multitudes;" is that a correct report, and if so, do you think that the removal of the paupers from the town was consistent with that understanding?—The report is quite correct; no interference was at any time exercised with private charity; the native gentlemen were invited to remove their unnochatros to Chitpore, and in Chitpore every facility was afforded to them to distribute food gratuitously according to their own way.

29. Was not the effect of the action of the police in removing from the town the paupers whom the natives were accustomed to feed at their own houses, to cause the cessation of private charity?—To a certain extent it was; it was my intention to clear the town, as far as possible, of paupers, and I had no reason whatever to regret the action that I took.

30. Have you any knowledge what was the largest number of paupers in Calcutta receiving

Mr. S. S. Hogg.

1 April 1867.

receiving relief from private sources at one time?—I think there were about 14,000 at one time.

31. Was the effect of the removal to Chitpore to diminish the number of paupers at all, or had you an equal number at Chitpore?—The effect was decidedly to decrease the number; at Chitpore we used to feed between 4,000 and 5,000 paupers daily, of which about 2,000 used to reside there, and the remainder used to come there for their daily meal. The action of the police was confined to about three days, and after that no measures whatever were taken to remove the paupers, who were allowed to come in and go out as they liked; it was merely necessary to use a certain degree of compulsion at the first starting, but after the first action none whatever was taken by the police, and free access to the town was allowed.

32. Do you consider that you were authorised by any law to exercise a certain degree of compulsion?—I think the general law and public safety demanded it; besides, begging about the town does come under the vagrant law, and every one of the paupers contravened that law; begging in the town renders a person liable to be punished, and as every one of them spent their whole time in begging, they could legally have been convicted as vagrants.

33. Was the result that the feeding at the unnochatros was stopped at the town?—It was not stopped, but it was greatly checked.

34. Did any large proportion of the native gentlemen, who had formerly fed the people at their own houses, feed them at Chitpore?—Baboo Rajender Mullick was the only person who did so; he did not remove his unnochatros to Chitpore, but gave 100 rupees a day to feed the paupers, and continued his donation as long as the camp continued, and he declared his approval of the measures adopted.

35. Had you reason to suppose that any serious injury had resulted from the presence of paupers in Calcutta, or was it that you only apprehended it?—Had I waited till an epidemic had broken out, executive action on my part would have been useless; I considered it my duty to anticipate the evil results that might occur, and not quietly to remain passive until remedial measures would have been useless.

37. Will you explain what were the measures adopted at Chitpore for affording relief to the starving population?—A kitchen committee was formed of native gentlemen, and they superintended generally the distribution of food; the direct executive management was placed under Mr. Graves, the best police officer at my disposal, who again was placed under the supervision of Mr. Davis. It was the duty of Mr. Graves to see that the conservancy arrangements were properly carried on, and also to maintain order in the camp.

38. Do you consider that the arrangements were successfully carried out?—I consider that the highest credit is due to Mr. Davis for the very efficient arrangements made at Chitpore; I do not believe it possible that better arrangements could have been made; I constantly visited Chitpore both morning and evening, and on no occasion had I any reason to believe that any improvement could be effected in Mr. Davis's arrangements; the Government also, with the view of providing labour for the paupers at Chitpore, ordered the digging of a canal, which had been previously resolved upon, to be at once commenced, and the persons entrusted with the execution of the work gave us every assistance in their power.

39. May we take it that about 5,000 was the maximum number fed at Chitpore, including labouring and non-labouring paupers?—Yes.

40. At that time, throughout September, were there any unnochatros going?—Rajender Mullick's was kept going to the last; in September I think about 2,000 persons were regularly fed in the town, but a great number were fed in twos and threes by the charitably disposed people; these small acts of charity did not come under public notice.

41. Can you give us an idea what was the average cost of each pauper kept at Chitpore from first to last?—The average cost was about 4 rupees per month, and of those in hospital about *Rs.* 6. 10. per head; but, of course, in a camp hastily organised it was almost impossible to conduct arrangements with full regard to economy, or to maintain a close and careful supervision over the exact expenditure incurred for the poor.

42. Do you think the total expenditure in Calcutta exceeded or fell short of the local subscriptions?—Mr. Wood, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, was in charge of the accounts, and he received all the subscriptions, and would therefore be able to give information on this point.

43. Was the mortality amongst the pauper population great?—Yes, from the beginning of August to the 2nd of December there were 10,769 received in hospital, of whom 4,276 died; that does not include those who died in the streets.

44. Have you any return from which you can give the actual number of persons who received relief?—The total number sent to their homes was 11,515, at a total cost of 24,916 rupees, inclusive of carriage, clothing, and gratuities; the cost of each man, therefore, amounted to *Rs.* 2. 2. 7½. I should therefore fancy that the total number who received relief could not have been less than 20,000; the average daily number fed in the Chitpore camp, from the commencement of August to the 2nd December, was 3,593.

45. From what parts of the country did most of the paupers come?—A vast number from Jehanabad in the Hooghly district, and they were principally of the weaver caste. There were a good number also who came from Balasore, Midnapore, and Bancoorah.

46. Were there many from Nuddea and the neighbouring districts?—Not very many.

47. What classes were there principally, other than weavers?—I am hardly prepared to say.

Mr. S. S. Hogg.

1 April 1867.

say. A great many were women, who said their husbands had told them to come and live on begging until the famine was over.

48. Did they generally arrive in an extremely emaciated state?—Yes, until the camp was formed; and there was a very marked difference after the camp had been working for a month, and then they no longer bore the appearance of a famine-stricken multitude.

49. Do you think that the life they led had a bad effect on the habits and morals of the people?—As far as possible we kept the women separate from the men; one shed was used apart for the women, and the men were not allowed to sleep there.

50. The original scheme of the Calcutta Committee was to give relief in Calcutta neighbouring towns and villages. To what extent was relief given in the neighbouring villages in August and September?—At the time we commenced operations in Chitpore, we commenced simultaneously to assist Howrah, the 24-Pergunnahs, Oolaberreah, and Bancoorah in communication with the Board of Revenue. We supplied the funds, but the executive arrangements were made by the Board. Subsequently we extended our relief operations beyond the neighbourhood (that is, from the 21st September), but even the neighbouring districts were in no way entirely dependent on us for funds, as they were supported by Government, and the Government contributions were supplemented by our funds. No direct control was exercised by us out of Calcutta.

51. You also received and cared for the orphans?—Yes, a foundling hospital was started on the strand bank. The first arrangements were made by Mr. Davis, the Deputy Commissioner of Police. Any orphans picked up in the street were sent to Sukea-street, Thannah, where arrangements were made for their maintenance. Subsequently, it became necessary to have an asylum on a large scale. The health officer of the town, Dr. Tonnerre, kindly undertook the necessary arrangements, and a foundling asylum on a large scale was started, and at the request of the lady superioress of the Loretto House, nuns were perpetually in attendance to administer to the wants of the children.

52. There was a proposal to employ paupers on works in the Chitpore Canal; what was the result?—Some hundreds of paupers, averaging from 400 to 1,000, were daily employed in digging this canal, but owing to their emaciated state and the difficulty of bringing the paupers under efficient control, very little work was got out of them. Inducements were held out to make them work by giving them extra meals, and each person also had 4 pice for a good day's work.

No. 129.—Mr. W. P. Davis, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Police, *Calcutta*.

[Examined in Calcutta, 15th April 1867.]

Mr. W. P. Davis.

15 April 1867.

1. *Q.* Were you Deputy Commissioner of Police last year?—*A.* Yes, I was Officiating Deputy Commissioner.

2. Was your attention drawn to the influx of paupers into Calcutta early in the season?—Yes; in the end of February and beginning of March, and it continued till about the end of October.

3. When did the charitably disposed natives first commence feeding them?—In small numbers early, but in the beginning of May, I took notice that they were being largely fed.

4. Of what classes were the people you noticed?—They were mostly from Midnapore, and consisted more of women and children than men.

5. Did they arrive in an extremely emaciated and bad state?—Yes.

6. Did you gather from them whether at that time measures of relief were taken in the parts from whence they came?—I could not gather from them that any extensive measures of relief were taken.

7. When did the weavers of Jehanabad and Bishenpore first commence to come in?—In large numbers in the end of May and beginning of June; they were all in a very wretched state, both weavers and others.

8. In May, June, and July, was ample food for all provided at the native unnochatros?—Yes, I think so. But there were a great many who could not crawl to the unnochatros All who went got relief. Those who could not crawl to the unnochatros were taken by the police to the hospitals.

9. When were public measures first taken to relieve the poor?—I believe the first measures were taken when sheds were built on the strand bank, and then I got some food sent down to the sheds. But all those lying in a state unable to take care of themselves were from the very first sent to hospital.

10. Throughout was any one ever left to die whom the police could not carry to hospital?—None that the police saw. I never heard of any not being taken from want of hospital accommodation.

11. Was there much casual mortality in the streets in June and July?—A great deal. I noticed a great deal of mortality amongst children, especially from over-feeding, after having been a long time without food.

12. Have you any return of the number found dead in the streets?—I have not; but it could be got from Major Reverley, the present Deputy Commissioner of Police.

13. After the meeting of the 13th of August, between that time and the end of August, did the police in any way interfere with beggars in the town?—On the 18th of August, I went down to the strand bank, and told the people that there would be a distribution of cloth at Chitpore, and about 700 or 800 went. Previously to that I had personally distributed many thousand

Mr. W. P. Davis.

15 April 1867.

thousand yarns of cloth. The police impressed on the paupers that they would be fed and clothed at Chitpore. The paupers remained in the town by hundreds till some time in the end of September, when the sheds were pulled down.

14. When were feeding arrangements first made at Chitpore?—The 18th of August was the first day on which the feeding commenced at Chitpore.

15. Did you not find the people come willingly to Chitpore at the mere offer of food; was it necessary to bribe them with cloth?—There was a rumour that they were going to be sent to Chitpore to be shipped to the Mauritius, and some management was required to disabuse them of the idea. The paupers did not come to Chitpore in large numbers till about the end of August.

16. We are told that immediately after the resolution of the Executive Relief Committee of the 31st of August, the police were used to remove the paupers in the town; was that the fact?—The police went about the unnochatros and different places, and told the paupers that they were to go to the camp at Chitpore, as the feeding would be stopped at the private unnochatros. The police never laid hands on them, but told them to go.

17. We find a statement that one morning about the 1st of September, the paupers were all seized in their beds in the strand sheds and taken away; is that true?—On the 30th of August the resolution to remove the paupers from the town was passed; on the 31st the circular was issued, and on the 1st of September about 2,000 paupers were taken to the camp at Chitpore. I went round on the night previous with tickets, and it was as much as I could do to prevent their crushing me for the tickets. All those who had the tickets were to appear the next day at the camp; the object of issuing the tickets was that impostors and the ordinary professional beggars of the town should not appear, but only those who were really paupers. I issued the tickets at night, and explained to the paupers that the tickets would admit them, and I am quite sure that no force was used.

18. But in the morning did the police say, "go," or were they only ready to show the way to the paupers?—The police said, "come," not "go."

19. Practically, was it not the fact that the town was cleared of paupers by the police?—They were so far cleared by the unnochatros being closed and no food being given in the town: but no measures of force were used. The unnochatros were closed at the request of the Famine Committee.

20. Did you say that after the removal in the beginning of September a good many still continued to sleep in the town?—Yes, many hundreds. I had them counted every night; we had lamps and policemen at each of the sheds of the strand bank.

21. Finally, were the sheds pulled down?—Not till the number of paupers sleeping in them diminished to less than 50 in the whole of the sheds together.

22. What were the arrangements at the Chitpore camp?—We had two separate ranges of sheds on either side of the road. On one side the women and children used to sleep, and on the other the men. The sheds would accommodate about 4,000 persons. A pucca building at some distance from the sheds was used as a kitchen, and verandah sheds all round were built for the paupers to feed under during the rains. There was a committee of native gentlemen who superintended the kitchen arrangements. Floating latrines were built in the river, and the people kept as clean as we could. The paupers who volunteered were allowed to work, and had the preference in getting their food before the others and in larger quantities. The men got 4 pice each, the women 3 pice, and the children 2 pice, for a day's work. It was not till some time in October that the Committee would allow us to make any difference. All who came were fed, unless we knew them to be professional beggars of the town.

23. Eventually, did the paupers get over their prejudice against the camp?—Entirely. When the report about sending them to the Mauritius was spread, a great many went to Burdwan, where the rajah had established an unnochatro, but the whole of them came back. They never resorted to the camp in such numbers as they did in the aggregate to the private unnochatros. The number that were fed in the camp were told off and counted daily, but with regard to those resorting to the unnochatros, it was all guess work. But still I do not think that so many were fed in any one day at the camp as at the unnochatros.

24. We were told that there was still a very large mortality. Did large numbers go to hospital from the camp?—We had two native doctors at the camp in attendance alternately, and any persons whom they thought ill were taken to the hospital in doolies kept for the purpose. The 10,000 in all that were taken to hospital were not exclusively those from the camp, but included those from the streets. Those that went home went in very good condition.

25. What was the food of the paupers in the camp?—They had balam rice, as much as they could eat; balam rice is the best common rice, not table rice. There was dall and vegetables; and at first on two days in the week, and latterly one day in the week, there was fish given to them.

26. Do you think the morals of the people were materially affected by living in large congregations?—Yes, more especially when they were in the town.

27. Can you tell us of what classes the people were?—The largest class were weavers, and the next were day-labourers.

28. Those that went home you think were thoroughly recovered as a rule?—Out of a family of six or seven there would be a child or one or two of them not thoroughly recovered, but the great majority had recovered. Many who went home came back again, especially

especially those from close by. A great many returned home during the holidays at the doorga poojah season, when we were not sending any home ourselves. Mr. W. P. Davis. 15 April 1867.

I should like to record that there was not a single accident in the camp from the first to the last. None were crushed or injured in any way.

No. 130.—Dr. C. F. Tonnerre, Health Officer of the Town of *Calcutta*.

[Examined in Calcutta, 1st April 1867.]

Dr. C. F. Tonnerre. 1 April 1867.

1. Q. You were health officer throughout the famine?—*A.* Yes.

2. When was your attention first called to the influx of pauperism in the town?—My attention was officially called to the circumstance by the Chairman of the Justices, as Commissioner of Police, on the 23rd of June, in consequence of a letter addressed to the Commissioner by the Government of Bengal.

3. Before that, had your personal attention been called to the subject?—My personal attention had been drawn to the increase of the begging population in the streets of Calcutta, consisting mainly of females and children of both sexes.

4. Had you found the sanitary state of those people to be very bad?—It was bad, inasmuch as they did not know what place to resort to, and lay at the first place convenient to themselves. There was not a great increase of mortality in June; it was said to be very great, but I find that it was not so very great as it was supposed to be.

5. You think that up to the end of June the mortality amongst the paupers was not very large?—I think so.

6. Up to that time had the general health of the town not been affected?—No.

7. In July and August was the mortality amongst the paupers very great?—Yes, in August.

8. Was the health of the general population of the town then seriously affected?—No, it was not.

9. Was the mortality amongst the pauper population due to great starvation or to disease?—It was brought on by disease, the consequence of starvation.

10. What were the diseases from which the paupers generally suffered?—Diarrhœa, dysentery, cholera, and low fever.

11. At that season and in the rainy season generally, was there a considerable degree of cholera amongst the population of the town?—In July and August there was not much increase of mortality from cholera; there was not much mortality in July and August amongst the resident population.

12. Is it your experience that cholera amongst the poorer classes, such as these paupers were and such as the classes who are strangers to this climate, is not of an infectious character, and that it does not spread amongst the population?—I think it does not spread, and is not of an infectious character.

13. Which were the months in which there was the greatest mortality amongst the paupers?—I think the mortality was greatest in July and November.

14. To what do you attribute the excess of mortality in November?—I think it was from want of proper nourishment; there was not then a single private charity in the town. There was a great prejudice to going to the Chitpore camp. The change of season also affects greatly the pauper population of Calcutta.

15. What was the general sanitary state of the town throughout 1866?—It was better than it has ever been since my appointment as health officer.

16. Have you formed any estimate of the number of distressed strangers who came into the town up to the end of July?—Not less than 18,000.

17. Do you think that was the maximum of distressed strangers in the town in any season during the famine?—I only form the estimate from those I saw fed at the unnochatros as well as at other private charities. I believe there were so many, but cannot speak definitely.

18. Did the natives show great liberality in feeding the paupers?—Yes; in fact too great liberality in some instances. Too much food was given to the paupers, and it was given in large quantities to adults as well as to children. The person most remarkable for his extensive charity was Baboo Rajender Mullick; then the Burra Bazar merchants and Bombay merchants, also some of the up-country merchants, and Hajee Zekaraiah. The unnochatros organised by Baboo Peary Churn Sircar in College-square and Moktearam Baboo's-street was also an extensive charity, and there was another charity organised by Baboo Peary Chund Mitter and his brothers, and several others in Neemtollah-street. There was also a charity got up by Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose, Judge of the Small Cause Court, and the committee of residents in Bulloram Ghose's street.

19. In August were you consulted on the question whether on sanitary grounds it was necessary to remove the paupers from the town?—No.

20. Have you formed any opinion that there was any necessity for a measure of that kind?—If the location of the paupers had been properly organised there would have been no necessity for it; but there never was any organisation as to the lodging of the paupers.

21. Were not sheds erected on the strand bank?—Yes, in two places; but that was not exactly sufficient. They were erected in other places also, but were afterwards converted into hospitals. Space could have been found in the town for the whole of the paupers.

22. Were

Dr. C. F. Tonnerre.

1 April 1867.

22. Were any sanitary arrangements made to obviate danger from the large number of paupers in June and July?—The only measures taken were that the conservancy establishment were compelled to work three hours beyond their average time, and all the places intended for the location of the paupers were provided with latrines, which offered every facility for the cleanliness and conservancy of the place.

23. Was not the result that at one time there was a very considerable amount of filth in the town?—The strand bank from the first to the last was a great nuisance. I proposed an extra conservancy establishment for the purpose, which was granted, and that was effectual so far that the night soil was removed in the morning, and the ground was covered with filth again before the next day; and as the weather was very hot, the effluvium was most noxious. It would have been possible to abate the nuisance if the police were put on watch to prevent the people soiling the place. The condition of the strand bank gave rise to a good deal of complaint; and if it had been allowed to continue in that condition, owing to the great heat of the season, it might have caused a good deal of harm to the town.

24. Was it possible to make arrangements at Chitpore with regard to night soil better than it was possible in the town?—If it were possible to gather all the paupers in Chitpore, it was easy to make proper conservancy arrangements in the place. It was easier where the people were congregated than where they were scattered about the town.

25. When the Chitpore camp was established, was the sanitary state of the town then what it should be?—It was worse. After the camp at Chitpore was established, the paupers went there to receive food and returned to the town; and it was this that created the nuisance.

26. Eventually was the difficulty got over?—Yes, by the end of October, when there was nobody left; the police had then succeeded in driving them out of the town.

27. Did the police use any direct force to get the paupers out of the town?—No; but I have seen the police marching them off like a flock of sheep to the camp.

28. On the whole, do you think it was a bad and unnecessary measure to get the paupers out of the town?—I say it was not necessary as far as the feeding of the poor was concerned, because the natives were quite prepared to feed them. But on sanitary grounds it would have been good if it could have been carried out by detaining them at Chitpore.

29. Practically, was the result to stop the unnochatros?—It was; several of the native gentlemen complained to me on the subject.

30. Was the result to provide better means of relief at Chitpore?—I don't know if they could have provided better means of relief than at the unnochatros. They were better off as far as the shelter went, but as far as the food was concerned they were not better off. The food given at the unnochatros was as it could not have been better for the purpose.

31. Was the food the paupers got at the Chitpore camp as good as could have been expected for charity?—Yes; but it was very inferior to the food given at the unnochatros. The paupers at Chitpore got better by degrees, but there was a very large mortality; 656 were sent to Casee Mitter's ghat to be burned; but this number did not include those who died in hospital.

32. Was the result of the removal to Chitpore to diminish the number of paupers that had been fed in the town before that?—Yes; it diminished the pauper population of Calcutta by more than half. I am at a loss to account for what became of the remainder; they probably went out of the town. One of the charities on the Barrackpore road, that at Bailgurriah, was greatly increased by the establishment of the Chitpore camp.

33. Was there much fever amongst the paupers in the camp?—Yes, there was a great deal of fever; I have no estimate of the mortality, as Chitpore is out of my jurisdiction.

34. Were there any other sanitary measures taken?—None but an increase of the conservancy establishment to look after the unnochatros and prevent the accumulation of filth.

35. Did you take charge of the orphan establishment?—Yes, from the 28th of August. When I took charge of it, it was a mere asylum offered to sick women and orphan children at the mint sheds. The inmates were lying on the ground on mats. They had medical attendance given to them by two native sub-assistant surgeons from the medical college. It was a kind of lying-in asylum. In the beginning there was no definite classification of the patients admitted there. The women after confinement remained in hospital if they had no family or friends, they otherwise went away. Of the children, those who were not claimed were kept in hospital until they were subsequently transferred to Ballygunge; the mothers with children who remained were also transferred. On three occasions, at their own request, they were discharged; once 24 women, another time 18, and again 18. Only four women remained, and they were kept until the asylum was transferred to the hands of the lady superioress and the nuns of the convent, and the women who were turned out were taken charge of by the nuns; these were separated from the orphans.

36. Was the orphanage entirely composed of unclaimed children, besides the women?—Entirely; every one claimed was made over; those who were claimed were under eight years of age; very few children were claimed, only about 40 or 50.

37. Among those who remained, did the elder children make any attempt to retain their caste?—So long as I remained, I did everything to prevent any infringement of caste; but the fact was that the children, and even the women, had no objection to mess in the same shed on the same mat, and the same plates were never given twice to the same persons; but still their caste was, as far as possible, retained. Baboo Rajendro Mullick gave me some money to purchase shoes for those who were suffering from cold, and several of them refused to wear shoes because they said shoes were not worn by their caste.

38. What was the sanitary condition of the orphanage?—At Ballygunge it was very good; but at the beginning there was a great mortality, because they were so much emaciated

Dr.
C. F. Tonnerre.

1 April 1867.

emaciated and reduced, and they were only kept alive by medical comforts and great attention to diet. The greatest part recovered their health, and their constitutions were very much improved and re-invigorated.

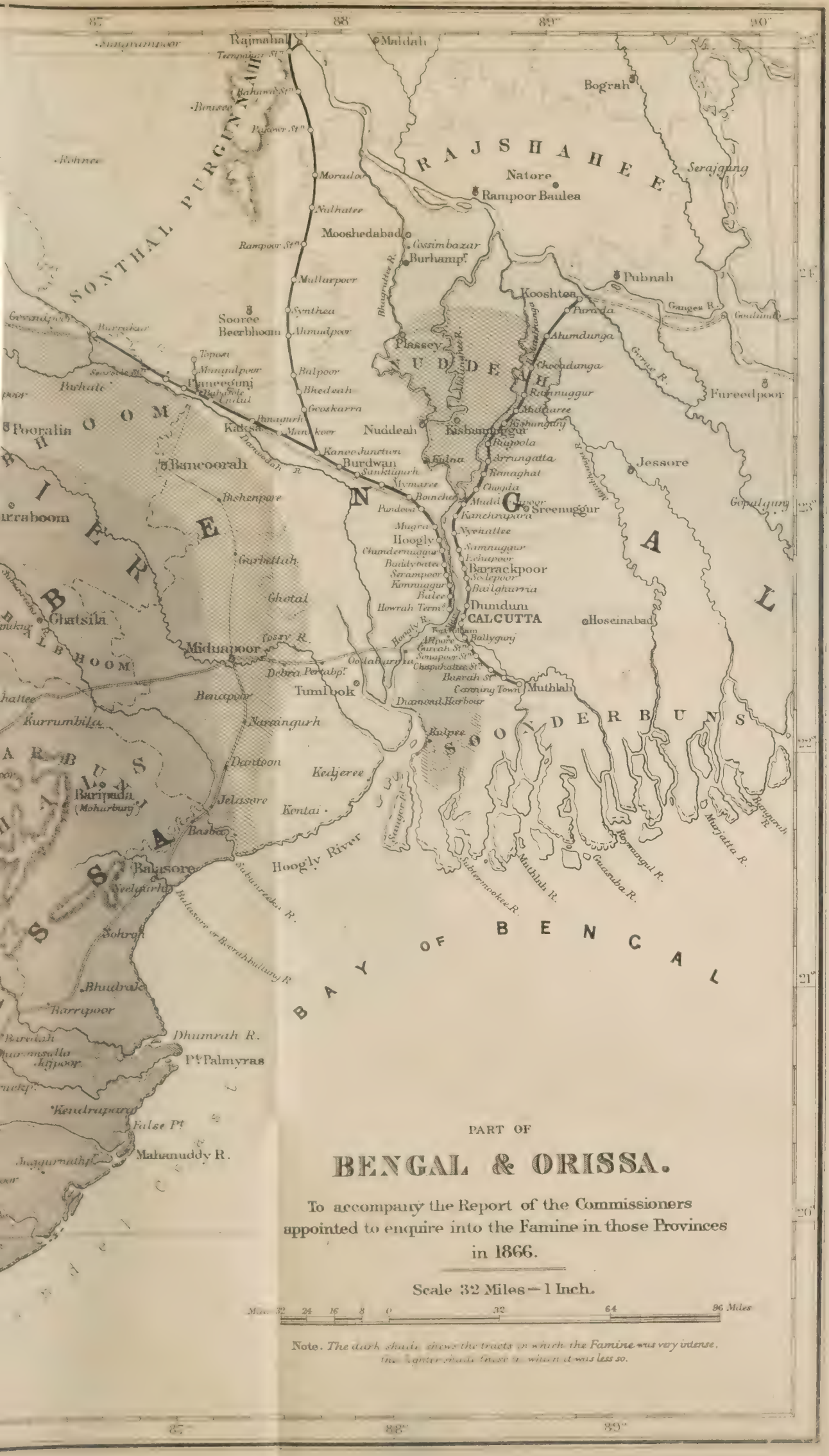
39. Had you opportunities of judging whether most of the people sent to their homes from Chitpore had recovered their health?—I had no opportunity of judging; the camp was beyond my jurisdiction.

40. Will you tell us generally what figures you have of the mortality amongst the paupers?—The total number of deaths of paupers of all sorts from June is 6,993.

41. Is it your experience that people who have been reduced to a certain point of emaciation seldom recover by any means?—The greatest care is required, and even then the majority will not recover; such care as could not be bestowed on the number of paupers in our hands.

INDEX TO PREVIOUS STATEMENTS.

	No.
Abdoollah, Moulvie Mohamed	106
Adams, F.	94
Armstrong, J. S.	57
Banerjee, Rungololl	64
Barton, E. J.	33
Batchelor, Rev. O. R.	95
Beadon, Hon. Sir C.	123
Beara, Dhanu; and Twenty-two others	38
Bond, F.	30
Bond, Captain A.	109
Boothby, G. W.	51
Bose, Khetter Mohun	8
Brahmin, Gopee Pundah	20
Browne, Lord H. U.	124
Buckley, Rev. John	34
Bux, Russool	27
Chapman, R. B.	100
Charriol, J. A.	120
Chatterjee, Ramakhoy	2
Chowdhry, Luckee Narain	35
Chowdhry, Puddum Churn	60
Chowdhry, Rughoo Nath	6
Chuckerbutty, Dwarkanath	32
Chunder, Issan, Vakeel	26
Cornell, W.	28
Crane, H. P.	25
Crommelin, A.	40
Crouch, C. P.	46
Currie, G. M.	9
Dass, Bagwan	67
Dass, Bechetranund	71
Dass, Doorjodhun	1
Dass, Mohunt Puddun Churn	63
Dass, Muddun Mohun	78
Dass, Nitoy Churn	77
Dass, Nursing Churn	5
Davis, W. P.	129
Dey, Shamanund	81
D'Souza	42
Duncan, Lieutenant F.	103
Dutt, Oodoy Churn	3
Evans, R. S.	108
Fisher, Captain G. B.	97
Gatinais, De La	72
Geary, T.	99
Ghose, Hurro Chunder	31
Ghunny, Abdool	83
Glass, J. G. H.	44
Gordon, Major W. R.	115
Green, W. R.	13
Grote, A.	112
Harris, H. A.	102
Herschel, W. J.	90
Hogg, S. S.	128
Howe, Captain	101
Jackson, Dr. N.	74
Khan, Bengalee Ruhmut-oollah	88
Kirkwood, T. M.	49
Kur, Hem Chunder	69
Kur, Rash Behary	82
Lacey, J. W.	7
Lacey, W. C.	23
Lall, Joggomohun	56
Leonard, H.	98
Levinge, H.	43
Livesay, J. J.	4
MacCullock, J.	11
MacMillan, J.	50
MacNeile, D. J.	47
Mahapatter, Chowdhry Pekladhan	62
Mahapatter, Rughoonath Santara	65
Mahapatter, Sreemunt	61
Mahomed, Noor; and Twenty-two others	54
Manson, A.	86
Miller, Rev. W.	24
Miller, Rev. A.	87
Mitter, Digumber	118
Moitee, Bagobat	10
Moncrieff, R. S.	121
Mondul, Puddolochun	79
Montresor, C. F.	125
Mookerjee, Shoshee Bhoosun	12
Mookoond Porshad, Rai Bahadoor	59
Muspratt, H.	75
Nag, Nobin Chunder	93
Newgee, Wooma Churn	37
Nicolls, Colonel J. E. D	119
Nolan, Lieutenant G.	41
Nurinder, Radhasham	58
Paharaj, Juggernath Doss	92
Palmer, E. H.	110
Parbee, Muthoora Mohun	80
Patnaik, Pooroosotum	15
Patur, Latchua	19
Phillips, Rev. J.	89
Poole, D. J.	45
Pughe, Colonel J. R.	114
Raban, H. C. B. C.	17
Ram, Golab	67
Ram, Rambugun	18
Rampini, R. F.	85
Rat Sing, Khetrebur Bhugwan	21
Ravenshaw, T. E.	53
Reilly, J. H.	111
Roy Chooramoney, Kishen Mohun	14
Roy, Gouree Sunker	70
Roy, Grish Chunder	55
Roy, Lalla Parasam	68
Rundall, Colonel F. H.	52
Schalch, V. H.	113
Schiller, F.	122
Sen, Jonardun	36
Sen, Jonardun	71
Sen, Radhanath; and others	66
Shortt, T. H. H.	29
Shuttleworth, E. T.	105
Sing, Shib Prosaud	22
Smalley, R. B.	84
Spain, W. C.	116
Surrungee, Suttyanund; and Twenty-two others	48
Swayne, Major J. D.	91
Sykes, G. S.	117
Terry, W.	96
Thomas, H. S.	107
Thompson, J. H.	16
Tonnere, Dr. C. F.	130
Tucker, W. T.	126
Wauchope, S.	73
Webster, T. K.	39
Wells, E. G.	104
Wetherall, H. M.	127
Windle, J. A.	76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BAY OF BENGAL
PART OF
BENGAL & ORISSA.
To accompany the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Famine in those Provinces in 1866.
Scale 32 Miles = 1 Inch.
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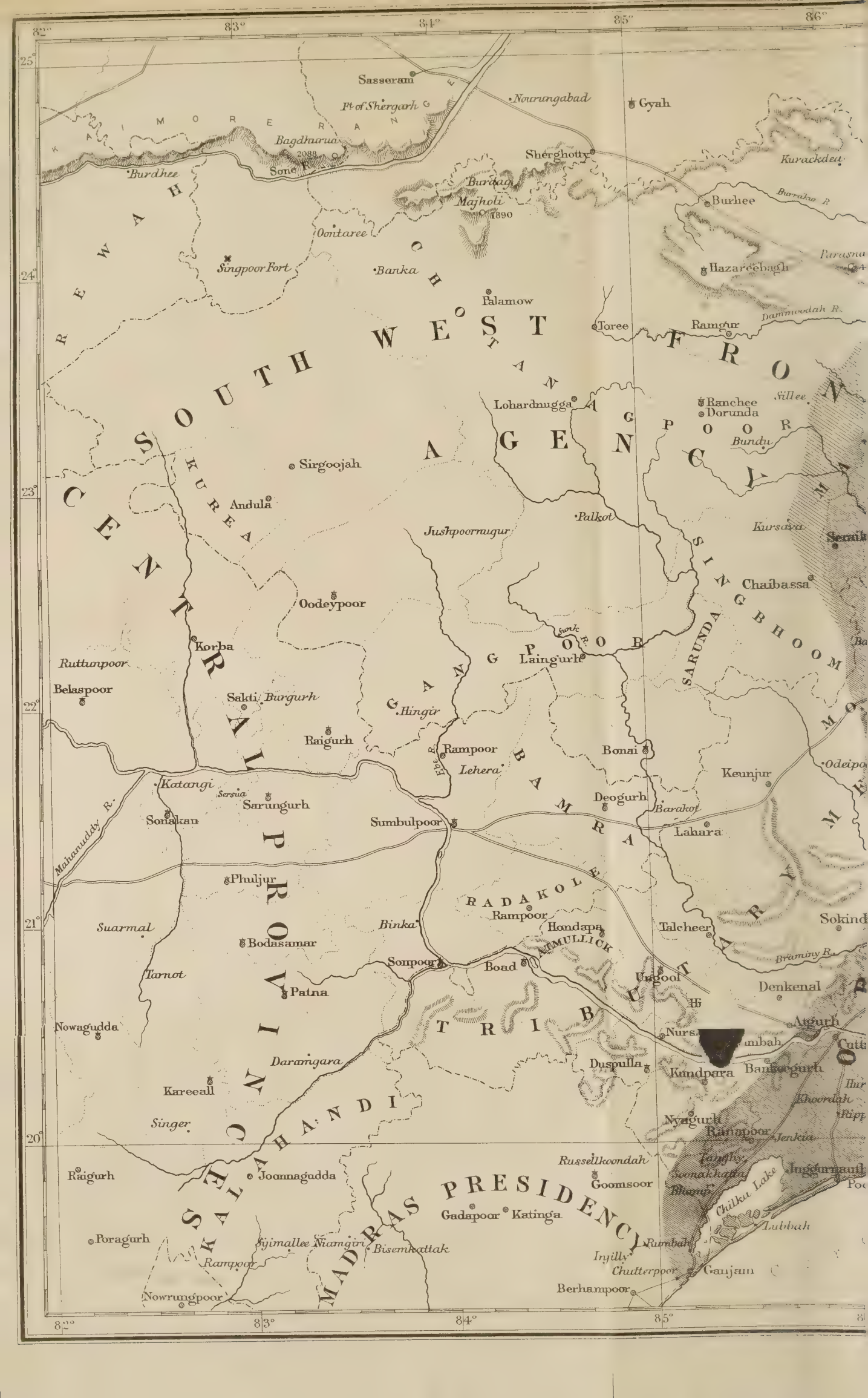
Note. The dark shade shows the tracts in which the Famine was very intense, the lighter shade those in which it was less so.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Lohardnugga
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Dorunda
Sillee
Bundu
Sirgoojah
KUREA
Andula
Jushpoornagur
Palkot
Kursawa
Chaibassa
SINGBHOOM
SARUNDA
Oodeypoor
Korba
Ruttunpoor
Belaspoor
Laingurh
Sakti
Burgurh
Hingir
Raigurh
Rampoor
Lehera
Bonai
Keunjur
Odeipo
Katangi
Sersia
Sarungurh
Deogurh
Barakot
Sonakan
Sumbulpoor
Lahara
Mahanuddy R.
CENTRAL PROVINCIAL
BAMRA
Phuljur
RADAKOL
Rampoor
Hondapa
Talcheer
Sokind
Suarmal
Binka
ANGUL
Bodasamar
Sonpoor
Boad
Brahmny R.
Tarnot
Patna
Ungool
Denkenal
TRIBUTARY
Nowagudda
Nursinghpur
Cuttack
Duspulla
Kundpara
Banpoorgurh
Daramgara
Kareeall
Singer
Khoordah
Nyagurh
Ranapoor
Jenkia
Russellkoondah
Joomnagadda
Goomsoor
Inggurnauth
Chilka Lake
Gadapoor
Katinga
Poragurh
Rampoor
Bisemkattak
Rumbah
Injilly
Chutterpoor
Ganjam
Berhampoor
Nowrungpoor
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
KALAHANDI

CORRESPONDENCE.

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 85 of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Stafford H. Northcote*, Bart., Secretary of State for India.

Sir, Simla, 14 May 1867.

We have the honour, in continuation of our Despatch No. 71, dated 22nd ultimo, to transmit a letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 1555, dated 16th April, enclosing one from the Board of Revenue, which states "that it seems clear that a copy of the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Famine has been communicated to the 'Friend of India.'"

2. So far as our means of information extend, we are not aware that the report, or any portion of it, has been communicated to an Indian newspaper, nor do we see anything in the article in question which warrants the inference that there has been such a communication.

3. Indeed, both by the Famine Commission and the Government of India, the whole of the papers connected with the case have been treated as strictly confidential.

4. In forwarding this letter, the Lieutenant Governor takes occasion to express a hope "that no judgment may be formed either by the Government of India or by the Home Government on the facts or conclusions presented in the report of the Commission, until the officers whose conduct and proceedings are impugned, have had an opportunity of explanation."

5. We would point out that the Commission was avowedly and expressly appointed to consider, amongst other points, the conduct* of the officers of Government with regard to the famine; and all the officers to whom the Commissioners have ultimately attached any blame, were examined by the Commissioners and had full opportunity of making any statements they pleased.

6. We have accordingly considered the report of the Commission not as bringing a mere accusation against individuals, but in the light of a judicial decision on ascertained facts.

7. We did not, therefore, deem it necessary to call for any replies from those officers whose conduct was unfavourably reviewed by the Commission. Had we, indeed, allowed them an opportunity of submitting argumentative replies to the report, the transmission of the papers to England must have been indefinitely delayed.

8. It is, perhaps, right to add that the late Lieutenant Governor has submitted unofficially to the Governor General copy of a paper which he appears to have addressed to yourself, and containing remarks upon the Despatch under cover of which we transmitted the Commission's report, and in the ninth paragraph of which he makes observations similar to those above answered.

9. We do not consider it expedient to enter fully into the general arguments of which the Lieutenant Governor has made use in this paper, upon which you will be able to form an opinion after reading the Commission's report and its appended documents.

10. With

* It was stated in the Resolution in the Home Department, No. 1004, appointing the Commission (which Resolution was published for general information) that "statements have been freely and publicly made attributing to officials in India a want of attention to the requirements of the occasion. It is right, therefore, not less in justice to officials concerned, than for the satisfaction of the public, that steps should be speedily taken to * * verify or correct such statements in as thorough a manner as practicable," and the tenor of the instructions to the Commission, which were also published, was to the same effect.

10. With respect, however, to the opening paragraph, we consider it necessary to say that the late Lieutenant Governor is well aware that for nearly a full month before the dispatch to England of the Commission's report, the first part and the entire correspondence* regarding it, had been before us, and had been most fully and most anxiously examined by us. The unworthy imputation, therefore, that it had not received our "attentive consideration," is, we regret to say, one that Sir Cecil Beadon should not have allowed himself to make.

11. We would also draw your attention to the documents noted in the 2nd paragraph of the paper, as sufficient to have warned the Government of India of the approach of famine in Orissa. These will all be found in the Appendix to the late Lieutenant Governor's Minute, dated the 5th January 1867, at pp. 21, 40, 163, 95, and 131 respectively. The first commences the circular of the Board of Revenue in which they stated, paragraph 20th,—"the Board see no reason to doubt that the present crop will suffice to provide food for the actual necessities of the people. This is a very important point; for if this opinion can be relied upon, there will be no famine. The Board fully believe that it can, and they have some hopes that prices will not be more unfavourable throughout the year than they now are." This communication reached the Government of India in the Home Department on the 16th December 1865.

12. The next two letters to which the Lieutenant Governor alludes were received in the department of Public Works on the 30th December 1865 and 10th January 1866, respectively. The first of these letters referred only to a portion of the Pooree district, and proposed certain works as a means of employing and relieving the distress said to be locally prevailing; and the direction to which it gave cover expressly ordered that money wages only should be paid, and that any further relief must be supplemented by the Committee formed for the purpose.

13. The letter of the 8th January referred to a proposal for an extra grant of five lacs of rupees in aid of local funds throughout Lower Bengal, specially for relieving the distressed portion of the population, and it concludes by saying "the general distress which has been so forcibly represented will be alleviated by the proposal now under consideration. The great distress in Cuttack has been met by the special arrangements reported in my communication No. 6067, (that above noticed) dated the 19th ultimo."

14. The letter of the 8th February, received on the 10th February, forwarded a communication from the Commissioner of Cuttack, reporting the existence of cholera in Pooree, and urging that pilgrims should be dissuaded for fear of infection from visiting Juggernauth this year, and only incidentally noticed that the unusual prevalence of disease was probably owing to scarcity of food, which the presence of pilgrims would seriously aggravate.

15. The letter of the 20th February, received on the 26th February, was nothing more than a report on the police hospital at Calcutta, urging that demands upon that institution were increasing and that the existing accommodation was insufficient to meet them.

16. There was nothing, however, in the correspondence to show that the demand on the institution was in any respect abnormal or greater than might generally be looked for in Calcutta. In fact, the representation as to a necessity for an increase of accommodation presumed that the demand for it was not merely temporary.

17. The last letter to which Sir Cecil Beadon alludes is that addressed to the Government of India in the Department of Public Works in reply to Sir A. Cotton's memorandum, and was received on the 31st March. Of this letter it is enough to say that its second paragraph commences as follows:—"There is no prospect of a famine in Bengal." Of the six letters, therefore, from the Government of Bengal to which the Lieutenant Governor alludes as sufficient to have warned the Government of India of the advent of a famine, one has no sort of connection with the subject; two expressly assured the Government of India

* The statement of evidence, the correspondence relating to the first Part, and the greater portion of the first Part, were demi-officially communicated to the Government of India, and to the Lieutenant Governor, on the 28th March. Our Despatch was signed on the 23rd April.

India that there was no prospect of a famine; a fourth, written upon another subject, incidentally referred to a local scarcity of food in parts of the Pooree district. Two only expressly referred to that scarcity, but as a partial scarcity; the first proposing certain measures for its relief,—the second stating that these measures had met the evil noticed.

18. Even, however, if these letters had been of a nature to sustain Sir Cecil Beadon's argument, which we submit to you they are not in any respect, we must point out that, with the exception of the last, they were all received by us before the return of the late Lieutenant Governor from Orissa, and therefore before the interview in which he personally assured the Governor General, as the result of what he had seen during his visit, that no famine was to be apprehended, and that the importation of food was unnecessary.

19. We do not think it necessary to pursue this subject further, or to criticise the remarks which the late Lieutenant Governor has permitted himself to make on the famine Commission and on ourselves.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.

(Revenue.—No. 1555.)

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 16 April 1867.

I am directed to forward, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council, a copy of the accompanying letter * from the Board of Revenue, and to observe that no copy of the Report of the Famine Commissioners having been officially communicated to this office, the Lieutenant Governor is unable to comply with the Board's request, but the letter is forwarded for such notice as his Excellency may be pleased to take of it.

* No. 669 M., dated the 11th instant.

2. The Lieutenant Governor desires to take this opportunity of expressing a hope that no judgment may be formed either by the Government of India, or by the Home Government, on the facts or conclusions, presented in the Report of the Commissioners until the officers, whose conduct and proceedings are impugned, have had an opportunity of explanation and defence.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *S. C. Bayley.*
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 669 M.), dated 11 April 1867.

Sir,

An article has appeared in the "Friend of India" of this date, from which it seems clear that a copy of the report submitted by the Commission of Enquiry into the Famine has been communicated to, or obtained by, the conductors of that paper. The article states broadly, that this report comments unfavourably on the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, and I am desired now to request that a copy may be furnished for the information of the members of the Board. They will then be in a position to submit their remarks on the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated the 9th October last.

Explanatory Remarks on the Despatch of the Government of India, relating to the Famine in Orissa.

By the courtesy of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, I have received a copy of the Despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, No. 71, dated the 22nd April, and of the Minutes recorded by his Excellency and Sir H. Durand, relative to the Report of the Orissa Famine Commission. The contents of these papers impose on me the necessity for making some further observations; and I hope I may be permitted to express my regret that the necessity for forwarding the Despatch to England before the Governor General and his Council left Calcutta for Simla, should have prevented

the Government of India from giving more attentive consideration to the correspondence and evidence on which the Report of the Commission professes to be based, and from testing the accuracy of the facts and opinions expressed in the Report by a more careful reference to its Appendix. It is also, I think, very much to be regretted that the Government of India should have felt themselves obliged to pass judgment on the conduct of individual officers, without giving them an opportunity of explaining it.

2. On the first three paragraphs of the Governor General's Minute, I have to remark that, in the middle of October 1865, as soon as the failure of the principal rice crop gave indications of approaching scarcity, the Board were desired to make a comprehensive report on the state and prospects of the country, to adopt such measures of relief as they could, and to suggest such as they thought it necessary for the Government to adopt. A few days afterwards the Commissioner of Cuttack was called upon for a special report on his division; action was at once taken upon it when received, and on the 25th November the Board submitted their general report. This report, and my orders thereon, were submitted to the Government of India on the 11th December, and it is to me a matter of exceeding regret, that neither then nor subsequently on receipt of my official communications of the 19th December, 8th January, 5th and 20th February, and 28th March (all showing the wide extent of the scarcity and the means taken to relieve it), nor again when I returned from Orissa in February, and related to the Governor General what I had seen there, and the impressions I had derived from my visit, did the Government of India, though having experience of famines, which neither I nor any of the officers or inhabitants of Bengal or Orissa had, utter a single word for our guidance, or even warn me that the consequences of the impending famine might be more serious than then seemed probable, or that the measures taken to avert them might not be sufficient.

3. In paragraph 4 of his Minute, the Governor General expresses his opinion, that when I was in Orissa, in February 1866, I had quite enough before me to show that there was at least much danger of a famine. His Excellency thinks it scarcely credible that all the different individuals with whom I conversed should have been altogether silent at such a momentous period, and have given no expression to the anxious doubts and fears which they cannot but have felt. And his Excellency remarks, that the starving multitude which beset me at Pooree should have led me to make special inquiry, which could not have failed to lay bare the real condition of the people.

4. If his Excellency means to say that he does not believe what I have said, and what every witness examined on this point by the Commission has said, there can be no further room for discussion. But the fact is, as shown abundantly by the Commission's inquiry, that at that time no one feared that there was not food enough in the Province to last till the next harvest. It was feared that there would be grievous scarcity and high prices, and many were anxious lest the poor should starve for want of means to buy food; but there is not a particle of evidence to show that anyone believed in or expected an actual deficiency of food, or supposed that the coming distress, however severe it might be, would not be relieved by a liberal expenditure of money. The gentlemen with whom I conversed, were by no means silent. The doubts and fears which they felt were expressed to me freely enough, but they were not such doubts and fears as his Excellency supposes.

5. As for the starving multitude by which the Governor General states that I was beset at Pooree, it exists only in imagination. I have told the Government of India that I saw nothing of the kind, though I walked through the town and was followed by a large crowd, and the evidence fully confirms my statement. Rice was dear, and there was difficulty in getting it, but there was no apparent starvation in the town. The first meeting of the Relief Committee, at which it was proposed (but not agreed to by Mr. Barlow) to apply to the public for aid, was not held till the 25th February (10 days after I left Pooree); and the first signs of starvation at Pooree did not appear till March or April,* when the poor flocked into the town. In short, the whole evidence taken by the Commission at Pooree, shows clearly that at the time of my visit there were no apparent signs of famine; that the collector, and everyone else, believed in the existence of large stocks of grain in the district; that rice was then being imported from Gopalpore; and that no one supposed that it would be necessary for the Government to import rice to feed the population and prevent them from starving. I made every inquiry that it was possible for me to make, and enjoined the collector to keep himself and the Government fully and constantly informed of the state of the district, and to recommend any further measures of relief that he might think necessary. This he promised to do, assuring me then, as he did afterwards officially on the 5th March,† that the Government could then do no more than had actually been done.

6. As to what the Governor General observes in paragraph 6 of his Minute, I will only ask the Secretary of State candidly to read and consider Mr. Barlow's reports of the 21st and 30th March, and Mr. Ravenshaw's letters of the 24th March and 9th April, forwarding them to the Board. The former of these reached me on the 17th April, and the latter on the 1st May, and I confidently submit that there is nothing in either of them that could possibly lead me to suppose that the measures undertaken for the relief

* *See* evidence, Mr. Livesay, page v. Baboo Ramakoy Chatterjee, page ii. Baboo Khetter Mohun Bose, page viii. The Rev. Mr. Miller, page xx., and *passim*.

† "I may at once state that, for the present time at any rate, I do not consider any further remedial measures on the part of Government are necessary."

of the sufferers were or would be otherwise than sufficient. I deny that I ever thought the statements of the distress which reached me were exaggerated, but I had no reason to believe that they were too favourable; and such as they were, believing them to be the result of careful inquiry, I could not do otherwise than accept them. The demi-official correspondence that passed between Mr. Barlow and Mr. Ravenshaw at the same time (which I have only seen since the Report of the Commission was written), shows clearly that their official letters represented their real opinion and belief, and that there was no hesitation in expressing them.

7. Mr. Ravenshaw was desired to go to Mohurbunge before his letters of March and April reached me. It is all very well now to say that he ought not to have gone, but at the time the necessity for his presence there was extremely urgent, and I could not possibly suppose that his temporary absence from the seaboard would in any way impede relief measures, or prevent the Government from receiving such further information as would lead it, if necessary, to extend them or adopt others. I expressly desired him to communicate with me by telegraph, and it is evident that if he had been all the time on the seaboard, he could not have reported anything further during the interval; for it was not till the 28th May (17 days after he had returned to the seaboard, and six days after he had telegraphed to say that importation of rice was only required as a measure of economy),* that he telegraphed its urgent necessity as a means of supplying food. Long before that, we had allotted large funds for relief to each of the Orissa districts, and I had urged the Board to import rice.

8. The Governor General observes, in paragraph 8, that Mr. Schalch ought not to have been allowed to go to Darjeeling; but the executive action of the Board was in no way impeded by the temporary absence of one member, and I was anxious to have the advantage of personally consulting him both on that and on other questions of Revenue administration. Mr. Schalch's personal knowledge of Orissa was confined to Balasore, and it did not in the least appear that he could have done any good by going to Orissa, or that the Commissioner and the other local officers required the personal advice or direction of a member of the Board.

9. I refrain from remarking on paragraphs 9 to 19 of the Governor General's Minute, further than again to urge that none of the officers whose proceedings have been impugned by the Commission may be condemned before they have been heard in their defence. There is not one among them whose explanation would not materially affect the conclusions which have been formed by the Commission, and adopted by the Government of India from the Commission's Report. These gentlemen are in fact in the position of accused persons, who, having been examined in such a way as to elicit answers in support of an obviously foregone conclusion unfavourable to themselves, are judged without having been given an opportunity for defence.

10. With regard to what the Governor General says in paragraphs 20 and 23, I can only say that I reported faithfully to his Excellency the impression made on my mind by my visit to Orissa, and by the various accounts, official and demi-official, which had reached me, and that the decision not to import grain was arrived at after frequent conversations on the subject. His Excellency does me the justice to say that I appeared as earnest and anxious about the state of things in Orissa as possible, and he is perfectly right in saying that I did not then anticipate the possibility of the Government having to undertake to supply food for the people.

11. As to what the Government of India say in paragraph 21 and the following paragraphs of their despatch, it is evident that it is written under a totally erroneous apprehension of the facts, as shown in the correspondence and evidence. I beg to draw especial attention to the fact that the proposal to import grain for the payment of labourers had reference, in the first instance, not to the whole province of Orissa, not even to the whole district of Pooree, but to the comparatively small portion of it comprising the pergunnahs of Parikood, Malood, and Sathpara. Though the Commission have endeavoured to show that the proposal had a wider scope, the whole correspondence conclusively proves the contrary, and Mr. Barlow's official letter of the 27th November expressly defines the tract in which severe distress prevailed, and into which he desired to import rice, as "the sandy strip of land† which divides the Chilka Lake from the sea." This, too, was at a time when there "was no bother about food in the town of Pooree;" and when it had been reported that there was a steady influx of carts from the Mofussil, that grain of all sorts was exposed for sale in the shops, and that though prices were so high as to be prohibitory to the poorer classes, the regular supply was above the demand, and food was forthcoming where funds to buy it existed. Even the Deputy Collector (Baboo Ramakhoy Chatterjee), who, in December 1866, told the Commission that he had not believed in the existence of large stores of grain, actually reported officially on the 25th October 1865 that there was a large quantity of rice in the Pooree bazaars, that a supply was coming in daily, and that many zemindars and others had "an immense quantity of rice in their stores, enough to supply the whole district for two years." This is not the language of men who thought that Government

* "Send rice if it can be landed at less than local rates; if not, send funds to buy it."
† In his unofficial letter to Mr. Chapman, of the 26th, he calls it "the narrow sandy strip, &c."

Government would have to import rice for the support of the population of the town and district. *See* Appendix, pages 10, 14, 16, 17, 49, 52, 53, 54, and 56.

12. At a somewhat later period again, when Mr. Barlow sent in his amended proposal to employ the people of Malood, Parikood, and Sathpara on the Pooree and Ganjam roads, instead of reviving the salt manufacture, all he suggested was that grain should be stored at different points along the line. In his letter of the 29th November making this suggestion, he said not a word about importation of rice, and the Commissioner, in forwarding Mr. Barlow's letter to the Board on the 6th December, evidently supposed that the rice would be purchased on the spot. On the 9th December Mr. Barlow telegraphed from Pooree that "destitution was general and complete" in Sathpara, Malood, and Parikood, which he had just visited; but all he asked for was permission to expend 5,000 rupees in digging a tank at Sathpara, and this was given at once, the Board directing him to pay wages in grain in order to keep the people from starving. Here, again, neither Mr. Barlow nor Mr. Ravenshaw, who wrote on the same subject on the 18th December, alluded to the necessity for importing rice, and Mr. Crommelin, writing on the same day to the Chief Engineer regarding the prosecution of work on the Pooree and Ganjam roads, observed that the Commissioner's suggestion for part payment in rice should be adopted, and that there would be no difficulty, with the Collector's aid, in carrying it out.

Appendix p. 57.
" p. 65.
" p. 68.
" p. 71.

13. Again, on the 22nd and 25th December, Mr. Barlow wrote, saying that rice in the district, so far as depending on the local supply, would not be cheaper than 12 cuttack seers, equal to 15¾ Bengal seers the rupee, and that therefore if it could be imported at 16 seers or more for the rupee, large quantities would be sold, and that he was ready to take 10,000 or 15,000 maunds for the jail and public works at that rate; but that as he found that rice could not be landed at Pooree cheaper than 10 or 12 Bengal seers for the rupee, it would be useless "under present conditions of the local market," to import rice. This is not the language of one who thought that the local supply of rice was insufficient, or that its importation from abroad by Government was necessary to feed the labourers, much less to support the population.

Appendix, pp. 75, 76.

14. Mr. Barlow's subsequent correspondence with Mr. Nolan and Mr. Ravenshaw was unfortunately not communicated to me in any shape; but it amounts really to no more than this, that in Mr. Barlow's opinion, though there would be great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of rice in the district of Pooree, at the rates then prevailing, it could be obtained in the neighbourhood, and that it would be useless to apply to Chittagong or Moulmein for cheap rice, as it could not be landed at less than from 10 to 12 seers for the rupee, and (as he said) "we ought to be able to obtain more favourable rates here." This, be it observed, was written on the 1st February, the very day on which the Board, in reply to Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January, telegraphed back that the Government declined to import rice into Pooree. I need not again remark on the Board's omission to report this to me, or their declaration that the Government declined to import rice into Pooree; but I desire to point out that Mr. Barlow, before receiving the Board's message, and therefore quite independent of its supposed influence, proposed the importation of rice only on the supposition that it could be landed at a cheaper rate than 10 or 12 Bengal seers for the rupee, and that such a condition was at that time impossible.

Appendix, pp. 99 to 105.
p. 104.

15. From that time there was no further proposal from the local authorities to import rice into Orissa, until I pressed the measure on the Board in May, and a few days afterwards directed its adoption. At no time till the very end of May did the local authorities propose it, except as a measure of economy, and up to that time there is nothing to show that any single person in the Province thought that there was not enough rice there to feed the people, or that anything was wanting but money to enable them to buy it.

16. The Government of India are pleased to consider that I laboured under an incapacity to believe in disaster. I fully believed in the disaster that was likely to be caused by the failure of the crops of 1865, and did all that a Government could do to avert it; but I did not believe, nor did anyone else believe, that there would not be food enough in the Province to feed the people, or that the stocks of old rice (which the Commission admit to have been considerable, and which were far from exhausted when their inquiry was held), supplemented by private importation, would not suffice for all.

17. The Government of India have referred to my private correspondence with the Governor General in proof of this alleged "incapacity of belief;" but yet his Excellency, writing to me on the 11th June, long after I had realised the necessity for importing rice into Orissa, and had actually imported it, wrote to me thus:

> "I think that if the local officers at all recommend this measure, we should import grain even at this late date, and at the risk of prices falling."

And the Honourable Mr. Grey, writing to his Excellency on the 18th June, observed as follows:

> "Beadon is no doubt right in saying that we must now go on with our supplies of rice to Orissa; but the facts mentioned by Chapman seem to me to throw grave doubts on the wisdom of the course we have embarked upon."

18. If I had waited for the recommendation of the local authorities, or if Mr. Grey's doubts had prevailed, rice would not have been imported into Orissa until a still later date. The narratives alluded to in paragraph 25 of the Despatch were all written after the most active

active measures had been taken to relieve the distress, and when they were in full operation. The tone of them is fully borne out by the official reports received at that time from the local officers.

19. Undoubtedly the facts known as to the condition of Orissa before the end of 1865, were such as to cause the deepest anxiety and alarm, and to demand continued vigilance. To this I was fully alive from the first, and I did not cease to exercise (as I thought), the vigilance which the occasion demanded. The correspondence with Messrs. Gisborne and Co. in November, and with the Board in November and December 1865, was immediately reported to the Government of India, but the former only elicited a bare approval of my proceedings, and of the latter no notice was taken. On the first indication of scarcity, and repeatedly afterwards, the Commissioner of Cuttack was called upon to report on the condition of the Province, and to suggest measures of relief; weekly reports were required from the Collectors; every practicable measure recommended by the local authorities was adopted; relief Committees were appointed, and unlimited expenditure was sanctioned for public works. Not content with this, I myself visited the Province in February, and endeavoured by personal communication with all classes, official and un-official, European and native, to elicit the truth, and I reported the result of my inquiries verbally to the Governor General.

20. As Mr. Barlow himself had never advocated the importation of rice even on a small scale, unless it could be landed cheaper than it could be obtained in the district, and had never even thought of importation on a large scale, it is easy enough to understand why he did not press the matter on me when I was on the spot, without having recourse to the monstrous supposition broached by the Commission that he lacked official boldness to speak out his mind, or the utterly gratuitous insinuation* that he was in any way discouraged from doing so. I venture to affirm that there is not an officer under the Government of Bengal who would not indignantly deny the existence of any such feeling, and that Mr. Barlow himself would be among the first to repudiate it.

21. The Government of India say that I came away from Cuttack with the impression that no calamity resembling that which has occurred was to be expected, and that this impression is now acknowledged to be a mistaken one. There is enough truth in this to make it a plausible ground of charge, and to give apparent support to the conclusion that my inquiry was superficial. But yet the statement is substantially erroneous and misleading. The impression I derived from my visit was, not that the impending calamity was not a very serious one; not that the people would not suffer severe distress in consequence of the utter failure of the crops and the consequent extreme dearness of food, but that the stocks of grain in the country would last beyond the next harvest, that present distress was already met by the employment of the people on the roads, embankments and canals, and by the relief afforded both by private individuals and by the relief committees, and that though money would be afterwards wanted to supplement local charity, the importation of food by the Government would not be required. In this opinion I was supported by all the facts I could gather by patient personal inquiry, and by the universal opinion of all with whom I came in contact.

22. The Government of India say that the relief afforded by public works was almost nominal: but this statement is wholly opposed to the recorded facts. During the first six months of 1866, the amount actually expended on public works in Orissa (exclusive of the cost of establishments) was upwards of 3,00,000 rupees; and Mr. Barlow's letters of March, April, and May, show that a vast amount of relief was being then afforded in that way, while the Irrigation Company had, when I was in Cuttack, some 17,000 or 18,000 labourers employed on their canals, and would have employed more if only they could have got them. Untortunate as were the orders of the Commissioner regarding the payment of labourers in money instead of grain, their effect has been greatly exaggerated by the Commission.

23. I have nothing to remark on Sir Henry Durand's Minute, except that the *carte blanche* to which he refers was not given until after effectual measures had been taken to relieve the distress, both by grants of public money and by the importation of food.

24. I feel much indebted to the Government of India for their cordial acknowledgment of "the activity and zeal displayed by the Lieutenant Governor as soon as the true condition of the people of Orissa was understood;" but in truth there was no want of activity or zeal on the part of the Government, or of any of its officers, from the commencement. I certainly did not think, until the middle of May (though, as the Governor General observes, the subject had occupied my anxious thought from a much earlier period), that it would be necessary or expedient for the Government to resort to the extreme and hazardous step of supplementing the local stocks of grain by importation of rice on public account from abroad; but this view was held by all the local officers, and by at least one Member of the Government

* The Commission, and I am sorry to add, the Government of India, have most unfairly referred to a letter I wrote to Mr. Chapman on the 11th June, as indicative of a tendency in my mind "unfavourable to the receipt of discouraging communications:" my letter had reference simply to the publication of papers. A few days before, on the 29th May, I wrote to Mr. Grote, thus:—"When you get the official reports from the District Committees, they should be promptly published either at length or in a digested form, under the Board's authority." The whole tenor of my official and private correspondence with the Board, and with the Commissioners, is directly opposed to the tendency imputed to me—a tendency which I utterly deny.

Government of India, long after I had abandoned it, and after I had directed importation on my own responsibility in spite of the remonstrances of the Board, and of the warnings of the Press against such interference with private trade.

25. I beg the Secretary of State to consider the parallel case of Ganjam. There the same indications of scarcity appeared precisely at the same time as in Orissa, and exhibited themselves almost precisely in the same manner. There the same reliance was placed by the Government on the efforts of the local officers and on private charity, until, on the 15th June (nearly a month after large sums of money had been allotted for gratuitous aid in Orissa), application was made for a grant from the old famine fund. And there also there was the same or even greater hesitation in adopting the decisive measure of importing grain into the country on account of the Government. I have not got a copy of Mr. Forbes's report on the Ganjam famine, but I append a brief abstract of it taken from a newspaper, which I presume to be in the main correct. So far from presuming to question the action of the Government of Madras in the matter, I have no doubt it was dictated by the same careful regard for the interests of the people by which we were actuated; but I may refer to it as showing how unreasonable it is to condemn the Government of Bengal for a course of action exactly similar to that which in another Presidency has commanded unqualified approval.

The 30th April 1867. *Cecil Beadon.*

APPENDIX.

"MR. FORBES has published an admirable report on the Ganjam famine. That district has suffered four times from famine since 1789. On his return from England on 21st January 1866, he at once devoted his attention to the prevailing distress, although he was called away to quell a Khond disturbance. On 27th January he begged that rice might be imported for the troops and officials to relieve the market. On 20th February the Government declined. Defeated thus, Mr. Forbes raised local subscriptions, and addressed this journal and those of Bombay and Madras. But not till May did relief flow in and Government show alarm. The Madras Board of Revenue, though not so bad as their brethren in Bengal, they had to deal with a milder attack, yet kept back till June, when 'affairs were at the lowest ebb,' and there were 2,932 registered deaths. Only on 3rd July was a grant given from the North-West Famine Fund: and on the 20th, Lord Napier landed in person. Then the tide turned, and the year closed with the return of prosperity such as to enable the peasantry to export grain to Orissa. In a district of 6,400 square miles, with a population of 1,129,464, there were 56,262 registered deaths from famine and its consequence, disease. In many places Mr. Forbes believes the number of deaths to have been twice those reported. In the principal divisions of Goomsoor and Berhampore the rainfall of 1863 was only 29⅓ inches, in 1864 it was 20¾ inches, and in 1865 it was only 18½ inches. The gaols were filled with thrice the number of convicts for which they were constructed. The cost to the State in remissions of revenue and other ways was not less than 60,000 *l.* The cattle only were not affected, and to this and the importation of seed grain by Government Mr. Forbes attributes the rapid recovery of the district. He shows how Ganjam will be free from famine, humanly speaking, when certain irrigation works are completed. Almost as important as these he considers the growth of the people in intelligence, an improved system of agriculture, and the creation of a class resembling the English capitalist farmer. Mr. Forbes deserves quite as much honour as the general who gains a great battle. His modest report is not unworthy to rank with Baird Smith's."

(Home Department.—Public.—No. 94 of 1867.)

To the Right Honourable Sir *Stafford H. Northcote,* Bart., Secretary of State for India.

Sir, Simla, 29 May 1867.

No. 1935, dated 10th May 1867.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 93, dated the 22nd instant, we transmit herewith a copy of a communication from the Government of Bengal, giving cover to a Minute by Mr. A. Grote, senior member of the Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces, on the recent famine in Bengal.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. R. Mansfield.
H. S. Maine.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.
G. U. Yule.

(Revenue.—No. 1935.)

From *H. L. Harrison*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Sir, Fort William, 10 May 1867.

I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward herewith, for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor General of India in Council, a copy of a Minute on the late famine in Bengal, by Mr. A. Grote, the senior member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Harrison*,
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Minute by Mr. *A. Grote*, Senior Member Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, regarding the late Famine.

I desire to submit the following remarks in explanation of the proceedings of the Board of Revenue during the critical period from October 1865 to June 1866. I was throughout this period its senior member with but a single colleague, under the changes lately introduced into the constitution of the Board ; and am rightly responsible in a higher degree than either of the three junior members who were successively associated with me, for any erroneous information or bad advice which the Board tendered to the head of the Government on the subject of the late famine in Orissa. With the exception of the last three weeks of April I was present at the Board's sittings for the whole of this period.

2. The Secretary of State's Despatch, dated 9th October last, expresses the opinion "that the local officers and the Board at least, were in possession of information which should have led them at a much earlier period, to propose those measures on the part of Government, which were unhappily postponed till it became evident that famine had actually made its appearance."

3. I premise by observing that October is always looked on as the critical month for the winter rice harvests of Bengal. If no rain falls during that month the crops on the higher fields are starved just as the ear is maturing. Every year the occurrence or absence of this seasonable supply must tell more or less on the harvests of some districts, and consequently on local market prices. No special reports reach the Board on the sufficiency or otherwise of the season's rain-fall in each district, or of the occurrence or absence of an October rain-fall. In 1865 the published observations for Calcutta which had showed no fall of rain since the 15th September, taken in conjunction with other indications, caused us to make inquiries into harvest prospects generally. The Commissioners of Patna and Bhaugulpore were called on for reports on the 19th October and on the 31st following ; weekly price currents were called for generally from each Collector. On the same date we were asked by Government for a general report on the prospects of the country, and for suggestions towards mitigating the effects of the then threatened scarcity.

4. The Commissioners of Patna and Bhaugulpore complied with our call, and their reports were submitted by us to Government on the 23rd November, in anticipation of our general report, dated 25th idem, which is commented on so unfavourably in the Despatch. The reports from the Cuttack, Nuddea and Rajshahye, Commissioners reached us through the Government, and those from other divisions not forthcoming* in our office, but extant in the newspapers were made on a demi-official call. These supplied us with the materials for our general report, on a careful re-perusal of which I cannot find that it either understates the bad prospects of the coming harvest, or recommends measures short of what the occasion called for. For the reasons given at length in our letter dated 9th November, we advised the Government against the adoption of Gisborne & Co's proposal to import rice from Burmah, and the only other suggestion which reached us from a non-official source, for the publication of district prices current, was one which we had already acted on.

5. In December this report and the Government order which approved of all that we had done and proposed to do, were circulated for the information and guidance of our district officers. The object of the circular order was to make generally known "the principles on which Government considered itself at liberty to afford assistance in times of scarcity." Dated 11th idem.

6. My colleague, Mr. Trevor, left for England during this month and was succeeded by Mr. Cockburn. On the 2nd the Cuttack Commissioner sent us copy of his report to Government on the state of things in his tributary Mehals, which are not subject in any way to our control. On the 3rd he pressed on us a renewal of the salt manufacture in Pooree, his object being to give employment to the population of Malood and Parikood, an object which, for so restricted a tract, we thought would be sufficiently secured by outlay on works of improvement in Sathpara and elsewhere. Already the Government store of unsaleable salt at the Pooree depôts was above 11 lakhs of maunds, and the renewal of Government

* N.B.—Much demi-official correspondence passed which is not forthcoming, having apparently been mislaid.

Government manufacture would have been in violation of a declared policy. We did our best, however, to divert to Pooree some of the shipping engaged in the rice and salt trade which Chittagong carries on with the Madras ports. With the Government sanction we offered to put our Pooree salt on board ships for exportation on the same terms that salt was put on board at Madras. Our attempts did not succeed for reasons which we reported to Government in January. Pooree prices,* high as they were, appeared insufficient to tempt the Chittagong exporters.

7. We reported all that we had done to Government when replying to their letter dated 11th December, which was accompanied by an extract from the Pooree police superintendent's diary, describing the fearful state of destitution which he had observed in the country south of the Chilka lake. The Pooree markets were throughout this month, supplied with rice from Gopalpore and Banpore. That money was wanted more than grain, is shewn by Mr. Barlow's letter to the Commissioner, dated 29th December, paragraph 4, and by the entry in his enclosed diary, dated 4th December. Consequently, however, on his previous telegram, dated 25th November, we resolved on dispatching a few bags of rice to Metacooah by one of the coasting steamers which, however, as we learned at the last moment, had not room for it.

8. Our order dated 10th January negativing the proposed action in the matter of remissions in pursuance of the general principle which Mr. Cockburn had laid down in the previous year, is the best illustration of the entire absence on that date of any impression on our minds that the failure of crops of which we had cognisance in the south of Pooree, was a general failure, such as was likely to tell seriously on the food resources of the province. Here, as in the case of the telegram dated 31st of this month, and of my colleague's own local observations on his visit to Cuttack in February, I feel the disadvantage under which I attempt to explain singly the impressions and motives under which we then jointly acted.

9. On the 12th January 1866 the Cuttack Commissioner sent to us copy of the Pooree Collector's letter, describing his visit to the Chilka lake which we laid before Government. The Parikood Rajah's liberality towards the families of the villagers who had dispersed for the means of living, was prominently brought to notice. Had we attempted the revival of the salt manufacture in these pergunnahs, we should have called back the dispersed population from the neighbourhood of markets which were still provided, to markets altogether unprovided with grain.

10. On the 31st January, a fortnight before the Lieutenant Governor left for Cuttack, the important telegraphic communication which I quote in the margin, was received from the Commissioner. We replied to it on the following day as follows:—

From Commissioner of *Cuttack*, to Secretary Board of Revenue, *Calcutta*. (Dated 31 January 1866.)

Famine relief is at a stand still. Public Works Department refuse to advance money to Collectors to purchase rice. Pooree must get rice from elsewhere. May I authorise advance for this purpose for Cuttack, Balasore, or Pooree?

From Secretary, Board of Revenue, Calcutta, to Commissioner of Cuttack—(dated 1st February 1866.)

"YOUR message received. The Government decline to import rice into Pooree. If the market favours importers, rice will find its way to Pooree without Government interference, which can only do harm. All payments for labour employed to relieve the present distress are to be in cash."

From the question put to me on my examination by the Famine Commissioners, I gather that our mode of dealing with this telegram from Mr. Ravenshaw was held by them to have had an unfortunate effect in deterring the local authorities from further mooting the subject of importations, and also in causing the discontinuance of the system which we had previously introduced of paying for labour by rations.

11. Admitting this possible conclusion of the Famine Commissioners to be correct, I submit that the discouraging effect need not have lasted. Within a fortnight of the dispatch of our reply, the Lieutenant Governor and my colleague, Mr. Cockburn, were on the spot, and Mr. Ravenshaw had the fullest opportunity of objecting to, or seeking explanations on, the subject of our telegram. Mr. Cockburn had seen both Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram and the reply, and I can only account for our not having shown the first to the Lieutenant Governor, if, as appears to have been the case, we did not consult him, by the confidence we felt in the results of his then projected visit to Cuttack. The Lieutenant Governor and the Board were completely in accord as to the general policy to be pursued, and possibly our independent action on this occasion is to be explained by some oral or demi-official communication which has passed from memory or been mislaid. We should not so have telegraphed had we doubted that our reply represented the views of Government. However serious our omission was in not taking formal orders on this occasion, its consequences could have been repaired within a week, had the Commissioner followed up his telegram by the usual explanatory letter, and certainly within a fortnight during the successive days in February, which the Lieutenant Governor spent under the same roof with him.

Note.—I am given to understand that among the records obtained by the Famine Commission, there is a letter of Mr. Barlow's, dated 1st February, stating that it would be of no use to import rice unless it could be landed at Pooree at a rate lower than 10 or 12 seers per rupee. The local market rates he then believed to be lower than this. Practically, therefore, our telegram of that date declining to import, could not have had the effect believed to have been ascribed to it by the Famine Commission, for we knew from Chittagong advices that 12 seers per rupee at Pooree, would not tempt exporters to ship. This information touching the contents of the Famine Commissioner's Report which has only reached me incidentally, warrants me in pressing my request that conclusions unfavourable to the Board and to the local officers, may not be adopted by the Home Government without our being first allowed to offer explanations.

12. I do

* Twelve seers per rupee on 2nd December; *see* Commissioner's Report, No. 305½.

12. I do not find that either in December or January we received any direct intimation of increasing pressure on the poorer classes from Commissioners of other divisions. Reports from Bhaugulpore and Nuddea addressed to Government, were sent to us for information. The first reported that a meeting had been held at Monghyr, and that relief measures had there been taken. The Nuddea Commissioner stated that there was no actual distress in the northern part of the 24 pergunnahs, to the state of which district attention had been called by letters in the newspapers.

13. I now come to February. It was advisable to inquire into the prospects of the rubbee or spring crops. The Patna and Bhaugulpore Commissioners reported favourably. From Cuttack we do not appear to have had more than two letters during this and the following month from the Commissioner, and one of these dated 12th March, expressed his concurrence with the Pooree Collector, that no further relief measures as regards famine, seemed necessary on the part of Government in the latter district. My then colleague, Mr. Cockburn, was at this time in Cuttack in attendance on his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, and had of course the fullest opportunity of ascertaining for himself the actual state of things in that district. It was in February that we recommended the re-printing and circulation of Mr. J. Strachey's admirable note of 1861, on the steps most proper to be taken by public officers on the occurrence of famines.

14. Now Mr. Cockburn was an old Cuttack officer; he had been long Commissioner of that province, and was familiar with its history; he knew how for years it had suffered now from droughts and now from inundation; it was for him in the first instance to administer this division, and it had been on his proposal that our letter had issued to the Commissioner dated 12th January, rejecting the Pooree Collector's suggestions for inquiries, with a view to remissions of revenue. He would certainly have taken alarm had he, during his visit to Cuttack, ascertained or observed any serious symptoms of impending famine, but though he remained, sick, it is true, in Calcutta, till nearly the end of March, he did not put on record any remarks, or orally allude to any circumstances which threw doubt or distrust on the reports which we had received from the local authorities.

15. On being joined by my present colleague, I left Calcutta for a short change to sea; the correspondence between us and the Cuttack Commissioner which passed during my absence, mainly concerned relief measures for the Government estate of Khoordah, 10,000 rupees were assigned for roads from the Improvement Fund, and 1,000 rupees for seed-grain to the ryots. The Commissioner left Cuttack on circuit on the 7th April. Doubts having been thrown by a correspondent of the "Englishman" on the accuracy of the Cuttack Price Current, explanations were called for from the Collector. I mention this to show that we were not inattentive to specific statements made through the press.

16. All our measures were approved by Government then at Darjeeling, on the 1st May.

17. Owing probably to his absence from head-quarters on circuit, the Commissioner seems to have made no direct report to us throughout May; but from the 21st of this month we were in active communication with Government, and on that date we obtained a discretion to import rice to a certain amount if we thought it necessary. In our reply by telegram, dated 22nd, we explained why we did not act on that discretion. The Cuttack Commissioner's letter dated 18th May, with its alarming disclosures from Pooree, did not reach us till 1st June. Further information, therefore, was necessary for us before we could appreciate the responsibility which the possession of this discretion imposed on us. We wrote immediately to the Commissioner, and the 7th paragraph of our letter to him expressed clearly the only conditions on which we should be justified in recommending importation measures. Before his reply could come to this letter, we had been furnished by Mr. Geoghegan in charge of the Bengal office, with copy of Commissioner's urgent telegram to Government of the 28th May, and within an hour the arrangements were made for immediate dispatch of supplies by the "Court Hay" and "Jacques Forestier." The telegraphic order from Darjeeling to import, reached us on the following day.

18. Even so late as the 27th May, though the report did not reach us in time to influence our already formed determination to commence importing, the Commissioner reiterated his repeatedly expressed belief "that there is sufficient grain in the Cuttack division to feed the people till next harvest." We had never seen an opinion expressed to the contrary; the newspapers had indeed reported famine to be imminent, but nothing specific that I can remember, was put forward which justified our discrediting the reports of the authorities on the spot. On the 2nd May the Commissioner had told Government that "from commencement of the season he had made repeated and careful inquiry regarding the stock of grain in hand, and also as to the actual yield of the season's crop." He had been on Circuit; he had been in communication with Collectors, Deputy Collectors, Executive officers, and besides such official referees as these, he had irrigation officers and other non-official members on his district relief committees. His convictions remained unaltered till the end of May, and during the months which intervened between the 25th November and the 22nd May, the two dates on which we advised the Government to the effect animadverted on in the Secretary of State's Despatch, nothing had transpired to shake our belief in the accuracy of the information which he had supplied to us. To me it seemed more likely that the alarming state of things telegraphed to Government on the 28th of May,

would prove to be the result of a temporary* local panic than that his previously declared convictions would prove mistaken. I expressed myself to this effect demi-officially, both to the Commissioner and to the Lieutenant Governor, but, as I have already observed, arrangements for carrying out his recommended importation measures, were made on the 29th May.

19. I give the Commissioner and the district officers credit for having exerted themselves to the utmost to collect all information bearing on the question of district resources. The East India Irrigation Company's officers at Cuttack must have been the quarter whence Sir A. Cotton derived the apprehensions, which led him to address the Secretary of State in December 1865, and it has been urged that the Commissioner and the Collector should have seen earlier what was so obvious to Colonel Rundall and Mr. Boothby, and that when the latter gentleman† began to import rice for the consumption of their establishment, it was high time for the district officers to recommend to Government similar importation measures for feeding the people. It was, however, natural that the Company having need of a large supply of rice should, in the face of rising prices, lay in a stock purchased in a distant but cheap market; had the commissariat and the gaol authorities having equal necessities, followed the Irrigation Company's example in this respect, they would, I think, have taken a prudent course, but I cannot see that any such steps by the above Company or others, would have justified the Commissioner in recommending Government to undertake the larger measure.

20. We have been charged with inaction in having failed to import food, despite the warnings of the non-official community of the province, conveyed to us through the press. On such statements, all unsupported as they were by those of our own local officers, we have been held to blame for not doing in February and March what we had at last to do in May. I will venture here to refer‡ to Sir C. Trevelyan's account of the Second Irish Famine in 1846, which will show what the Government of that day thought of State interference in a crisis, which differed from the late crisis in Orissa, in that the potato famine in Ireland was not unexpected.

"The question which the Government had to decide in regard to the renewal of the Commissariat operations, was of the most momentous kind. After all that had taken place during the last few months, it could not be expected that private trade would return, as a matter of course, to its accustomed channels. Neither the wholesale dealers in towns nor the retail dealers in the rural districts, would lay in even their usual stocks of food; still less would they make the extraordinary provision required to meet the coming emergency, while they had before them the prospect of the Government throwing into the market supplies of food of unknown extent, which might make their outlay so much loss to them. The Government could not, therefore, calculate, as it did on the former occasion, on finding the private trade, by means of which the people are ordinarily supplied with food, proceeding as usual, and on being able to add more or less at its discretion, to the resources which that trade afforded. Mercantile confidence in this branch of business was for the time destroyed. The trade was paralysed; and if this state of things had been suffered to continue, the general expectation of Government again interfering, would inevitably have created a necessity for that interference, on a scale which it would have been quite beyond the power of the Government to support."

"Under these circumstances it was announced:—1st. That no orders for supplies of food would be sent by the Government to foreign countries; 2ndly. That the interference of the Government would be confined to those Western districts of Ireland in which, owing to the former prevalence of potato cultivation, no trade in corn for local consumption existed; and 3rdly, that even in these districts the Government depôts would not be opened for the sale of food, while it could be obtained from private dealers at reasonable prices, with reference to those which prevailed at the nearest large marts. It was also determined to adhere to the rule acted upon during the preceding season, not to make any purchases in the local markets of Ireland, where the appearance of the Government as a buyer, must have had the effect of keeping up prices and encouraging interested representations; and a promise was given that every practicable effort would be made to protect the supplies of food introduced by private traders, both while they were in transit and when they were stored for future consumption."

21. I have made this quotation in the belief that it will explain and justify our hesitation to recommend a departure from rules and principles which paragraph 8 of the Secretary of State's Despatch admits, should not be lightly interfered with. The question which so anxiously occupied the Home Government in 1846, and which was finally dealt with by adopting measures confining their interference in Ireland to a minimum, did not till the end of May, come before us in the same form. It was only then that the actual crisis§ presented itself

* On first learning the apprehensions entertained by the officer commanding at Cuttack of the commissariat supplies running short, I wrote privately to Major Macbean, of the Commissariat Department here, who informed me that he had not received any report of a want of rice.

† I observed that both these gentlemen have publicly stated that they did not, as has been asserted, recommend the Lieutenant Governor to import. Their first importations for the Company were made in February, they did not again import till May.

‡ "Edinburgh Review," No. 175, 1848.

§ So late as the 26th June, I find the Commissioner reporting that many people dispersed on being offered food if they would work. It was under conditions such as these, including the failure of all ordinary tests of the actual severity of the pressure, that the local authorities had had from the first to form their judgment of what the occasion called for.

itself to the Commissioner of Cuttack, and that with him we saw the necessity for sacrificing every consideration to that of humanity. Every effort was at once made to supply the province both by sea and land. We failed to find a practicable route in the rains through Hidgellee, but we took steps for importing from Sumbulpore to such extent as the district could afford so soon as the Mahanuddee should become navigable. Steamers were offered to private traders at Balasore, who, we heard, had sent orders to the Madras Ports for rice to be delivered in the rainy season. But I need not dwell on the steps then taken, as the Secretary of State's Despatch recognises their sufficiency. Paragraph 4.

22. It had been our belief and hope that the reported high prices would fall if the Duloa or spring rice crop proved a full one, and if the rainy season admitted of an early sowing for the Biallee or autumn harvest. Under such favourable conditions, and in prospect of the opening of the Mahanuddee which would bring down supplies from Sumbulpore, the local holders of grain would, it was expected, naturally bring their hoarded stores forward. That there were some such stores as the local authorities had reported, is clearly shown by the fall of prices which took place later in the year when the Sarud crops were seen to be secure. Unfortunately, though the rains set in not unseasonably, they were not continuous, and the early sowings were lost in many parts of the province.

23. I have deferred submitting these observations long since written, on the Secretary of State's Despatch in the belief that I should be allowed access to the Report of the Famine Commission when completed, and that I should thus have an opportunity of adding to them, should such report render further remarks necessary. I find, however, that the Report has already been sent home, and I lose no time in submitting this Minute, which I respectfully request may also be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India.

24. At the same time I earnestly hope that any judgment unfavourable to the Board of Revenue, which the Secretary of State may be disposed to form on the statements made in the Commission's Report or in the Despatch of the Government of India transmitting it, may not be finally adopted till my colleagues and I shall have had an opportunity of offering explanations. I find that his Honor, the late Lieutenant Governor, when submitting the Board's application for a copy of the Report in question, has expressed himself to the following purport: "The Lieutenant Governor desires to take this opportunity of expressing a hope that no judgment may be formed either by the Government of India, or by the Home Government, on the facts or conclusions presented in the Report of the Commissioners' until the officers whose conduct and proceedings are impugned, have had an opportunity of explanation and defence."

25. As Sir C. Beadon wrote this after seeing the Report, I am left to the presumption that my reasonable request to be heard in explanation is not put forward without serious occasion for it.

Board of Revenue, L. P.; Fort William,
6 May 1867.

A. Grote,
(signed) Senior Member.

PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

FAMINE IN BEHAR,

INCLUDING

MR. F. R. COCKERELL'S REPORT.

(PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMAND.)

Part III.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
31 *May* 1867.

PAPERS relating to the FAMINE in BEHAR, including Mr. F. R. COCKERELL'S REPORT.

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esquire, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India (No. 1241); dated 27th March 1867.

I AM desired to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of a report received from Mr. F. R. Cockerell, detailing the results of his inquiries regarding the scarcity which prevailed during last year in the districts of the Patna and Bhaugulpore divisions, including the Sonthal Pergunnahs. The Lieutenant Governor's remarks thereon will be communicated hereafter.

REPORT on the FAMINE in the BEHAR DISTRICTS and SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS, 1866, by *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, on Special Duty.

CONTENTS.

	PARAS.
Introductory - - - - - - -	1 to 6
NARRATIVE OF EVENTS.	
BEHAR.	
Tirhoot District - - - - - -	7 to 31
Chumparun „ - - - - - -	32 „ 47
Sarun „ - - - - - -	48 „ 63
Shahabad „ - - - - - -	64 „ 71
Gya „ - - - - - -	72 „ 82
Patna „ - - - - - -	83 „ 88
Monghyr „ - - - - - -	89 „ 100
Bhaugulpore „ - - - - - -	101 „ 108
Purneah „ - - - - - -	109 „ 110
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS.	
Deoghur Division Doomka „ Godda „ Rajmehal „ Pakour „ - - - - - -	111 to 116 117 „ 128
GENERAL REMARKS.	
Causes of the Famine - - - - - -	129 to 140
Efficiency of relief measures - - - - - -	141 „ 153
Remedial measures - - - - - -	154 „ 172

	PAGE.
ANNEXURES.	
No. I.—Part 1. Prices current in 1862-3-4-5 - - -	44
No. I.—Part 2. Detail of prices current in 1865-66,	45
No. II.—Statement of the average number of persons relieved daily during each month in which relief operations were carried on - - -	47
No. III.—Statement of mortality - - - - -	48
No. IV.—General statement of Receipts and Disbursements on account of relief measures - - -	50

APPENDIX I.

	PAGE.
Letter of Collector of Chumparun on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - - - - - -	51
Letter of Collector of Gya on the crops of 1865 - -	51
„ „ Patna „ „ - -	53
„ „ Sarun „ „ - -	54
„ „ Shahabad „ „ - -	55
„ „ Tirhoot „ „ - -	55
„ „ Bhaugulpore „ - -	56
Letter of Deputy Collector of Banka Sub-Division on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - -	57
Letter of Deputy Collector of Mudehpoorah on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - - - -	58
Letter of Collector of Monghyr on the crops of 1865	58
„ „ Purneah „ „ „ -	60
Letter of Assistant Commissioner of Deoghur on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - - - -	62
Letter of Assistant Commissioner of Doomka on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - - - -	64
Letter of Assistant Commissioner of Godda on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - - - -	65
Letter of Assistant Commissioner of Pakour on the crops of 1865 - - - - - - - - -	65
Letter of Collector of Chumparun on the spring crops of 1866 - - - - - - - - -	67
Letter of Collector of Gya on the spring crops of 1866	67
„ „ Patna „ „	67
„ „ Sarun „ „	68
„ „ Shahabad „ „	68
„ „ Tirhoot „ „	68
„ „ Bhaugulpore „ „	69
„ „ Monghyr „ „	69
„ Assistant Commissioner of Deoghur „	69
„ „ „ Doomka „	70
„ „ „ Godda „	71
„ „ „ Rajmehal „	71
„ „ „ Pakour „	71
Circular of the Board of Revenue (dated December 1865) - - - - - - - - - -	72

APPENDIX I.—*continued.* PAGE.

Letter of Board to Government (dated 25th November 1865) - - - - - - - - - 72
Letter of Government to Board, No. 4204 - - 75
Circular Letter of Commissioner of the Patna Division (dated 25th May 1866) - - - - - - 76
Circular Memorandum of Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division - - - - - - - - - 76

APPENDIX II.

Memorandum of questions addressed to Landholders on the subject of the Famine - - - - - 77
Letter from General Manager of the Durbhunga Estate (dated 7th February 1867) - - - 78
Letter from Manager of the Bettiah Estate (dated 17th February 1867 - - - - - - - - 81
Letter of Manager of the Bettiah Estate to the Assistant Magistrate of Bettiah (dated 13th November 1865) - - - - - - - - - - 83
Letter of Manager to Collector of Chumparun (dated 12th March 1866) - - - - - - 84
Letter from Manager of the Hutwa Raja's Estate to Collector of Sarun (dated 21st December 1866) 84
Letter from Messrs. Burrows, Thompson, & Co., of the Jugdispore Estate (dated 24th December 1866) - - - - - - - - - - 87
Letter of W. Thompson, Esq., to Collector of Shahabad (dated 28th October 1865) - - - - 89
Letter from G. Anderson, Esq., of Kumtowl (dated 20th December 1866) - - - - - - - 90
Letter from L. Cosserat, Esq., of Burhogah (dated 26th December 1866) - - - - - - - 91
Letter from B. S. Hickey, Esq., Manager of Belsund Factory - - - - - - - - - - 93
Letter from G. Drummond, Esq., of Arrah (dated 14th December 1866) - - - - - - - - 94
Letter from J. Christian, Esq., to Collector of Monghyr (dated 28th December 1866) - - - 96

APPENDIX II.—*continued.* PAGE.

Letter from P. Duff, Esq., of Rajpore Factory (dated 22nd December 1866) - - - - - - 97
Letter from J. Henessey, Esq., of Sooltangunge (dated 22nd January 1867) - - - - - - 99
Letter from F. Chretien, Esq., of Dighee - - 100
Letter from Baboo Gopaul Chunder Singh, of Soolta-nabad, to the Assistant Commissioner of Pakour (dated 28th January 1867) - - - - - - 102
Letter from J. Smith, Esq., of Shahpore Factory, Tirhoot (dated 25th January 1867) - - - 105
Letter from T. Gibbon, Esq., of Turcoleah Factory (dated 17th January 1867) - - - - - - 106
Letter from A. McRae, Esq , Manager of Dooneah Factory (dated 17th February 1867) - - - 109
Letter from G. Burnell, Esq., of Myanuggur Factory (dated 12th February 1867) - - - - - 110
Statement of the Zemindars of Khaira, Pergunnah Sherghotty, in the Gya District - - - - 110
Statement of the Zemindars of Khaira, Pergunnah Ticaree, in the Gya District - - - - - 111
Statement of Mohunt Shuroopram Doss, of Pergunnah Bisura, Tirhoot - - - - - - - - 112
Statement of Rampershad Doss, a Zemindar in the Monghyr District - - - - - - - - 113
Statement of Deocoomar Singh, of Churan, a Zemindar in the Sarun District - - - - - - 114
Statement of Ram Dhun Singh, Zemindar of Rampore, in the Patna District - - - - - - 115
Statement of Baboo Pulluck Singh, a Zemindar in the Chumparun District - - - - - - 116
Statement of Sheoprosono Singh, a Zemindar in Tirhoot - - - - - - - - - - - 117
Statement of Raja Rughoonundun Singh, of Soorsun 118
Statement of Choudhuri Roodroprosaud, Zemindar of Nanpore, &c., in Tirhoot - - - - - - 120
Statement of Sreenath Ghose, of Rohinee, Deoghur 120
Statement of Shah Abdool Hossein, of Sheikpoora, &c. - - - - - - - - - - - 121
Statement of Shiboprokash Misser, of Toolseepore - 122

From *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, on Special Duty, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Calcutta, 15th March 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit the report called for by your letter, No. 2988, dated 13th November 1866, in regard to the recent famine in the districts of the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, including the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

2. The purport of my instructions was that, after a careful local inquiry into the origin, progress, and results of the scarcity and famine which prevailed throughout the several districts comprised in those divisions, I should state my opinion as to the causes which led to this calamity, and the timeliness and sufficiency of the measures adopted for the relief of the suffering and distress which it entailed, indicating any course of action on the part of Government that the facts elicited in the local inquiry might seem to suggest as practicable and expedient, in view to the avoidance of such a calamity in the future, or the mitigation of its disastrous effects.

3. In order that as much information as possible on matters directly or indirectly connected with the famine might be obtained from trustworthy and experienced persons residing in the interior of the districts within which famine prevailed, I communicated through the agency of the district officer with the principal European and native landholders of the several districts over which my inquiry extended by means of a memorandum containing certain general questions on the subject under investigation. The memorandum, and such of the replies to it as give detailed information in regard to the famine and the causes which led to it, are appended.

4. The accompanying charts, comprising the several districts to which this report has reference, show the tract of country in which the distress caused by the scarcity and high prices of food was most severe, and the position of the different relief centres at which a gratuitous distribution of food was made amongst the helpless paupers, and employment given on roads and other works of public utility to those who were not incapacitated for labour.

5. The first map contains all those districts of the Bhaugulpore and Patna Divisions which lie to the north of the River Ganges :—

Purneah and portions of Bhaugulpore and Monghyr	Bhaugulpore Division.
Tirhoot	Patna Division.
Chumparun	
Sarun	

The other chart comprises the several districts lying to the south of the Ganges, viz. :—

Shahabad	Patna Division.
Patna	
Gya	
Monghyr	Bhaugulpore Division.
Bhaugulpore	
Deoghur	Sonthal Pergunnahs.
Doomka	
Pakour	
Rajmehal	
Goddah	

6. I made local inquiries at the principal stations of all the foregoing districts, except Goddah, where the distress was very slight; and in those districts in which the pressure caused by the scarcity and high prices of food was most severe, I visited as many of the interior relief centres as the time within which I was required to complete the inquiry would admit of. I have also, as far as was possible, held personal communication with all official and non-official persons, from whom any useful information on the subject of the famine was likely to be obtained.

TIRHOOT.

7. The famine was most severely felt, both as regards its partial intensity and the wide area over which it extended, in the district of Tirhoot. In the Pergunnahs Dilawurpore, Narungah, Puriharpore, Mowas, Mahind, and Koomrah, belonging to the Sub-division of Seetamarhee, situated to the extreme north of the district, and adjacent to the territory of Nepal, the rice crop, which is the main produce, failed partially in 1863, and in a still greater degree, owing to excessive drought, in 1864. The price of food rose from the exhaustion of stocks, and about the middle of 1865 there were signs of incipient distress amongst the class of small agriculturists and their dependents generally.

8. In October 1865, with the prospect of a still more complete failure of the rice crops in the line of country bordering on the Nepaul territory, and a certain deficiency of that crop in a greater or less degree throughout the sub-division of Mudhobunee and the northern portions of the Sub-divisions of Durbungah and Mozufferpore, the prices of rice and Indian corn, the staple articles of food, rose to three times their ordinary rate. Cases of suicide for want of food, and deaths from absolute starvation, were reported by the police in the Seetamarhee and Durbungah Divisions, and severe distress was generally felt by the poorest classes.

9. The rice crop of 1865 which is harvested in December, though in the northern pergunnahs not exceeding a quarter of the out-turn of an ordinary season, and in other places generally showing a considerable deficiency as compared with the average of previous years, still supplied labour and food to a certain extent, and prices showed a slight improvement during the months of December 1865 and January 1866. The relief, however, was of a very short duration. The rice crop of the Nepal Terai, which in ordinary years yields an out-turn far in excess of the requirements of the population, and is largely exported

exported to Tirhoot and other neighbouring districts, entirely failed, and not only were supplies from that quarter not forthcoming, but the already reduced stocks on this side of the frontier were drained to supply the requirements of that country.

10. In February the prices of all kinds of food again assumed an upward tendency, whilst the gathering and storage of the rice crops being over, and the rubbee or spring crops not affording much demand for labour, the suffering and distress amongst the poorer labouring classes increased. Deaths from starvation were reported by the police, and the inhabitants of the villages in the northern pergunnahs, unable to cope with the ruin entailed by three successive years' drought, commenced deserting their homesteads, migrating southwards in large numbers.

11. The general distress amongst the lower classes was further manifested by the very marked increase in peculiar classes of crime which took place about this period. Fires, supposed to be the work of incendiaries, in which the village granaries were either burned, or plundered in the general confusion, and extensive grain robberies, committed solely for the purpose of obtaining food, were of constant occurrence. The police returns show the number of fires reported in March 1866 to have been 127; in April, 156; in May, 184; and in June, 146; whilst the average number of such occurrences reported throughout the whole year during the previous four years did not exceed 200. Grain robberies during this period are by the same returns shown to have been more than double the average of the previous four years.

12. The period between the harvest of the spring crops and the season for sowing the autumn and winter crops, *i. e.*, from April to June, affords little demand for agricultural labour, and in ordinary years the labourers subsist during this period on the stores accumulated by them, as their labour is paid for invariably in kind, during the previous harvest; but in the year of scarcity the employers of this description of labour were unable, from their diminished stocks of grain, to find the means of meeting the cost of labour to the usual extent, and the labourers having no stores to fall back upon, and being either unable to obtain, or unwilling to seek, other employment, were reduced to extreme destitution.

13. The professional beggars and the crippled and deformed paupers who ordinarily subsist upon the charity of the agricultural village communities suffered severely, and to a certain extent also the petty village artisans, who earn their livelihood by working for the ryots; but perhaps the greatest destitution and loss of life was amongst the "Nooniah" or saltpetre manufacturing class. This class formerly gained their livelihood by preparing the saltpetre in its crude state and supplying it to the refiners; but of late years, owing to the imposition of a considerable export duty and the successful competition of the substitute for saltpetre which is now manufactured in Europe, the trade has gradually declined, and, at the present prices obtainable, the Nooniahs can no longer make a living out of it. The vast majority of this class has thus been thrown on the general labour market, and, as during the season of high prices the demand for labour was slack, they had no means of subsistence.

14. No organised system of general relief was commenced until June, but about the end of April Mr. Davies, the deputy collector of the Seetamarhee sub-division, raised a small Subscription, and distributed food to about 30 persons daily. Raja Rogonundun Singh at Pursa and Roodro Bersad Chowdhuree at Nanpore, within the same division of the district, also supplied food at their own expense to the destitute in their vicinity. In May some of the relatives of the Maharajah of Durbhungah supplied several maunds of rice for daily distribution in that town. In the Mudhobunee Sub-division, where the general distress was also very great, food was supplied for distribution about the same time by Baboos Giridharee and Doorga Dutt Singh.

15. On the 1st June, at the express requisition of the Commissioner, the Collector called a public meeting at Mozufferpore for the purpose of raising subscriptions for the relief of the starving population, and about the same time directed his subordinate officers in charge of the Sub-divisions of Seetamarhee, Durbhungah, and Hajeepore, to form relief committees at those stations and

to

to raise subscriptions. Committees were formed, and relief operations gradually undertaken at the following centres :—

Mozufferpore Sub-Division.

At Mozufferpore - - -	opened	4th June	1866.
„ Rajkund (indigo factory) - -	„	18th May	„
„ Roney Syedpore (indigo factory)	„	5th July	„
„ Kurnoul (indigo factory) - -	„	24th „	„
„ Dhooly (indigo factory) - -	„	6th August	„
„ Belsund (indigo factory) - -	„	20th September	„
„ Poosah (Stud Depôt) - -	„	24th July	„

Seetamarhee Sub-Division.

At Seetamarhee - - - -	opened	7th June	1866.
„ Doomrah (indigo factory) -	„	13th „	„
„ Purihur (indigo factory) - -	„	14th „	„
„ Dain Chuprah (indigo factory) -	„	25th „	„
„ Pursah - - - - -	„	29th „	„
„ Bongong (indigo factory - -	„	1st July	„
„ Nanpore - - - -	„	5th „	„
„ Murpa (indigo factory) - -	„	11th August	„

Durbhungah Sub-Division.

At Dhurbhungah - - - -	opened	13th June	1866.
„ Bulbhuderpore - - -	„	13th „	„
„ Maut of Shookool - - -	„	13th „	„
„ Kansee - - - - -	„	23rd „	„

Mudhobunee Sub-Division.

At Nurhar - - - - -	opened	15th July	1866.
„ Kawan - - - - -	„	15th „	„
„ Bachowr - - - - -	„	22nd „	„
„ Bhukwah - - - - -	„	22nd „	„
„ Mudhobunee - - - -	„	15th September	„

Hajeepore Sub-Division.

At Hajeepore - - - -	opened	7th July	1856.

The total amount raised by local subscription was—

Head Quarters Division (Mozufferpore) - - *Rs.* 21,611. 10. 3.

Including the contribution of 10,000 rupees from the Durbhungah Estate under the management of the Court of Wards.

Seetamarhee Sub-Division - - - -	*Rs.* 4,847. 14. 0.
Durbhungah Sub-Division - - - -	9,760. 0. 0.

Including 5,000 rupees contributed by the Durbhungah Estate.

Mudhobunee Sub-Division - - - -	*Rs.* 1,804. 14. 3.
Hajeepore Sub-Division - - - -	291. 3. 11.

16. There being, unfortunately, no officer in special charge of the Mudhobunee Sub-division at this critical period, owing to the death of the previous incumbent of the office and delay in the provision of a substitute, the duty of supervising the relief operations in this part of the district, where distress prevailed in its most severe form, devolved upon Mr. Peterson, the assistant magistrate of Durbhungah. There was consequently a month's delay in starting the relief measures which had been generally set on foot elsewhere.

17. As a general principle of the relief to be administered, it was determined that a gratuitous supply of food was to be given only to those who were physically incapable of performing any labour, and that for all others suitable work was

was to be provided, and that they were to be required to labour for their food according to their capacity, but the Relief Committees left the determination of the description of food to be supplied, and the quantities of the daily ration to be given to each applicant entitled to receive relief, to the persons who undertook its administration at the several depôts.

A certain quantity of grain, or cooked food, was distributed daily amongst all applicants, and the portion actually received by each applicant for relief varied according to their number. That the daily ration so regulated was generally inadequate, and more especially so in the Sub-divisions of Durbhungah and Mudhobunee, to the proper sustenance of the relief recipients, is to be assumed from the following calculations taken from the official returns, as a sample of the scale on which relief was administered :—

For the week ending 14*th July* 1866.—In the Mozufferpore Division 72 maunds and 28 seers of grain were distributed amongst a daily average of 1,411 persons, giving an average daily ration of about 4½ chittacks to each. In Seetamarhee Sub-division a daily average of 1,656 persons consumed a total quantity of 98 maunds, 35 seers, 3 chittacks, giving a daily ration of about 5 chittacks to each person; and in the Durbhungah and Mudhobunee Sub-divisions, in which all the depôts were under the general management of the assistant magistrate of Durbhungah, 3,632 persons were supposed to be fed daily by the distribution of a total quantity of 107 maunds, 20 seers, and 8 chittacks, giving a daily ration to each person of less than 3 chittacks.

In the week ending 11*th August* 1866.—128 maunds and 32 seers were consumed in relieving a daily average of 1,473 persons in the Mozufferpore Division, equivalent to about 8 chittacks for each person daily.

In the Seetamarhee Sub-division during the same period 57 maunds and 18 seers were distributed amongst a daily average of 1,419 persons, giving a daily ration of about 4 chittacks to each person.

In the Durbhungah Division a daily average of 5,136 persons consumed during the week a total quantity of 91 maunds and 20 seers, which gives a daily ration of less than 2 chittacks for each person.

In the week ending 8*th September* 1866.—38 maunds, 7 seers, and 8 chittacks of grain were distributed at Mozufferpore to a daily average of 400 persons, giving about 8 chittacks to each person. At Seetamarhee 25 maunds, 21 seers, 8 chittacks were consumed in feeding a daily average of 360 persons, giving a daily allowance of less than 6 chittacks to each person. In the Durbhungah and Mudhobunee Sub-divisions 55 maunds, 20 seers were consumed by a daily average number of 3,814 recipients, giving a daily ration of less than 2 chittacks to each person.

18. From these facts it is clear that in the Mozufferpore Division only was the quantity of food distributed at the several relief depôts in any degree sufficient for the sustenance of those who had nothing else to depend upon. In the Durbhungah and Mudhobunee Divisions, under Mr. Peterson's arrangements, the relief administered during those three months may be said to have been purely nominal.

19. The explanation given by Mr. Peterson seems to indicate an impression on his part that his expenditure in relief measures must be limited by the funds at his disposal derived from local contributions. There is nothing in the correspondence that took place during the famine to justify such an impression; no application for public funds having at any time been refused or discouraged. Moreover, there may be said to have been almost unlimited resources available for effective measures of relief in this district from the Durbhungah Estate under the management of the Court of Wards. This estate was under peculiar obligations to bear the burden of relieving the distress prevailing not only in the Durbhungah Division, but also in that of Seetamarhee, for it includes a very large proportion of the land within those divisions, yielding an annual rent of upwards of 12 lacs of rupees. Administered by officers of Government, it should have been made the instrument of working out extensive measures of relief, by which a great number of lives might have been saved, and a notable example set to the landholders of this

and

and the surrounding districts, of the obligations which the possession of a large property entails at such a crisis.

20. The aid to the public relief administration contributed from the funds of this estate consisted of a donation of 10,000 rupees to the general district relief fund, and 5,000 rupees to the local relief fund at Durbhungah. An average daily supply of about 20 maunds of rice was distributed amongst the destitute at Durbhungah, from the middle of June till November. During the height of the general distress the number of recipients of this food is said to have been upwards of 5,000 rupees, so that at this period the daily portion of each applicant must have been far below the quantity requisite to sustain life. Remissions of rent to the extent of one-half were granted to the tenants of the six northern pergunnahs belonging to the estate where the failure of the rice crop had been absolute.

21. Distress was most severe throughout the months of July, August, and September, and the price of rice during this period ranged between 7 seers and $5\frac{1}{4}$ seers for the rupee in different parts of the district. In the north, rice was at this time procurable only with great difficulty, and this was also to some extent the case in Durbhungah and Mozufferpore. At Hajeepore and throughout the south of the district the pressure was comparatively slight.

The average number of daily applicants for relief at the several centres during this period was—

	July.	August.	September.
Mozufferpore	1,465	1,431	171
Rajkund	-	155	137
Roneysyedpore	-	221	141
Poosah	-	640	528
Kurnowl	-	124	—
Dhooly	-	270	—
Seetamarhee	517	381	346
Doomrah	411	759	94
Purihur	179	211	118
Dain Chupra	436	462	405
Pursah	145	127	105
Bongong	191	—	—
Nanpore	-	2,228	998
Murpa	-	-	96
Durbhungah			
Bulbhuderpore			
Maut of Shookul			
Kansee			
Mudhoobunee	3,354	4,523	3,637
Nurhar			
Kawan			
Buchowr			
Bhukwah			
Hajeepore	70	89	100

22. In August cholera appeared, and spread through several villages in the neighbourhood of Purihur, Dain Chupra, Seetamarhee, Bongong, and Nanpore in the north of the district, and also at Durbhungah and Mozufferpore. Two Native doctors were specially deputed to the Seetamarhee Division, and medicines were freely distributed by them and by the indigo planters in that part of the district. The mortality caused by these outbreaks was necessarily very severe, and the people being generally reduced in strength from a long course of privation quickly succumbed to the disease. I heard of more than one instance, during my tour in this district, especially in the vicinity of Nanpore, of villages in which groups of houses were to be found entirely denuded of their inmates by the ravages of this disease.

23. Between June and November 1,070 persons receiving relief in the Seetamarhee Sub-division were under medical treatment, out of whom 797 died within an average period of eight days after admission to hospital. Of 343 persons admitted to hospital in the Mozufferpore Sub-division during the same period 94 persons died within an average period of four days after admission.

24. The number of deaths which occurred during the year 1866, from starvation or disease, as entered in the accompanying Annexure (No. III.), represents only an approximate return of the actual mortality, and was obtained by inquiry amongst the village police and the local agents of the landholders. There is reason to believe that the results exhibited are rather under than over the reality, and, considering that the deaths of most of those who are reported to have died from disease were probably indirectly caused or accelerated by their previous starving condition, it is clear that the relief measures were altogether inadequate to the occasion. Taking even the average number receiving relief in any form during the month of August, at which time the relief expenditure was greatest, the proportion of cases relieved to deaths is scarcely more than one to five.

25. The bhadooee or autumn crops, which are gathered in September, were in 1866 abundant: the extreme pressure of distress generally abated on their coming in, and the administration of relief was found to admit of gradual contraction. When I visited the district at the close of November, the relief centres at Durbhungah, Mudhobunee, Purihur, Dain Chupra, Belsund, and Roneysyedpore were still in operation, but the number of applicants, except at Durbhungah, was much reduced, and by December, when the rice crop would be gathered, it was expected that most of those remaining would, of their own accord, disperse, and the necessity for dispensing further relief be absolutely at an end.

26. The rice crop then about to be reaped was generally good except in certain parts of the northern pergunnahs within the Durbhungah Estate and the property of the Rajah of Soorsun; there deaths and desertion of homestead amongst the ryots assumed such proportions as to leave at least one-half of the lands, belonging to their villages, uncultivated. On my visit to Purihur, I went into several of these villages, and found them depopulated to the extent of two-thirds, only about 30 out of the 80 or 100 houses in each being found inhabited. The standing crop on the lands that had been cultivated was very poor; much of it seemed to be hardly worth the cost of harvesting, and would probably be left as food for the cattle. The condition of the people in this part of the district will need the attention of the district officers, should the prices of food again become high, for, there being no stores to depend upon, the distress will of course be great. Some land in the vicinity of Nanpore, within the estate of Roodropersad Chowduree, was also left uncultivated owing to the excessive mortality caused there by privation and disease.

27. Rajah Rogonundon Singh, Chowduree Roodropersad, Baboo Beekun Khan, of Pursownee, Mirza Tussuddook Hossein, Baboos Giridharee Singh, and Doorga Dutt Singh, of Mudhobunee, distributed some grain during the period of distress, but no general and efficient system of relief was initiated by any zemindar, and the landholders generally may be said to have practically ignored their obligations and responsibilities in this crisis. Their estates are for the most part leased in farm, and they seem to suppose that with the lease, all property and interest in, or responsibility for, the well-being of the people who dwell on the estates, has passed from them to the lessees, whilst the latter, holding the estates piece-meal and for short terms, have neither the means nor the inducement to help the people in their distress.

28. The relief measures in this district do not appear to have been timely or sufficient. It was well known that in 1864 the rice crop, which is the chief produce of the district, and on the sufficiency of which the prosperous condition of the people of the northern pergunnahs entirely depends, had failed to the extent of nearly one-half; prices, which at the opening of the year were one rupee for 25 seers of rice, had risen to one rupee for 12 seers. In September the magistrate of the district wrote to the district superintendent of police, calling upon him to report after local inquiry on "the almost famine state of the district." The report, in reply to this requisition, showed that there did exist at that time extreme distress amongst the poorest classes, and that deaths had occurred from starvation in the north and east divisions of the district. The Collector reported in October the existence of great distress through high prices and the failure of the winter crops, adding that deaths from extreme destitution had occurred. From the commencement of the year

1866 the emigration of villagers from the north of the district was in itself a sufficient indication of the extremity of the pressure in that quarter. In February prices again rose, and in April they were higher than in the previous October. Grain robberies and incendiary fires were of constant occurrence, and regular employment in the fields for the labouring classes was not procurable.

29. The Board of Revenue, in its Circular letter, dated 12th December 1865, empowered district officers to expend money on works of utility from the resources either of estates of which Government was the proprietor, or of estates whose management was vested in the Court of Wards or in the Collector, and further suggested the formation of Relief Committees and the collection of funds by local subscription, whenever extended relief might become necessary. In this district the Collector, as representing the Court of Wards, in which the management of the Durbhungah estate is vested, had peculiar facilities, and ample resources, for the surplus revenues of the estate have accumulated, since it came under the Court of Wards, to a very large amount, for undertaking works on an extensive scale, which, if not absolutely reproductive, would at least have been useful, and have opened out a wide field of labour of a kind suited to the wants of the people, the chief sufferers amongst whom belonged to the villages of the Durbhungah Estate, and had therefore a strong claim upon the proprietor or those administering the estate on his behalf, for aid in their distress.

30. Nothing was done, however, till June, when the manager was invited to suggest any works in which people might usefully be employed, and he then replied that with the rains close at hand it was difficult to find work, and thus the opportunity of affording the means of substantial relief to a large number of those who suffered, and subsequently died from absolute starvation, was lost. It has been assigned as a reason for the omission to supply labour opportunely, that the people were unwilling to work; even if this objection had been practically tested and found to exist, in regard to public road work, it does not follow that it would have been urged in the case of works undertaken by the landlord of the estate on which the people to be employed lived, such as digging tanks and wells, or making canals for irrigation purposes, the payment for their labour being fixed at such rates as would enable them to support themselves and their families.

31. The Collector's first action was taken at the close of May upon the Commissioner's requisition, and there is nothing to show that, so far as the results of his own observation of the prevailing distress aided the movement, he had any stronger case to go before the public to raise a general subscription then, than he would have had if he had acted upon the Board's proposition, in respect of forming a Relief Committee, in the previous March or April. Had relief measures been started two months sooner, most of the applicants for relief would have been capable of performing some labour; the people would not have been reduced to a perfectly helpless condition, and there would not have been so many instances of people in the last stage of emaciation with difficulty reaching the relief centre to receive one meal, and die.

31. Messrs. Campbell, Cockburn, Tripe, Brown, Macdonald, Tweedie, Irvine, Holloway, and Smith, Rajah Rogonundon Singh of Soorsun, and Chowdhuree Roodropersad, undertook the distribution of food at the Purihur, Doomra, Dain Chupra, Rajkund, Kurnowl, Bongong, Pursa, and Nanpore relief centres, and Mr. Hickey, the Manager of Belsund Factory, who had, previously to the adoption of public relief measures, distributed grain amongst the distressed in his neighbourhood at the expense of the proprietors of that indigo concern, undertook at a later period the superintendence of the public relief at that place.

CHUMPARUN.

32. In this district also the famine was most severely felt in the north and north-eastern pergunnahs along the borders of the Nepal Terai, the cultivation there being principally rice, and the crop of 1865 having failed entirely. The bhadoee crops (chiefly maize) of that year yielded a fair out-turn, but owing to the high prices then prevailing, and the indigent circumstances of the

cultivators, the produce was, for the most part, sold for exportation, and, when the failure of the rice crop was assured, the distress became general.

33. In October 1865 the commonest sort of rice was not procurable in the district at a more favourable rate than nine seers for the rupee, or three times the price at which it was sold at the commencement of the year, and all other edible grains had risen in like proportion. At the beginning of November the Collector, in reply to the Commissioner's inquiries as to the condition of the district, reported as follows:—"From the inquiries I have made it is apparent that there will be a serious scarcity of food in my district; the rice crops have failed in most parts owing to the early cessation of the rains, and where in some low lands the crops looked promising they have been destroyed by the late heavy inundations arising from the breaking of the Gunduck embankments to the south-west of the district, and from the floods of the Little Gunduck and Dhunmowtee Rivers, in the north portion where most of the rice cultivation is carried on:" adding that "The prospects of the rubbee crop are not good, for in many parts of the district second sowings have as yet failed." In this state of things the Collector recommended that public works should be undertaken for the purpose of giving relief to the labouring classes who were suffering for want of food owing to the entire failure of the rice crops both within the district and in the Nepal Terai, from which country the large imports, which in ordinary years replenished the local markets, were no longer forthcoming.

34. As the Indian corn, or maize, which is the main crop of the district, had been almost entirely exported, on account of the high prices then obtained, and as the local rice crop had entirely failed, and the importation of rice from Nepal had ceased, other edible grains came into demand, and with the prospect, owing to the smaller area sown, of an insufficient spring harvest in 1866, the prices went on steadily rising, and the distress increased.

35. In February a severe hailstorm caused great injury to the rubbee, or spring crop, in some villages along the line of the Gunduck, in the south and south-east of the district, and subsequently early dry winds, setting in immediately after the heavy rain that fell about this time, still further injured this crop generally; and partly from this cause and partly from the bad seed that had been used, it yielded a very bad out-turn. The "cheena" also, a small grain commonly in demand amongst the poorer classes of this district and of Tirhoot, which had been extensively sown in February in the land left fallow at the commencement of the season for want of moisture and the scarcity of seed, was completely dried up, and the local resources of the people were thus fully exhausted.

36. The district became entirely dependent for its food on external markets, and the cost of carriage added to the already high rates prevailing in the neighbouring districts placed food quite beyond the reach of the poorer classes, for whose labour there was no demand, and, as the result of the general indigence and want of the means of support amongst this class, grain robberies and incendiary fires were of daily occurrence. An indigo planter of great experience in the district estimates the number of villages in which such fires took place at not less than 90 per cent. throughout the entire district.

37. Nothing was done towards relieving the general distress until June, the Collector having reported favourably of the prospects of the rubbee crop in the month of January, then stating that there was no necessity for undertaking public works as a relief measure, and subsequently in February and March, though not giving so good accounts of this crop, still not recommending any special action towards the provision of public relief.

38. On the 7th June, upon the previous requisition of the Commissioner, a public meeting was called by the Collector, at which a Relief Committee was formed to act at head-quarters, Moteharee, and a Sub-Committee at Bettiah. Relief centres were at that time established at Moteharee, Bettiah, Segowlie, and Adapore, at which gratuitous relief in the shape of one daily meal of soaked gram, for which rice was sometimes substituted, was administered to those who were physically incapable of performing any labour, and employment on road work was given to those who were fit for it, each person receiving payment in money at the average rate of from six to three pice according to age and

and capacity for labour. Subsequently fresh centres of relief were opened at Kessurea, Gobindgunj, Soogaon, Meerpore, Bhelwa, Kutkenwah; and Burhowrah, at which food of the same description was given gratuitously to the helpless, and employment found for those able to work. Food was also given at all the principal factories to the destitute coming from villages belonging to the indigo concerns.

39. No system, or regard to the principle of a fixed dietary allowance, regulated the distribution of food at any of the public centres; a certain quantity of food was supplied, and the quantity obtained by each applicant, as a daily ration, depended on the number of the recipients. At Adapore, Dacca, Kessureea, and Gobindunj, where the duty of administering relief devolved upon the police, a certain sum was allowed for daily expenditure without reference to the number of applicants for whom food was required to preserve them from starvation. The following will show the insufficiency of the relief so administered. In August and September at the Moteharee centre a daily average number of 1,500 persons received only as much food as could be purchased by an expenditure of 58 rupees, when rice was at six seers per rupee, so that the daily allowance to each person did not exceed four chittacks. At the Adapore centre in September, a daily sum of 15 rupees only was expended in feeding 735 to 750 persons, which, even at the rate of eight seers per rupee, would give less than three chittacks for each man. At Kessureea, where the daily expenditure was limited to eight rupees, the average daily number of applicants for relief was about 300. At Burhowah in September, 17 rupees only were expended daily in feeding 540 persons.

40. In August the embankments of the Main Gunduck River gave way, and the flood water, passing over the country till it joined the channel of the smaller Gunduck, laid the whole of the intervening land under water, and destroyed, more or less, the crops over an area of about 16,000 beegahs; this calamity coming upon the people in their already straitened circumstances, much enhanced the general distress in this part of the district. A relief centre was established at Burhowrah under the superintendence of the sub-deputy opium agent, for the distribution of food to those rendered destitute by the inundation.

41. The average daily number receiving gratuitous relief at the several centres during the months in which the distress was at its height, was—

	July.	August.	September.
At Moteharee - - - - - -	1,500	1,500	1,465
„ Bettiah - - - - - - -	1,200	320	320
„ Segowlee - - - - - -	550	560	540
„ Adapore - - - - - -	280	320	100
„ Kessureea - - - - - -	80	120	50
„ Gobindgunj - - - - - -	200	250	60
„ Meerpore - - - - - -	- -	170	130
„ Bhellowa - - - - - -	80	120	100
„ Dacca - - - - - - -	270	286	234
„ Burhowrah - - - - - -	- -	100	100

42. During this period there was an outbreak of cholera at Moteharee; the disease does not appear to have spread, and the number of persons affected by it is stated to have been too inconsiderable to call for special measures, the medical aid available locally being found sufficient for the occasion.

43. The mortality in this district from actual starvation and disease, engendered by want of proper sustenance, was excessive. The return furnished by the district superintendent of police has been prepared partly from police reports, and partly from the results of inquiries amongst the landholders. Though the data upon which it is based cannot establish any claim to accuracy, the number of deaths has probably not been exaggerated, and if not, it shows that out of a population of about 8,50,000 not less than 56,000, or 6 per cent., have perished, either directly or indirectly, from the effects of the famine.

 44. The

44. The classes upon which the scarcity and high prices of food pressed most severely in this district were the dosads, ahers, domes, koormies, and nooniahs, especially the last, of whom it is stated that not less than one-third died during the famine; they formerly gained their livelihood entirely by supplying crude saltpetre to the manufacturers, who refine and prepare it for the market; the present market price does not allow any profit to the refiner, and hence there is no longer a sufficient demand for the crude saltpetre, to find regular employment for the nooniah class in its preparation.

45. There was a marked want of co-operation on the part of the native landholders and wealthier classes with the authorities of the district in the adoption of, or affording aid to, public measures for the relief of the people. The subscriptions amounted only to 9,574 rupees, of which 5,000 rupees were contributed by the Rajah of Bettiah, who owns more than half the land in the district. Some zemindars administered private relief, but not on an extensive scale, and the Rajah of Bettiah fed about 200 persons daily throughout the period of scarcity.

46. The Indian corn crop of 1866 was generally very good, and on its being gathered in September, prices at once fell, and considerable relief was experienced, so much so that the Collector discontinued the distribution of food, and closed every relief centre on the 1st October. It may be doubted, however, whether this sudden suspension of the distribution of food was not premature; the distress had been very great, and in the middle of September a daily average of 1,100 persons was still being fed, with no prospect of regular employment for the labouring classes till the following December.

47. The relief measures in this district were too late, and on an insufficient scale. As regards the delay and omission to take earlier action for the relief of the people, there was necessarily some difficulty arising out of the constant change of Collectors which took place between November and May. In December Mr. Halliday, the Collector, who had reported most unfavourably of the prospects of the people, and had pointed out the necessity of providing employment for them on public works, was succeeded by Mr. M'Donell, who, taking a favourable view of the prospects of the rubbee crop and its probable effect on the prices of food, considered that no special relief measures were called for. In February Mr. M'Donell gave place again to Mr. Halliday, who in April was transferred to another district, and succeeded by the present Collector, Mr. Beames. Had relief measures been adopted in the early part of the year, many lives would have been saved in all human probability, and the 11,000 rupees, which were subsequently expended in labour, if then made available for public works, might have been laid out to far greater advantage. Expenditure on the earth-work of roads during the rainy season gives no adequate return for the outlay.

SARUN.

48. The distress in the Sarun district was at first general, from the effects of two or three bad harvests in successive years, and the general increase in the price of all kinds of food, with no proportionate rise in the wages of labour, and was subsequently locally intensified by the complete destruction of crops caused by the severe hailstorm, which traversed a portion of the district from west to east in February 1866. The autumn crops of 1864 partially failed, and the ensuing rubbee or spring crops sustained very great injury from a hailstorm which passed over exactly the same tract of country as that devastated by the more severe storm above alluded to. From these causes the stock of grain throughout this portion of the district, embracing an area of between 200 and 300 square miles, had received no fresh supply from local produce, and distress began to be felt at an early period.

49. The chief food-supplying produce of the district is Indian corn, or maize, and different sorts of rubbee or spring crops, such as wheat, barley, peas, and small grain; rice is grown only on the low lands, the local supply being ordinarily supplemented by imports from Nepal and Tirhoot. These sources failing, as the old stocks of grain became exhausted, the general distress increased, and about the beginning of October 1865 the Collector, Mr. Grey, called a public

a public meeting to concert some general measure of relief. At this meeting a committee of native gentlemen was formed for the purpose of buying rice for re-sale at rates below those then obtaining in the local markets. The rice was to be purchased wholesale in other districts, the purchase money being advanced by some of the wealthy zemindars, to be repaid from the sale proceeds. Through the agency of Baboo Bhugwan Dass, a merchant residing at Chupra, about 500 maunds were purchased, and sales to the poor were commenced at $11\frac{1}{4}$ seers to the rupee, the rice having been purchased at the rate of 12 seers, and the then market retail rate being $9\frac{3}{4}$ seers. The Collector, on communicating the course which he had adopted to the Board, was immediately instructed by telegram to do nothing which should either directly or indirectly interfere with trade, and the rice sales were consequently stopped.

50. The sales could not have been continued with advantage; the rice purchased by the committee was procured from the Chumparun district, where the supply was very short, and the market rates higher even than those prevailing at Chupra, so that the committee's source of supply in this direction must have failed had their operations been protracted, and the drawing of supplies from Chumparun so long as they were forthcoming, was, in effect, adding to the distress of that district. Moreover had the drawing of grain from the Chumparun district to feed Sarun been a legitimate and expedient operation, viewed in regard to the then existing relative supply and demand of the two districts, there was a certainty of the grain finding its way to the Sarun markets in the regular course of trade, as Revelgunj, a town situated on the bank of the Gogra, and about six miles from Chupra, the head quarters of the Sarun district, is the largest grain mart in the three districts of Tirhoot, Chumparun, and Sarun, and the dealers there have regular trade communication with the grain dealers of Chumparun.

51. In November of the same year the Collector reported, in reply to the Commissioner's inquiry as to the condition of the crops and the prospects of the people, that the local rice crop had failed to the estimated extent of two-thirds, and that, as imported rice was then only procurable in the rice-supplying districts of Bengal at the rates at which in ordinary years it was sold in the local markets, prices must continue to be high, and distress general. He added that much depended upon the rubbee, or spring crops, the sowing of which had been retarded by the unfavourable condition of the ground, owing to the early cessation of the rains and the difficulty experienced in procuring sufficient seed. If this crop prospered the people might, he thought, get through the hard times, but if it failed he anticipated "frightful distress."

52. In February a fearful hailstorm occurred traversing the district from its extreme north-west corner to the eastern limit, where it is bounded by the River Gunduck. The tract of country swept by the storm was about 35 miles in length, with an average breadth of from five to eight miles. Within this tract almost every blade of corn and every green leaf is said to have been completely destroyed. Throughout many parts of this tract opium, on which the ryot's chief care and labour is bestowed, is largely cultivated. The cultivators of this plant had, through the partial destruction of it caused by the storm of the previous year, suffered severe losses, which fell entirely upon themselves, the opium agent not considering them entitled to the indulgence of any remission of the advances which they had received for this cultivation, because, as he stated, "they generally delivered sufficient opium to cover their advances, and their losses, though doubtless heavy, were not so ruinous nor so severe as they would have been had their crops been entirely destroyed."

53. The opium cultivator ordinarily looks to his profits on this cultivation to meet the zemindar's demand for rent for his entire holding. In the storm-smitten tract in the year 1865, not only was there no profit forthcoming to meet the payment of his rent, but to some extent at least, as shown by the statement of the opium agent, he had out of his own resources to find money for the complete adjustment of the balance against him on account of advances, which, owing to the destruction caused by the storm, the quantity of opium produced by him was insufficient to cover.

 54. The

54. The effect of the storm of 1866 was consequently absolute ruin to this class within the tract above mentioned, and the Collector, Mr. Grey, who promptly visited the scene of this destruction, seeing their extremity, at once reported to the Commissioner, by whom his recommendation was strongly supported, that it was expedient to declare the immediate remission of the entire advances up to that time received by the cultivators of those lands, of which the produce should be found, on a careful local inquiry to be then instituted, to have been entirely and irretrievably destroyed by the violence of the storm.

55. The recommendation was not acceded to, and although no attempt has been made to recover these balances, and they will probably be eventually remitted as irrecoverable, yet the effect which an immediate declaration of remission would have had in setting an example of liberality to the landlords, in treating the question of their claims against these unfortunate people for rent, and in inducing the mahajuns, from whom they ordinarily receive loans of grain or money, to carry them on, by at once removing this incubus of the heavy claim on the part of Government in respect of these advances, amounting in aggregate to 94,312 rupees, was lost, and 5,000 people were, through the delay in making a concession, which must be made eventually, reduced for the time at least, to the ranks of pauperism, for with the Government claim on account of opium advances hanging over him the cultivator would, in most instances, appeal in vain to his landlord for an absolute remission of rent, and would have too little credit with his mahajun for obtaining loans to carry him on. That the effect of an immediate release of the obligations of the opium cultivators to Government in respect of the advances already received by them, would have been to procure for them a similar concession on the part of the landlords in respect of rent, is to be inferred from the fact that Mr. Cosserat, an indigo planter, and large proprietor of land in the centre of the country affected by the storm, in reporting on the subject to the Collector, stated that the landlords were already prepared to forego pressing their claims on the tenants during the current year, and that he himself, if the Government would remit its claim in respect of the opium advances, would grant a proportionate absolute remission of rent to his tenants.

56. The great want, as the immediate consequence of this destruction of the standing crops, was the means of employment for the labouring classes who, in the absence of any demand for agricultural labour, would necessarily have no other means of support until the ensuing sowing season, then three or four months distant.

The Collector sent 1,000 rupees each to Mr. Wilson, of Sadowa Factory, Mr. Cosserat, of Burhoga, and Mr. Macdonald, of Pertabpore, all residing within the tract which had suffered most severely, for the employment of the people in repairing of roads. Work was also started at Sewan. Several hundred people were supported in this way until the end of April, when, as there was no more money forthcoming from the Ferry Fund, the source from which the means of employing these people had been derived, the work was necessarily suspended, and those hitherto supported by it were thrown out of employ. I was told by Messrs. Wilson and Cosserat that this sudden cessation of the means of employment, when the pressure was most severe, considerably enhanced the distress prevailing in their neighbourhood.

57. No further relief measures were adopted till June, when a public meeting was convened for the purpose of raising a local relief fund. A Relief Committee and Sub-Committees were formed for undertaking relief measures in the Chupra and Sewan Divisions; a subscription was set on foot, by which 16,147 rupees, including a contribution of 2,000 rupees from the Rajah of Hutwa, the largest and most influential landholder of the district were raised. For the guidance of those persons who undertook the direct administration of relief, it was determined by the Committee that the allowance of food to those receiving gratuitous relief should not exceed eight chittacks of rice and one chittack of dal, and that this form of relief should be given only to those who were physically incapable of doing any work.

58. Relief

58. Relief centres were established at—

Chupra Division:	
Chupra	22 June.
Ramcola	27 „
Rajaputty	29 „
Burhoga	27 „
Sudowa	28 „
Sewan Division:	
Sewan	26 June.
Pertabpore	28 „
Hosseingunj	
Koochaicote	2 July.
Nurhun	28 June.
Digwarra	17 August.

The relief centres were for the most part supplied with grain purchased at Revilgung by the Central Committee, the stocks of the local bazars being so far exhausted that the retail dealers were selling rice at the rate of five to six seers for the rupee, when it was procurable at Chupra at the rate of nine seers. The distribution of cooked food was attempted at several centres, but resulted in reducing the number of applicants to $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the usual average; it was therefore abandoned, except in the case of hospital patients under medical treatment, and either plain rice, or a mixture of gram and peas ground into flour, was distributed in one meal daily. At Chupra and Sewan a small proportion of dal was given to be mixed with the rice.

59. The daily average number of persons receiving gratuitous relief at each centre during the months of July and August, when the distress appears to have been greatest in this district, was—

	July.	August.
Chupra Division:		
Chupra	284	332
Ramcola	780	518
Burhoga	952	828
Sudowa	826	840
Rajaputty	874	852
Sewan Division:		
Sewan	306	346
Pertabpore	403	156
Hosseingunj	251	286
Nurhun	202	—
Koochaicote	184	—

Relief works were commenced in July. The sum of 20,000 rupees was assigned from Imperial funds for this purpose, and a large number of people were, during the months of July and August, employed at Sewan on repairs of roads. Light road work was also given to relief applicants at Ramcola, Burhoga, Sudowa, Rajaputty, and Pertabpore; a total average number of about 1,800 persons were supported through the months of July, August, and September in this way, but had the money been expended at a much earlier period, not only would many lives that were lost have been saved, and many kept from sinking into the ranks of helpless paupers, but some permanent advantage would have been secured in the improvement of the district road communication.

60. In many parts of the district cholera made its appearance, but nowhere did it prevail in any violent form or assume an epidemic character such as to have called for the provision of special medical aid. At Sewan and Chupra only was any medical establishment available for the treatment of the sick. At the former station, I find from the records that out of 146 admissions to hospital

pital during the months of August, September, and October, 81 persons were discharged as cured, and 65 died within an average interval of eight days after admission. At Chupra no record was kept of the cases of paupers under medical treatment.

61. The number of deaths which occurred in this district during the year of distress, as entered in the Annexure No. III., is taken from the police returns, and cannot be held to represent even approximately the entire loss of life resulting, directly or indirectly, from the famine, as the returns do not include those who remained to starve in their own houses rather than come to seek charitable relief, or even all of those who died by the way side, or in the jungles, of whose deaths the village chowkeedars, the only local agency for reporting such occurrences, either obtained no information, or, at a time of such general distress and struggle for mere existence omitted, to make any report at the police station. Taking this return, however, as giving the minimum of deaths that did occur, it tends to show the inadequacy of the relief administered to the need of the district, for in no month of the period during which relief measures were in operation, did the number receiving food gratuitously, or money and food in payment for labour, exceed a daily average of about 7,000 persons.

62. That relief came far too late is manifest even from the Collector's own showing, for he reported at the end of 1865, that everything depended upon the spring crops, and that if they failed the distress would be frightful. When, therefore, the complete destruction of that crop from the effects of the hail-storm in February occurred in that part of the district to which the most severe distress was confined, a clear case for extensive relief measures had arisen; yet no provision for affording relief on a scale at all commensurate with the need of the people was attempted till late in the month of June, and consequently a vast number of the people who then came to the relief centres to obtain food, were already in a moribund state, to whom the first meal gave the death-blow.

63. The Rajah of Hutwa distributed between two and three maunds of grain to an average number of paupers, amounting to about 200 daily, at his residence situate in the centre of the tract in which the greatest distress prevailed.

Messrs. G. Wilson, L. Cosserat, G. Llewhellin, D. Reid, G. Williams, N. Macdonald, and W. Wilson, indigo planters, and Moulvies Fakeer Hossein and Zahir Hossein, zemindars of this district, undertook the duty of distributing of food at the several relief centres in the interior.

SHAHABAD.

64. In this district distress was felt most severely in pergunnahs Chowsa, Peerco, Chynpore, Nonore, and Powwar, in which the rice cultivation preponderates. This crop failed to the extent of from $\frac{5}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the out-turn of an average season in both 1864 and 1865, owing to excessive drought. With the exception of the tract of country lying between the line of railway and the River Ganges, where the land being low, and subject to inundation, retains a sufficient moisture for the growth of spring crops, and an area of about 750 square miles in the immediate vicinity, and receiving the drainage of the Khymore Hills, the district generally suffered in both these years for want of a timely and sufficient rain fall, the crops being far below the average.

65. The failure of the crops in 1864 led to the rapid exhaustion of local stores of grain, and towards the end of 1865 the district, which in ordinary years exports to a considerable extent, was mainly dependent on imported grain for the support of its population. The second complete failure of the rice crop of 1865 therefore at once caused very general and severe distress; all edible grains had then risen to more than double the rates prevailing at the corresponding period in 1863, and in respect of barley, peas, and gram, which, when the price of rice places it beyond their reach, are much consumed by the poorest classes, the increase of price in the same period had been fourfold.

66. In

66. In November 1865 the Collector, reporting on the then existing distress, stated that "there is too much reason to fear that food is already beyond the free reach of the poorer classes," and further added that, "unless matters improve it will be necessary to form local committees, raise money for importing grain, and apply to the Government for aid in carrying out works which will give employment to the people." No special relief measures were commenced, however, till the beginning of June 1866, when, under instructions from the Commissioner, employment was given to the distressed labouring classes in the repairs of roads in the Sasseram and Bhubooah subdivisions. The sum of 2,500 rupees was allotted for expenditure in this way in each division.

67. In July Relief Committees were formed; and centres for the gratuitous distribution of food were opened at the following places:—

Arrah Subdivision	Arrah	20th July.
	Beebeegunj	12th August.
	Jugdispore	„ „
	Peeroo	„ „
Buxar Subdivision	Buxar	26th July.
Sasseram Subdivision	Sasseram	20th „
	Dhungain	13th September.
	Nusreegunj	15th August.
	Akburpore	18th „
Bhubooah Subdivision	Bhubooah	24th July.

Suttoo, or grain pounded into flour, was given at the Arrah centre at the rate of one seer for adults and half a seer for children up to the beginning of August, from which time to the close of the relief, cooked rice and dâl mixed were given in nearly the same average quantity. At the other centres, with the exception of Jugdispore, where for a short time pice were distributed in lieu of food, cooked rice and dâl were given throughout the period of relief. In the Buxar Division an average daily ration of half a seer of suttoo was given to each person till the 12th October, when cooked rice and dâl were substituted. In the Bhubooah Division rice and gram were distributed on alternate days till 21st August, from which date rice only was given till 3rd September, and afterwards cooked rice and dâl. Those who were fit to work were employed in repairs of roads and received payment at rates varying from nine to three pice, in the Arrah Division, and in the other subdivisions at the average rate of five pice per day for each person.

68. The average number of persons receiving gratuitous relief at the several centres during the months of August and September, when the distress was greatest, was as follows:—

	August.	September.
Arrah	988	900
Jugdispore	213	587
Beebeegunj	413	425
Peeroo	219	416
Buxar	218	199
Bhubooah	429	412

The average number of persons employed in repairs of roads throughout the district was—

In August	868
September	1,662

69. Messrs. Thomson and Fox, of Beheea, commenced, from an early period antecedent to the public relief measures, the expenditure of 100 rupees weekly in the distribution of food; the Rajah of Doomraon, Mr. Davis, an indigo planter residing at Rhotas, and Beebee Moula Buksh, a zemindar of Nasreegunj, administered private relief during the period of distress, but the zemindars generally are said to have been backward in helping the people, and in co-

operating with the public relief measures, or contributing to their support. The duty of dispensing relief at the Peeroo, Jugdispore, Beebeegunj, Akburpore, and Nasreegunj depôts was undertaken by Messrs. Thomson, C. Fox, Miller, and Campbell, and the Tehseeldar of the zemindar, Beebee Moula Buksh.

70. Cholera and small-pox were most prevalent in Arrah, which was crowded with people who had come for relief from the interior of the district. The hospital returns show that at Arrah, in the months of August, September, and October, out of 337 persons admitted to hospital 147 died within an average of eight days after admission. At Jugdispore, during the same period, out of 149 persons under medical treatment only 19 died within an average of six days after admission to hospital, and at Buxar, out of 103 persons receiving medical aid, eight persons died within three days after first treatment. No distinct returns in regard to those who received medical aid in the hospitals at Sasseram and Bhubooah are forthcoming.

71. The number of deaths entered in the Annexure (No. 3.) as having occurred in this district is—

From starvation - - - - - - - - -	3,161
„ disease - - - - - - - - - -	954

This return is prepared from the police reports of the deaths which came to their knowledge as having actually occurred. Contrasting the number so obtained, which for the reasons previously stated must be far less than the number of deaths which took place throughout the period of the famine, with the entire average daily number relieved at the time when the greatest amount of relief was given, it appears that the number of lives supported must have been considerably less than the number of lives lost, and the necessary conclusion from this is that the relief was inadequate to the occasion. The people suffering the severest distress were spread over an area of upwards of 1,000 miles, to relieve whom only seven centres (exclusive of those at Arrah, Beebeegunj and Buxar, which were too distant to apply local relief to what may be termed the famine tract) were established, and as regards time, no relief measures were commenced till long after the pauper population had been reduced to the extremity of striving to support life on roots, leaves, and grass.

GYA.

72. Here the distress was most severe in that part of the district which lies to the west and in the immediate vicinity of the Gya station and to the extreme south-west, and south, within the subdivisions of Aurungabad and Sherghotty, extending over an area of upwards of 1,300 square miles, and comprising Pergunnahs Goh, Dadur, Kabur, Urwul, Uncha, Manora, Chirkawun, Dukhmair, Sunout, Siris, Kootomba, Jupla, and Sherghotty.

73. The rice crop, which is the main cultivation in most of these pergunnahs, may be said to have failed completely in 1864, and from that time prices rose considerably, and general distress began to be felt. The rubbee or spring crops of 1865 were much below the average; for want of sufficient moisture in the ground, resulting from the early cessation of the rains in 1864 and the difficulty experienced in obtaining seed, the area under rubbee cultivation was contracted, and the produce was much injured by the severe hailstorms which fell in the spring of 1865. From these causes the general distress became so great that in May and June of that year, the poorer classes were reduced to living upon the seeds of the "mowa" tree, berries, grass, and herbs.

74. This extreme destitution abated on the setting in of the rains. The Collector, in a letter to the Commissioner, dated 14th July, wrote: "There can be no doubt that the prices of the necessaries of life, though partially abated, will still for months remain at rates beyond the reach of the poorer classes, and that the general distress now prevailing must continue to be felt to a considerable extent," and recommended that the agricultural exhibition which it had been

been proposed to hold at the close of the year should be postponed. The rains having then set in and given the means of employment as well as caused a fall of prices, special relief measures were not deemed necessary. The condition of the people, however, did not improve, and the general distress reached its climax in October 1865, when only seven seers of rice could be purchased for one rupee.

75. The Collector commenced a daily distribution of grain, and called a meeting of the principal inhabitants, with the object of raising a general subscription to defray the cost of maintaining the starving people. A daily average of about 1,000 persons were fed at Gya, by public charity, from 12th October to 17th December, when, the markets again falling, and the rice harvest affording means of employment, the relief was considered no longer necessary, and suspended.

76. Meanwhile the Collector had reported, in November, on the failure of the rice crop of 1865, and the unfavourable prospects of the spring crops of 1866, stating his opinion that the extreme distress, which was then abating on account of the in-coming rice harvest, would be again felt in the following February, when the extremely unfavourable result of that harvest, and the equally unpromising prospects of the spring crops should come to be fully realized. The Collector's anticipations, in regard to the renewal of extreme distress, proved to be well founded; the occurrence of severe hailstorms and a heavy rain-fall in the month of February, and the premature arrival of the hot winds, caused much injury to the spring crops; the stocks in the hands of dealers became exhausted, and the local supplies were mainly dependent on importations from Patna; the zemindars, who are the principal holders of grain, as the "Bhaolee" system, or payment of rent in kind, prevails in this district to a great extent, withheld their stocks from the market in the expectation of still greater scarcity; in March the prices of food again rose from these causes, and a considerable increase in that class of crime which marks the existence of extreme distress amongst the lower classes took place about the same period.

77. No further special measures were adopted by the Collector till June, after his receipt of the Commissioner's Circular of the 25th May, when relief centres were opened at Gya, and the head-quarters of the officers in charge of the subdivisions of Shergotty, Aurungabad, and Nowadah.

	Opened.	Closed.
Gya - - - - -	5 June -	25 September.
Shergotty - - - -	18 „ -	19 October.
Aurungabad - - - -	29 „ -	6 November.
Nowadah - - - -	29 „ -	30 November.

Subsequently other relief centres were established at the following places:—

	Opened.	Closed.
In the Gya Division:		
Konch - - - - - -	1 September	2 October.
In the Shergotty Division:		
Futtehpore - - - - -	13 August -	23 October.

78. Uncooked rice, at the average rate of half a seer to each person, was given at all the relief centres except Shergotty, where the Deputy Magistrate who had charge of the relief administration distributed pice in lieu of food from the 24th July to the end of the period during which relief operations lasted. The rice was in each case purchased in the local market nearest to the relief centre.

centre. During the period of the greatest distress the average daily number of persons receiving relief was—

In the Week ending 7th July:		
Gya	725	Total.
Aurungabad	219	1,167
Shergotty	163	
Nowadah	60	
In the Week ending 6th August:		
Gya	700	
Shergotty	220	1,105
Nowadah	158	
Aurungabad	27	
In the Week ending 6th September:		
Gya	448	
Shergotty	188	
Futtehpore	80	934
Nowadah	158	
Aurungabad	60	

An average daily number of about 200 persons was employed on roads during the same period, and at Gya the manufacture of ropes gave employment to a daily average of 142 persons; 1,000 rupees were granted from public funds in aid of the local subscriptions, which amounted to 12,371 rupees, to be expended in gratuitous relief, and 9,050 rupees were assigned in August from the Imperial funds for employment of the people on public works.

79. The Mohunt of Bodh Gya, who habitually dispenses largely in the way of religious charities previous to the adoption of public relief measures, considerably increased his ordinary distribution of food; he also aided the public relief by giving gratuitously 100 maunds of rice for consumption at the Gya centre. The Tikaree Ranees also distributed food daily at that place. The zemindars of the Nowadah Subdivision subscribed liberally towards the public relief fund, but the zemindars of the district generally, and especially within the Shergotty Division, rendered little or no assistance towards the support of the starving people, either by contributing to the public fund, or dispensing private charity on a liberal scale.

80. Cholera made its appearance in the town of Gya about the middle of July, and thence spread over the interior of the district, visiting Tikaree Konch, Goh, and Daoodnuggur, in the Gya Division. Medicines were distributed freely, through the agency of the police, in those localities. In the Aurungabad Division there was not much sickness, but cholera prevailed in some parts of the Nowadah Division and at Futtehpore.

Of a total number of 927 admissions to the Gya Hospital, from amongst the pauper relief recipients from June to November 1866, 447 died within an average period of two days after admission, showing the severe character of the cholera outbreak in the town of Gya.

At Nowadah, out of a total number of 257 persons admitted to hospital during the same period, eight died within an average period of eight days after admission, and 249 were discharged as cured.

At Shergotty, amongst 39 admissions during the same period, two deaths occurred, one within two and the other within 15 days after admission.

81. Upwards of 3,000 persons in this district were registered for emigration under Acts III. of 1863 and XIII. of 1864 during the year 1865, and this fact gives some indication of the extremity of the general distress, and the difficulty of gaining a livelihood experienced by the labouring classes during that year.

82. The Collector, Mr. Drummond, in his early proceedings at the commencement of the general distress, evinced a thorough appreciation of the extent of the calamity under which the people of the district were suffering, and showed decided energy in his first measures to provide for the occasion; but when the temporary lull caused by the fall of prices had ceased, and general distress again became extreme, exactly as he had anticipated, he took no action until he had received

received the Commissioner's letter, calling attention to the Board's previous instructions to all district officers as to the measures that should be adopted in the event of famine becoming imminent, and then the relief measures adopted were inadequate to the occasion. The centres at which food was gratuitously distributed were confined to the head-quarter's stations of the different divisions, and this was all that was done to give relief to people scattered over an area of 1,300 square miles; the entire number of recipients of gratuitous relief throughout the district at no time exceeded a daily average of 1,200 persons, whilst the mortality return for the district, showing only cases reported by the police, and consequently considerably underrating the actual loss of life caused by the famine, establishes the fact of 3,387 persons having died, and thus shows the number of deaths to the number relieved to be in the proportion of more than two to one. That the number coming forward to receive relief should have been so small, when the distress had been so protracted through the failure of the crops of successive years, and the high ruling prices occasioned thereby, is only to be accounted for by the fact of the inaccessibility of the relief depôts, owing to their excessive distance from the mass of the starving population.

PATNA.

83. In this district the general distress was not severe; it began to be felt to a certain extent amongst the poorer classes from the excessive rise in the price of all food in October 1865, and was more intense in the southern pergunnahs, bordering on the Gya district, and in a portion of the subdivision of Behar, owing to the partial failure of the rice crop, which is almost the sole cultivation in that part of the district.

84. In June 1866, in accordance with the suggestions conveyed in the Commissioner's circular letter, the Collector commenced repairs of roads and excavations of tanks at Bikram, Nowbutpore, and Mussowree, within the tract where the local pressure was greatest, and similar works for the purpose of affording relief were undertaken in the Behar Subdivision. Nearly 1,000 persons were employed on these works, the daily rate paid ranging from six to four pice to each person. An assignment of 5,000 rupees from local funds was made to meet this expenditure; and as the pressure caused by high prices of food increased, Relief Committees were formed at Patna and in the Barh, Dinapore, and Behar subdivisions, and subscriptions raised for affording gratuitous relief to those who were unable to work.

85. Relief centres were established at Meetapore, Goolzarbagh, and Jhaogunj, within the city of Patna and the Bankipore Station, and at Mussowree and Hilsa, in the interior of the district in the Patna Subdivision, and at the head quarters of the subdivisions of Dinapore, Barh, and Behar. The police were ordered to send in to these centres all persons wandering about unable to obtain a livelihood. The recipients of this relief were almost entirely confined to the pauper mendicant class, who, in the scarcity and general high prices of food, could no longer derive support from private charity as heretofore, and persons coming from the neighbouring districts. Cooked rice and dâl were given at all the centres, in the proportion of four chittacks rice and two chittacks dâl to each adult, and three chittacks rice and one chittack dâl to each child. The daily average number to whom food was supplied at the several centres during the months of August, September, and October, was—

		Opened.	Closed.
At Meetapore	341	20 August	9 December.
Goolzarbagh	701	22 „	8 October.
Jhaogunj	380	22 „	5 December.
Hilsa	378	23 „	10 „
Mussowree	212	— „	— „
Dinapore	400	21 „	11 November.
Barh	157	1 September	7 December.
Behar	350	11 August	23 November.

No special grant of public money was made for gratuitous relief in this district, but 9,000 rupees were assigned from Imperial funds for employment of the indigent on public works. The total daily average number of persons supported in this way and at the charge of the local funds, from 3rd June till 23rd November 1866, at Patna and in the subdivision of Barh, Behar, and Dinapore, was 2,147.

86. The high prices ruling in this district were due not so much to the failure of local produce as to previous excessive exportation, and the demand for supplying the surrounding districts. Owing to the general high level of prices ruling in Lower Bengal, the importations of rice were much below the average of previous years, and large imports of other kinds of grain by railway from the North Western Provinces commenced about June, and continued till the abundant autumn harvest caused a considerable fall in prices.

87. There was no epidemic disease and no unusual prevalence of sickness in any part of the district during the period of scarcity; the number of deaths reported by the police as having occurred from starvation, or disease, probably induced by want of proper food, was 907.

88. Moonshee Ameer Ally, who has considerable property in Barh, was conspicuous in affording relief in that town, both by keeping up a daily distribution of food amongst the helpless paupers and giving employment to those able to work throughout the period of distress.

MONGHYR.

89. The most severe distress prevailed in the south-west and western portion of the district, viz. Pergunnahs Chuckye, Gridhour Bisthazaree, Umrithoo, and Maldah, embracing an area of about 1,300 square miles, where rice is the main cultivation. The crop of 1864 failed to a considerable extent, and with the certainty of a repeated failure in 1865, the market rate of the commonest sort of rice rose in October to 11 seers for the rupee, and other edible grains became proportionately dear and beyond the reach of the poorest classes. People from the distressed localities began flocking into the town and station of Monghyr.

90. On the 8th November of that year the Collector, Mr. Gordon, convened a public meeting, at which donations to the amount of 1,150 rupees were obtained, and further monthly contributions, aggregating 450 rupees, were guaranteed for the relief of the poor. About 332 rupees were expended in the gratuitous distribution of food, which lasted to the middle of December, when some relaxation of the previously existing pressure was experienced through the gathering of the rice crop, and the continuation of public relief was deemed unnecessary, as the people who had come from the interior of the district gradually dispersed to seek employment, which could be easily obtained during the harvest season. After the storing of the rice crop, agricultural employment was again at a discount, and the distress occasioned by the prevailing high prices of food began to be felt in a more severe degree. In April the large crowds of paupers frequenting the town attracted attention, and the municipal committee, at a meeting held on 2nd May, resolved that they would undertake certain works with the funds at their disposal for the express purpose of giving employment to the destitute. As the object was merely to give employment to those who were able to work but could find no demand for their labour elsewhere, the rate of payment was fixed at somewhat below the ordinary market rates. No labour was attracted on these terms, and it was consequently assumed that the indigence of the labouring classes was not so great as had been supposed; and no further relief measures were attempted till the following July, when, from the accounts received regarding the distress prevailing, more especially in those portions of the district above mentioned, general relief measures were thought necessary, and a public meeting was convened by the Collector on the 23rd of that month.

91. A central relief committee and two sub-committees were formed for conducting the district relief operations; a general subscription was set on foot, by which

which *Rs.* 8,644. 5. 5. were eventually raised for expenditure in the gratuitous distribution of food, and relief centres were established at Monghyr and the following places within the famine tract:—

	Date on which Established.	Closed.
Monghyr - - - -	25 July 1866	16 December.
Jummoee - - - -	19 August „	14 „
Putsunda - - - -	24 „ „	19 October.
Secundra - - - -	25 „ „	25 November.
Sheikhpoora - - - -	15 „ „	30 „
Chuckye - - - -	22 „ „	19 October.
And also at the following Places:		
Tegra - - - - -	18 September -	16 November.
Begoo Serai - - - -	23 August -	1 December.

on the north side of the Ganges, where there was distress, but not so severe as in the tract within which the other centres were located. Funds were also supplied by the committee to Mr. Carrington, a railway district engineer, for expenditure in the distribution of food at Simultollah.

92. The quantity and description of food distributed varied at the different centres. At Monghyr, Jummoee, and Sheikhpoora cooked rice and dâl mixed were given once daily, in proportions ranging from eight to six chittacks for each adult, and four to three chittacks for each child.

At the other centres the grain was distributed uncooked, but in similar proportions, in some cases half the allowance of food being given, and supplemented by small cash payments, at the rate of half an anna to each adult.

Labour was paid for at rates varying from six pice to three pice for the day's work. Nursing mothers and very young children received food twice daily, the general proportions of the daily meal allowed to all applicants for gratuitous relief being adhered to as nearly as possible.

93. The grain distributed at the Chuckye centre, and part also of that supplied at Jummoee, Begoo Serai, and Tegrah, was sent out from Monghyr, the quantity procurable in the local bazars being insufficient for the relief demand. Much difficulty and delay were experienced in conveying the grain to Jummoee and Chuckye, owing to the want of roads and the number of rivers which had to be crossed at the most unfavourable season.

94. During the height of the distress the daily average number receiving food gratuitously at each centre was—

	August.	September.	October.
At Monghyr - - - -	366	999	939
Jummoee - - - -	150	414	231
Putsunda - - - -	113	169	57
Secundra - - - -	50	147	115
Sheikhpoora - - -	360	307	121
Chuckye - - - - - - -		56	55
Tegra - - - - - - -		49	206
Begoo Serai - - -	19	60	50

The daily average number employed, during the same period on public works, receiving payment at rates varying from six to three pice per day from the relief fund was—

	August.	September.	October.
At Monghyr - - - -	629	543	325
Sheikhpoora - - -	- - -	- - -	150
Begoo Serai - - -	- - -	35	29

An assignment of 5,000 rupees was made from the Imperial funds for the construction of a new road between Jummoee and Chuckye, and the work was commenced in September, under the superintendence of Deputy Collector Syud Ameen Hossein, who was specially deputed for the purpose; the daily average number of persons employed during the period for which this work was carried on was—

In September - - - - - - - -	291
In October - - - - - - - -	767
In November - - - - - - - -	517

and the Municipal Committee gave employment to a daily average of—

In August - - - - - - - - -	209
In September - - - - - - - -	180
In October - - - - - - - -	111

So that the highest total daily average number of persons obtaining public relief throughout the district, at any period of the famine, was 3,450.

95. It was expected that the construction of the new chord line of railway traversing the entire section of this district in which, owing to the failure of the rice crop, the distress was most severe, would have given employment, at the time when it was most needed, to the whole labouring population, and thus been the means of saving the people from the want and privation which caused so much loss of life; and it seems clear that under good management this expectation might have been easily realized, and a great deal of the work which has hardly yet been commenced, might have been almost completed with the large amount of labour which the crisis had rendered available, and which timely judicious measures must have secured. From Luckeeserai, at which place the new line unites with the existing one, to the point where the Monghyr District joins that of Deoghur, is a distance of 48 miles, and the whole of the land traversed by the railway, and required for it, between these limits, was at the disposal of the railway company for the commencement of the works in February.

96. The contract for the construction of this line had been previously taken by Messrs. Brassey & Company in England, and their local representative had only to offer such fair inducement to the people, then beginning to suffer great privation for want of employment, as the excessive scarcity and consequent high price of food demanded, to have attracted the considerable local supply of labour then available. It is generally stated that the local labour was not attracted, because the rates offered on the part of the contractors were the same only as those which had obtained nine or 10 years previously when food and the necessaries of life were procurable at one-third or one-fourth of the existing prices; the people therefore preferred enduring the privations, even to the extremity of starvation, which they were then undergoing, to working on terms which would not admit of their earning the means of procuring a sufficient quantity of food to maintain themselves and their families.

97. In a tract of country where villages are sparse, and at a distance from the place where the work is to be carried on, it is usual, even in ordinary times when food is cheap and plentiful, to provide huts for the accommodation of the labourers and offer inducements to retail vendors of food to settle and establish a trade near the site of the works, and this was obviously far more essential to success, in attracting a sufficient supply of labour at a time when that part of the country in which the work was to be carried on was almost without

without any local supply of grain. Had the contractors adopted early measures for importing grain largely into this part of the district either for sale to their workmen, or for payment for labour in lieu of money, and had they, recognising the altered circumstances of the times, allowed such reasonable rates as would have enabled the labouring classes to have earned sufficient for their support, an immense boon would have been conferred on the people at a critical period, and the interests of the railway company, and even of the contractors themselves, would have been better served.

98. Cholera broke out in the month of August within the tract where the pressure of famine was most severe, at Sheikpoora and Secundra chiefly. It also prevailed to some extent in that part of the district which lies to the north of the Ganges. Deaths from this disease, in Secundra especially, were numerous; the greatest number reported to have occurred in one day was 24; the average daily number of deaths during the two weeks for which it continued in its most severe form was about 8-10. At Sheikhpoora also the disease continued with some violence for about 10 days, during which the mortality is reported to have been very great. Medicines were freely supplied, and at both these centres the relief recipients suffering from cholera were taken away and kept apart from the rest.

In these cases there can be no doubt but that the disease originated in the crowding together of large numbers of people reduced by want of food to the lowest condition of bodily strength compatible with the retention of life, and in such a state the disease was necessarily more than usually fatal.

At the Monghyr centre where no epidemic disease prevailed, the number of pauper relief recipients admitted to hospital for medical treatment was 43, of whom 32 died within an average period of nine days after admission.

99. The total number of deaths reported as having occurred throughout the period of general distress, as given in the Annexure (No. III.) is taken from the police return; although not representing the full extent of the mortality which actually occurred in this district, these statistics, when contrasted with the largest average number of persons receiving relief during any month of the period for which relief operations lasted, show a result unfavourable to the conclusion that the operations were sufficiently extended to supply the full need of the district. Some of the members of the Relief Committee with whom I held personal communication at Monghyr, were of opinion that more ought to have been done, but considered that their relief measures were necessarily contracted for want of funds.

No application for aid had been refused; none indeed had been made; for the committee seemed to have been of opinion that relief expenditure, at least so far as it was required for the gratuitous distribution of food, must be met from local resources, and so the relief administered would seem to have been measured and limited by the amount available from the fund raised by subscription within the district.

100. The Marwaree merchants of the town of Monghyr, Baboos Gunga Pershad and Boolakee Loll, Moonshee Kumeeroodeen, the Tehseeldar of Rajah Lelanund Singh, and Pundit Shewperkash Missur, of Foolbaria, are all stated to have shown marked liberality in administering relief from their own resources.

Messrs. J. and A. Christian and Baboo Gungapershad Dass, members of the relief committee at Monghyr, and Shah Abdool Hossein, a zemindar, who had charge of the relief centre at Sheikhpoora, are specially mentioned as having most actively co-operated with the Collector in promoting relief measures. Messrs. Hennessey and D. Fitzpatrick undertook the distribution of food at Begoo Serai and Tegrah.

BHAUGULPORE.

101. The extreme pressure of distress in this district was confined to the northern pergunnahs, Naraideegur, Mulneegopal, Nathpore, Nursingpore, Ootur Khund, and Khubkund, bordering on the Nepal territory, and to a portion of pergunnah Havaillee Khurruckpore, which lies to the south of the Ganges, and west of the town of Bhaugulpore; in other parts of the district there was that general distress which is caused by high prices of food with no

increased demand for labour, and no rise consequently in its value. The intensity of the distress in the particular localities mentioned was mainly due to the complete failure of the rice crop, which constitutes the chief cultivation there. In the northern pergunnahs this cause of distress was enhanced by the failure of the murooa crop, which in its season forms the main dependence of the poorer classes in that locality, and which was almost entirely destroyed in 1865 by the prematurely heavy rainfall in the month of July.

102. Severe distress was first felt in October 1865, at which time the commonest kind of rice had risen to the rate of 11 seers for the rupee; the usual temporary relief from the pressure of high prices was obtained from the rice harvest season, up to the gathering of the spring crops in April, after which prices again increased, and the greatest distress prevailed. In June the Commissioner of the division directed the attention of all district officers to the reported increasing distress, and on 2nd July a public meeting was held at Bhaugulpore, at which a general subscription was set on foot, and relief committees were formed. The Collector afterwards went to the Mudehpoorah subdivision, where the existence of very severe distress had been reported by the police, and formed a committee for carrying on relief operations in that part of the district.

103. As the result of these arrangements, relief centres were established at—

	Opened.	Closed.
Bhaugulpore - - -	21 July - -	6 October.
Mudehpoora - - -	4 August -	28 September.
Rajpoor - - - -	28 July - -	20 „
Sookpoor - - - -	10 August -	8 „
Pachgatcheea - - -	13 „ - -	22 „
Luttipore - - - -	17 „ - -	15 „
Khurruckpore - - -	1 September -	14 October.

Cooked rice and dâl, mixed, was given at all the centres, in the proportion of eight to six chittacks for adults, and four to three chittacks for each child; one quarter seer of milk was given to children under three years of age, and young children and nursing women were fed twice a day. On the north side of the Ganges the relief depôts were supplied with grain which had been imported from other districts, and purchased by the committee from the importers at Bhaugulpore.

Rice was also despatched for sale in the same locality, the police having represented that the market stocks were almost entirely exhausted, and that grain was with the greatest difficulty procurable.

104. The existence of severe distress at Khurrockpore was not recognised till a somewhat later period. It was reported by the Deputy Collector who was employed there on settlement duty; and, though his position there must have given him an intimate acquaintance with the condition of the people, which should have given weight to his representations, it was thought necessary, before acting on his report, to cause further local inquiry to be made by an officer specially deputed for the purpose. This entailed delay, and the relief which was urgently required, and had been asked for six weeks earlier, was not commenced until 1st September. Previous to the administration of public relief at this place, the Deputy Collector had, from his private means, to the extent of his ability, relieved the most urgent cases of distress.

105. The highest daily average number of persons relieved gratuitously throughout the district during the months of August and September, when the relief demand was greatest, did not exceed 1,108 persons, and the largest average number employed on labour supplied as a means of affording relief during any month was about 700; the latter were paid at rates varying from six to four pice for each person.

106. No epidemic disease prevailed in any part of the district during the period of distress. There was a good deal of sickness in the town of Bhaugulpore

pore amongst the paupers, who had been attracted there by the relief measures from all parts of the district; out of the 66 paupers admitted to hospital for medical treatment between June and October, 15 died within an average period of 14 days after admission.

107. The number of deaths from starvation, or disease engendered by privation, as given in the accompanying Annexure (No. III.), is taken from the police returns; they do not probably include all the deaths that did occur from such causes, but it is generally stated that the mortality was not great in this district, as compared with most of the other districts to which this inquiry has extended, and it seems probable that the relief measures adopted, though not sufficiently early, were not on an inadequate scale.

108. Mussamut Kishna Soonderee, a zemindar of the district, and Toshee Modee, a buniah of Khurruckpore, are especially mentioned as having shown marked liberality in relieving the distress by distributing rice daily at their own expense before any public relief measures had been adopted, and in the north of the district private charity contributed somewhat to the alleviation of the general distress prevailing there. Messrs. Duff and Landell, and Baboos Nundo Lall Singh and Roodro Narain Singh undertook the administration of relief at the Rajpore, Lutteepore, Sookpore, and Puchgachia centres.

From the end of September, when the bhadooee harvest, which was fortunately abundant, was gathered, the price of food fell, causing a general abatement of the prevailing distress, and relief operations were thenceforth gradually suspended.

PURNEAH.

109. In this district there was that genera distress amongst the poorest classes, incident to a sudden and excessive increase in the price of all articles of food. There was a deficiency in the local produce to a certain extent, but not amounting to any general failure of the crops; the grain stock of the district had been reduced by the excessive drain upon it for the provision of the troops, which were constantly passing to and from Bootan during the two previous years, and for general exportation to other districts; so that in October 1865 the coarsest kind of rice was selling at 12 seers for the rupee. As the fresh crop came in an improvement took place, and distress was not further generally felt till the following April, when rice had again risen to 12 seers for the rupee. About this time, however, mango fruit, of which there was an extraordinarily large supply, became fit for consumption, and a large mass of the people were almost entirely supported on this food for several weeks. Notwithstanding the excessive demand for it, the fruit was so abundant that 100 mangoes continued for a long time to be sold for a single pice.

110. In June a petition was presented to the magistrate, signed by 300 ryots, asking for authoritative interference with the grain trade, and a forced tariff; other indications of distress following this movement, the Collector convened a public meeting in the beginning of August, at which nearly 2,000 rupees were subscribed.

As the people who came to be relieved were found to be capable of doing some work, gratuitous relief was refused, and they were required to labour, suitable employment being found for them; being exclusively of the professional medicant class, and finding the performance of some labour to be a condition of relief, they very soon dispersed.

Subsequently, 300 rupees were sent to Mr. Burnell, an indigo planter, residing at Mynanuggur, in the south-east of the district, who had represented that there was considerable distress in the neighbourhood. A portion of this sum, amounting to *Rs.* 169. 13., was expended in employment of the distressed, and *Rs.* 51. 7. in gratuitous relief.

SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS.

111. Deoghur, though forming one, and by far the largest of the divisions of the Sonthal pergunnahs, has comparatively but an inconsiderable proportion of Sonthals; its resident population is chiefly Bengalee; and the temple of

Byjnath, which is located in the town of Deoghur, attracts to it crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India, who, during the pilgrimage season, permeate the district in large numbers; from this cause, its food-supplying resources are taxed to the utmost, and any partial local failure of the main food crops, Indian corn and rice, has a tendency to enhance prices and create distress. The advent of such general distress was first foreseen about November 1865, when the partial failure of the late rice crop of that year was assured. About the same time small-pox broke out and raged with extraordinary virulence in the town of Deoghur and adjacent villages for three or four months.

112. During this period, the people underwent no extreme privation, but from April they began to subsist mainly on the mango and mohowa fruit, which were abundunt. In the Nullah subdivision, comprising the entire southern portion of the district, the distress was more severe, owing to a greater failure of the local produce, and the mohowa berry, which is ordinarily used for the manufacture of spirits, was so completely appropriated to supply the want of other food, that the usual distillation of country spirits almost entirely ceased, and the public distillery was closed as not working sufficiently to pay its expenses.

113. In reply to the Commissioner's circular of 15th June, directing the attention of district officers to the condition of the people, the Assistant Commissioner reported that, although there was general privation, there would be no necessity for the adoption of special relief measures, if the prospects of the bhadooee crop continued favourable. Subsequently, towards the end of July, cases of starvation having been reported as occurring at Afzulpore, in the Nullah subdivision, a public meeting was called at Deoghur, and a relief committee was formed, and subscriptions set on foot there, and at Nullah.

Relief centres were established at—

	Opened.	Closed.
Deoghur - - - -	4 August - -	4 December.
Nullah - - - -	9 August - -	11 November.
Kurrown - - - -	9 September -	10 November.

Cooked rice in the proportion of nine chittacks, as a daily ration to each adult, and a less quantity according to age to each child, was given at all the centres. The daily average number relieved during the month of September, at which time the demand for relief appears to have been greatest, was at—

	Gratuitously.	With Labour.
Deoghur - - - -	122	75
Nullah - - - -	453	233
Kurrown - - - -	61	13

so that the highest average number relieved throughout the district at any period was 957.

The labouring relief recipients obtained an average of six pice daily at Deoghur, nine chittacks of mixed rice and dâl at Nullah, and at Kurrown the payment was partly in money and partly food, the same amount or quantity in either case being given as at the other centres.

114. There were occasional outbreaks of cholera both at Deoghur and in the Nullah subdivision throughout the period of distress between April and October, but the disease does not appear to have been attended with very fatal results. Persons suffering from cholera were placed under medical treatment at Deoghur and Nullah, and the police were ordered to send into those stations for medical aid, any sick persons who might be found in the interior of the district in a destitute condition.

Out of 128 persons from amongst the paupers receiving relief at the Deoghur centre,

centre, admitted to hospital during the period for which relief operations lasted, 37 died within an average of six days after admission.

115. The number of deaths occurring from want of food and disease induced by privation, is said to have been—

From starvation - - - - - - - -	196
From disease - - - - - - - - -	140

This is taken from the police returns, and is probably below the actual number. The results of local inquiry, however, tend to show that the mortality was comparatively inconsiderable in this district.

116. Mr. Grant, the farmer of Rohinee, and Mr. Harris, the railway district engineer, residing at that place, commenced a daily distribution of food at their own expense before any public relief was given in this district. The daily distribution of food at the Byjnath temple was extended to relieve the general distress at a subsequent period. The Zemindars of Jamtarah and Jamjoory also supported about 60 destitute persons from their private means; in all, about 200 persons were relieved daily, in addition to those obtaining relief at the public depôts.

117. *Doomka, Godda, Rajmehal, Pakour.*—In these divisions the population is chiefly Sonthal, and the greatest distress resulting from the failure of crops was experienced in that part of the Doomka district which comprises the Pergunnahs Hendwah and Belputtah, and part of the Damun-i-koh. The latter is a Government estate embracing the entire range of the Rajmehal Hills, and the intervening level country. Amongst the Sonthals, and the race of Paharies who reside on, and cultivate, to some extent, the slopes of the hills, extreme want was felt about the middle of the year 1866. Up to that time, being more inured to privation than other races, they had eked out a subsistence on the fruit of the mohowa tree, and on roots and herbs.

118. The main produce of the Sonthal pergunnahs is Indian corn gathered in September, and the autumn and winter rice crops. Pulses, oil-seeds, wheat, and gram are grown only to a limited extent; the crops gathered in September 1865 were not generally below the average, but the general high level of prices obtaining in other districts induced an extraordinary exportation, and when the late rice crop, which is the mainstay of the people (as their credit with the local mahajuns depends upon it) failed to an extent varying from half to three-quarters of the average produce of ordinary seasons, they were left without a sufficient supply of food to carry them on till the next harvest, and without credit to insure the accustomed support from their mahajuns.

The subsequent failure of the spring crops, and especially the mustard crop, which is relied upon to some extent for the payment of rents, increased their difficulties, and about May or June they appear to have been reduced to the greatest distress. Mr. Christian, a gentleman who resides at Dighee, in the Rajmehal Division, and has much experience of the Sonthal inhabitants of the Damun estate, writing about this time, described the condition of the people in the following terms:—"This morning I went into a Sonthal village to satisfy myself how the people lived; of 23 families that the village contained, three were living entirely upon leaves and roots. * * * These people assured me that they had been living for the last month upon roots and leaves, as their stock of grain was over. I could hardly believe it, and I entered into their huts, but saw no store of rice anywhere; they were going to live upon this sort of food until their Indian corn was ripe in the beginning of September. Among the other 20 families, only one had a sufficient stock of paddy to last for three or four months, the others were rapidly coming to the end of their store. * * * Taking the Sonthals as a body, I do not think they have got more than, at the outside, a month's food for consumption in their houses, perhaps not so much."

Mr. Puxley, also, a missionary at Taljharee, in the midst of the Sonthals, writing at the close of June, described the condition of the people as follows:—"I know that all around me the people have subsisted for two months or more on a jungly root called "jhengar," and jungly leaves; and as these are now beginning to fail, they will have to look from henceforth for food from other sources. * * * With regard to the quantity of grain now in the country, I can only give a vague opinion; but few of the Sonthals have anything at all in their houses;

houses; some have not enough even for seed; the mahajuns, I believe, have as yet some, but I should suppose, from what I hear, that it is fast decreasing. * * * The pinched and altered looks of the people, and the emaciated forms to be seen everywhere, prove that they are beginning to suffer a good deal; any relief to be given should be given at once. From now to August is the most difficult time, or (supposing the failure of the janera crop—Indian corn) till November next."

119. The condition of the Paharies was even worse than that of the Sonthals; their cultivation, at no time very extensive, being confined to the slopes of the hills, is entirely dependent on a sufficient and timely rainfall; their crops completely failed in the drought, and their earnings from the sale of timber at the bazars in the villages adjacent to the hills, which forms their chief resource in gaining a livelihood, were necessarily curtailed at this season of scarcity; and though inured to greater privation than the people of the plains, their need of extraneous aid was perhaps the greatest.

120. On the 14th March the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs proposed that within the Damun estate, as the property of Government, a sum of 30,000 rupees, or about one-half of the annual rent realized from it, should be spent on works of permanent utility, as a means of affording employment to its distressed population. About 24,000 rupees were to be spent on roads, and the remainder in simple irrigation works. On 16th May, after some intermediate correspondence with the Commissioner, the Government sanctioned an expenditure of 10,000 rupees only within the Rajmehal Division, observing that the published prices current did not indicate the existence of severe distress in the Sonthal Pergunnahs generally.

The Commissioner's proposal was strictly in accordance with the views of the Board of Revenue, expressed in their letter of the 25th November 1865, and approved by Government, and with the suggestions contained in their subsequent circular for the guidance of district officers generally. Had the proposal been at once acceded to, timely aid on an extensive scale would have been given to the people who, according to the accounts above cited of those most competent to form a correct opinion, subsequently suffered extreme distress; and the expenditure of more than half a year's rent would have served as an example to zemindars generally, by showing them that the Government was itself accepting the obligations which it had declared that the contingency of a famine imposed upon landed proprietors, in regard to assisting the resident population of their estates.

Notwithstanding the indications of the published price current, it is a well-ascertained fact that the people in the south-eastern portion of the Damun, in the neighbourhood of Hiranpore and Amraparah, felt the pressure of the times not less, at least, than those residing in the Rajmehal Division; and that this fact was appreciated at the time may be gathered from the report of the Assistant Commissioner of Pakour (extracts from which were submitted by the Commissioner in the course of his correspondence with Government in regard to the proposed outlay), who stated as follows:—"The people generally are suffering great privation, and that assistance of some kind will be necessary to help them over the next few months, till the Indian corn crop is gathered, is unquestionable. * * * Large numbers of whole families are to be seen moving about the country, having deserted their villages; when asked for a reason, they reply, on account of hunger. * * * In most villages, too, several houses are to be seen deserted."

121. Except in the Doomka Division, the distress outside the Damun-i-koh was generally less severe. In Godda there was nothing like famine; applicants for relief were confined to the mendicant class and persons who had come there from other districts. In the Rajmehal Division the severe distress was confined entirely to the population residing within the Damun, and such was generally the case as regards the Pakour Division.

122. In reply to the Commissioner's circular of 15th June 1866, calling for reports of the condition and prospects of the people of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, the Assistant Commissioner of Doomka reported the existence of severe distress in that division, and recommended the adoption of public relief measures. He had

had previously, without application for Government aid, commenced a small distribution of grain at Doomka.

In July, relief centres were established at Doomka and Nonee. Upwards of 800 rupees were raised by general subscription, and 2,000 rupees were assigned from the public grant in aid of relief measures in this district. A further sum of 5,000 rupees was allotted from Imperial funds for the employment of the people on public works. The gratuitous distribution of cooked rice at the relief depôts lasted till October, when the improvement in the circumstances of the people, caused by a good Indian corn crop, rendered its continuation unnecessary.

123. In the Godda Division, relief was given at Godda only, in the shape of a gratuitous distribution of cooked rice, which commenced on 15th July, and lasted till 22nd September. The total expenditure was 515 rupees, which sum was provided from public funds exclusively.

124. In the Rajmehal Division relief centres were established at—

———	Opened.	Closed.
Rajmehal - - - -	11 August -	November.
Sahibgunge - - -	15 „ - -	29 September.
Patna - - - -	14 „ - -	22 „
Taljhuree - - - -	18 „ - -	25 „

The total daily average number relieved in these centres by gratuitous distribution of food was—

In August - - - - - - - - - -	349
In September - - - - - - - - -	298
In October - - - - - - - - - -	72

and by employment on the roads between Bahawa and Burhait, and Teenpahar and Burrio,

In June - - - - - - - - - -	691
In July - - - - - - - - - -	1,411
In August - - - - - - - - - -	491

Besides the 10,000 rupees expended on relief works by Government, in its capacity of proprietor of the Damun-i-koh estate, 4,000 rupees were assigned from Imperial funds for construction of roads in this division.

125. In the Pakour Division relief centres were established at—

———	Opened.	Closed.
Pakour - - - -	11 August -	24 October.
Heeranpore - - -	7 July - -	19 November.
Amraparah - - -	16 August -	20 October.

The total daily average number relieved by the gratuitous distribution of cooked rice was—

In August - - - - - - - - - -	227
In September - - - - - - - - - -	270
In October - - - - - - - - - -	110

and about a daily average of 150 persons was employed during this period in the construction of a road between Amraparah, on the borders of the Damun estate, and the railway station at Mooraroee. About 3,000 rupees were expended from Imperial funds on this work, which was executed under the superintendence of the Public Works Department.

126. Mr. Lehman, a missionary residing at Heeranpore, and Baboo Khettro Mohun Bose, an assistant engineer at Nonee, commenced a distribution of food at

at their own expense previous to the administration of public relief at those places, and Baboo Gopaul Singh, the zemindar of Sooltanabad, granted to the people of his estate the privilege of cutting wood gratuitously, by the sale of which they were enabled to struggle through the hard times without undergoing any great privations.

127. In the Doomka Division only was there any prevalence of epidemic disease during the period of scarcity. There cholera broke out in September, both at Doomka and Noonee, and spread through the surrounding villages. Care was taken to separate those attacked by the disease from the other paupers receiving relief at the centres, and a special hospital was established for cholera patients, at Doomka, where they were placed under the medical treatment of the native doctor attached to that station.

128. The statement appended to this report shows the number of deaths from starvation in these four divisions to have been —

Doomka	50
Rajmehal	38
Godda	47
Pakour	50

So far as it relates to Doomka and Pakour, this is merely an estimate founded on somewhat uncertain data. No records of such occurrences at the head-quarter's stations were kept, and in regard to the deaths that took place in the interior of the district there could be no information at the time of their occurence, as there was no regular police establishment in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and consequently no available agency through which the reports of such cases could be obtained, it being deemed inexpedient to compel the manjee, or headman of the village, through whom criminal offences are verbally reported, to come to the station on each occasion to give information of a death from starvation, at a time when the energies of the people were taxed to the utmost to maintain themselves and their families.

GENERAL REMARKS.

129. *Causes of the Famine.*—In the years 1864-65 the general average rainfall throughout the districts under notice was both deficient in quantity, as compared with that of previous years, and unseasonable. The rain commenced so late in June that the sowings were generally backward, and this was followed by such an abundant fall in July, that the young rice plant in the lowlands was swamped. The rains in both years ceased for the most part early in September, and there was none at all in October in either year; this resulted in the crops in the higher lands, from which the water had been completely drained, and which form the main area of rice cultivation in these districts, drying up, so that the out-turn of both years was more or less deficient, varying generally from two-thirds to one-third, and in some exceptional cases, such as the north of Tirhoot and Chumparun, not exceeding one-fourth of the ordinary produce. In every district wherever rice was the sole, or almost the sole, cultivation, there the local distress was most severe, as upon the out-turn of this crop the condition of the people was mainly dependent. Owing to the early cessation of the rains, moreover, a large portion of the land, ordinarily appropriated to the cultivation of spring crops, did not retain sufficient moisture, and consequently remained unsown, so that there was a considerably less area under this description of cultivation, and the supply of the various edible grains which supplement the rice crop in feeding the population, was proportionately diminished.

130. The supply of food was still further reduced by the drain on old stocks caused by excessive exportation in the years 1864-65. The greatly extended cotton cultivation in the North-West Provinces, Bombay, and other parts of the empire during the years 1863-64 not only necessarily left a proportionately diminished area available for cereal produce, but also, by enriching the cultivators, tended to increase the consumption of food throughout the cotton growing country. This created a demand which could only be met by the Bengal province, and I find that between 1st May 1864 and 30th April 1865,

no

no less than 8,152,657 maunds of rice and other edible grains were exported from Calcutta to Bombay; and that from the districts of Rajmehal, Bhaugulpore, Monghyr, Patna, and Shahabad, about 3,029,155 maunds of grain, used for food, were exported by railway to the North-West Provinces during 1864 and 1865.

131. That there was a general exhaustion of stocks arising out of these causes, seems to be clearly established by the following statement, showing the considerable and rapid decrease in the average quantity of rice obtained for one rupee at the principal grain marts in the chief rice-producing districts of Lower Bengal :—

	September 1864.	September 1865.	September 1866.
	Seers.	*Seers.*	*Seers.*
Backergunge	30	22	12
Dacca	30	22	13
Furreedpore	30	22	14
Noacolly	28	21	11
Tipperah	21	16	9
Chittagong	20	15	11
Rungpore	27	22	11
Dinajepore	27	21	$9\frac{3}{4}$
Bograh	36	28	14
Malda	30	19	11
Moorshedabad	22	17	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Rajshahye	24	18	9
Pubna	23	16	11

The prices here quoted for September 1864 are 15 to 25 per cent. higher even than the average current rates at the commencement of that year. A somewhat remarkable confirmation of the assumption that the exhaustion of stocks was general throughout the province is, I think, exhibited in the uniformity of the proportionate increase of price in the chief staple food of the population which these figures indicate.

This conclusion is, I think, further supported by the following comparative statement furnished by the Collector of Customs, showing the quantity of rice exported from Calcutta during the years 1864 to 1866 :—

	Maunds.
From 1st May 1864 to 30th April 1865	17,264,480
„ „ 1865 „ „ 1866	8,646,402
„ „ 1866 to 31st Dec. 1866	3,067,905

the exports of 1865 being less than one-half of those of 1864, and of 1866 at the rate of about one-half of the quantity exported in 1865.

132. The high prices ruling in the Behar Districts were the result not merely of exhaustion of old stocks from exportation, and the absence of fresh supplies, owing to two successive years of drought, but were due also to the impossibility under the conditions above stated, of their obtaining any considerable extraneous relief through importation from other districts. The crops in the Nepal Terai, which, being a thinly populated country, and in ordinary years producing abundant rice crops, exports largely to the districts on the north side of the Ganges, failed entirely. Exportation from that country was absolutely stopped by the intervention of the Nepalese Government, and the supply of food heretofore received from that quarter was not forthcoming.

133. Whilst the price of food rose to three times its former average, the wages of labour underwent little or no change, and hence the want of the means of support pressed most severely on the labouring classes. Throughout the districts lying to the north of the Ganges and east of the Koosey Rivers, the wages of day labour have undergone little or no change during the last 10 years, the rates paid to adults ranging between three rupees and two rupees per month. Exceptional rates were paid during the height of the scarcity, and consequent prevalence of high prices of food, from June to September

tember 1866, or in most cases food was given, in addition to daily wages, for such special work as the manufacture of indigo; but the general and rapid increase in the price of all articles of food, which has taken place during the last three years, has been accompanied by no tendency to bring about any general and permanent increase of the price of labour in those districts. To the south of the Ganges, and in the vicinity of the railway, the value of labour is said to have increased about 20 per cent. during the last five years.

134. Even when the supply of food at the prevailing prices previous to the years of drought was abundant, the condition of the labouring classes in the northern districts, and especially in Tirhoot and Chumparun, was only just above the level of want. I find that in 1860, when the market rates of rice and other grain were comparatively very low, testimony to the generally weak condition of the labouring population of the northern districts was borne by the medical officers in their reports on the dietary of the prisoners in the gaols of those districts, when modifications in the scale then in operation were under discussion. If the rates of payment of labour were insufficient even in comparatively prosperous times to maintain a sufficiency of bodily strength and vigour in these classes, the degree of want and privation to which they must be subjected under the condition of the price of food rising to double and even treble its former rate, with no increase in the wages of labour, may readily be imagined.

135. The more substantial agriculturists suffered no personal privation; where the failure of their crops was only partial, they were probably better off than in ordinary times, as, though their grain might be less in quantity to the extent of one-third, or even one-half, of the usual average out-turn, there was a clear gain on so much of it as could be brought into the market, the price being more than doubled. The ryot ordinarily divides the produce of his fields so as to keep a sufficient quantity for the food of himself, his family, his labourers and dependents and their families, up to the period of the following harvest, and applies the proceeds of the residue to the payment of rent, purchase of stock, and his general expenses. The diminished quantity of produce, therefore, necessitated such a modification of his usual arrangements as would admit of his bringing sufficient grain into the market to profit by the high prices, and compensate himself for the deficiency of his crop. This resulted in the ryot dispensing with his ordinary hired labour, for which he would have to pay, not in money, but in grain, and so the mere labourer, dependent on the cultivator, was deprived of his customary means of support. Similarly, the petty village artisans and day labourers, the dosads, mosaheers, domes, koormies and others, who in a village community ordinarily receive a day's food, supplemented by some small cash payment, for a day's work, could no longer obtain this employment when the day's food had assumed a value hitherto unknown, and every householder's store of grain was so reduced that he with difficulty supported his own family.

136. The professional beggars, the crippled and infirm, the mass of pauperism in fact, that in ordinary times subsists upon the charity of the village community, and is by it cheerfully and ungrudgingly supported, could no longer appeal successfully to the compassion of the villagers for the handfulls of grain which in ordinary times were held of little account by the donors, were not given when the gift involved an appreciable personal sacrifice. The less substantial class of ryots whose land tenures were too inconsiderable to produce by their cultivation a sufficiency for the maintenance of themselves and families, unless supplemented by the earnings of labour, and especially so in the exceptional cases where the failure of the crops was complete, also suffered more or less privation.

137. The zemindars have not, I think, generally sustained any material losses by the famine: even in the rare instances in which the failure of crops has been absolute, the area of such failure has been too limited to cause any serious injury to the proprietor. In the Durbhungah estate in Tirhoot, in which the most extensive failure of crops and desertion of lands occurred, the remissions of rent, though they were fixed by Government officers, and deemed fully equal to what the occasion required, did not exceed six per cent. of the entire rental of the property. No claim to remission of Government revenue has

has been maintained on the part of the zemindar in any of these districts, nor have I heard in the course of this inquiry of any considerable remissions being made by them in favour of the farmers, by whom their estates are held on lease.

138. The Bhaolee system, or partition of the produce of the land between the cultivator and his landlord, in lieu of payment of rent in money, prevails to a great extent throughout the districts of the Patna Division, and in some degree also in the Bhaugulpore Division. In such cases there can be no question of arrears of rent between the landlord or farmer and the occupant of the land, for the former claims, and appropriates, his share of the produce, and takes the risk of the out-turn. Wherever this system is in operation, it is manifest that the landlord or farmer could sustain no loss by the drought of 1865, unless the deficiency of produce was so great as not to be compensated by the excessive market value of grain, and this only occurred in very rare instances.

139. Assuming, therefore, that the landed proprietors generally in those districts have suffered no material losses by the drought, it must be said that as a body they have in a great measure ignored the responsibilities and obligations of their position under the permanent settlement. There have been individual instances of their distributing food indiscriminately and on a very small scale, but there has been no such open-handed liberality as the occasion called for, except in the few cases previously recorded in this report; they took no action for the relief of the general distress, either in the way of applying their own means in combination to that object, or exerting their influence to induce the wealthier portion of the community, with whom their example and persuasions would have had weight, to bear their share of the burden of maintaining the starving people. Nor can they be said to have responded readily to the appeal of the Government officers to their sympathy with their distressed fellow-countrymen, or to have afforded reasonable support to the public relief measures, either by contributing largely from their own resources, or giving their personal aid towards the supply of a suitable agency for the distribution of food.

140. The total amount subscribed in all the above-mentioned districts was *Rs.* 1,29,293. 15. 7, and this sum includes the contributions of all officers of Government, and others who have no property in those districts. The Government revenue derived from estates situated in localities where the failure of crops and local distress were greatest is 32,79,942 rupees. Now, as the amount of the Government revenue demand in these districts, where the land revenue assessment is light, does not on an average exceed one-fourth of the zemindar's receipts from his property, it will be seen from this comparison how little the landed proprietors contributed in proportion to their means, or to the amount annually derived from that portion of the country in which the incidence of severe distress operated with the most disastrous effect; and it was only in the very few instances specially mentioned in the foregoing narrative that the zemindars or landholders were found willing to undertake the superintendence of the distribution of food at the relief centres, and the employment of those able to labour.

141. *Efficiency of Relief Measures.*—With regard to the action of the officers of Government, there can be no question now as to the fact of the too tardy recourse to measures of public relief, which the plain indications of the miserable condition of a large mass of the people in most of the districts under notice, but especially in those belonging to the Patna Division, should have called for at a much earlier period. The relief measures eventually adopted, were initiated, not as they should have been, under a proper system of acquaintance with the condition and wants of the people, by the spontaneous action of the District Officers, but by the Commissioner's circular letters, which first directed attention to the existence of general distress, and the necessity of providing for its relief. In October 1865 the attention of the Collectors of those districts had been drawn to the necessary effect of the high prices of food upon the poorer classes, and the then threatened failure of the rice crop. Special inquiries were set on foot, the result of which was, as the

reports of those officers show, to create a decided apprehension and forewarning of the impending severe distress amongst the poorer classes.

142. Had this apprehension led to such extended inquiries as to the effect of the failure of the crop upon the general condition of the working classes, as the occasion manifestly required, and had the subsequent progress of events been carefully watched, and relief applied in the way of giving employment on works of public utility on a very large scale, after the rice harvest was over, much of the suffering and loss of life that subsequently occurred would have been prevented, and the money which was expended at a later period in the mere attempt, which it may be assumed from the excessive mortality which is known to have occurred was in a great measure unsuccessful, to save people from perishing through want of food, might have been made reproductive.

143. The reliance generally placed upon the rubbee crops by the collectors in their subsequent reports, a reliance which appears to have diverted their attention from devising any provision for the contingency of famine, seems to have been hardly warranted by the circumstances of the case, both because owing to the early cessation of the rains a considerably less area than that which is ordinarily appropriated to this cultivation was sown, and much of the seed, which had been used by the ryots, was bad, owing to its having been stored in unseasonable weather, so that without taking into account the risks of weather, a greatly diminished rubbee produce, as compared with that of ordinary seasons, might have been anticipated; and because, looking to the proportion in which the food of the people is dependent on this crop, the produce, however abundant, could have exercised no material influence towards the general and permanent reduction of prices in the then exhausted state of previous stocks of grain, the utmost relief that was likely to be secured by it being the temporary employment and food which it would give to the agricultural labouring class, while the operations of gathering the plant and thrashing out the grain lasted.

144. The Annexure (No. III.) exhibiting the mortality which occurred in the several districts shows that deaths from starvation were being reported through the police in many districts of the Patna Division from the commencement of the year 1866. This fact and the frequency of the occurrence of grain robberies, and incendiary fires, especially in the Chumparun and Tirhoot Districts, should have led to the conclusion that the time had arrived when employment on public works on a large scale must be provided for the support of the labouring classes.

145. There was no definite proposal for undertaking special works, as a means of affording relief, till about the end of May, and no such work actually commenced until June; before the end of June the rains had set in, and from that time employment on the earth-work of roads was little more in effect than a form of gratuitous relief. I do not mean to say that it was not better, having regard to its moral influence, than the mere giving of food gratuitously to persons capable of performing some labour; but I wish to point to the fact that for the lac of rupees expended in these districts, in the nominal employment of a large number of persons on public works, there is but a very small return, owing partly to the weak condition of those so employed, and the season at which the work was carried on, and that had the money been expended some months earlier in the employment of the people on works of public utility, numbers would have been saved from either falling into the condition of helpless paupers, or perishing through want. Real work would have been obtained from those employed, and the districts in which the money was so expended would have derived no inconsiderable permanent benefit.

146. The delay in the commencement of relief measures, I think, necessarily led to their insufficiency. No sooner were relief centres established, and it became generally reported that the Government was going to feed the people, than they came to the several depôts in crowds; many of them were in the last stage of emaciation, and it was found impossible to arrange a systematic distribution of food with proper regard to the diet suited to the physical condition of the applicants. Generally, the choice of the description of the food

to

to be given and the determination of the quantity which each applicant was to receive, was left to the superintendents of the relief centres. No estimate of the probable requirements of the tract of country over which the operations of any of these centres extended were made, and there was no certainty of the funds supplied from time to time being sufficient for the adequate relief of the locality for which they were intended; the prevailing absence of system and uniformity in the form and extent of relief administered at the several centres was a necessary consequence. Both dry and soaked grain, flour, mixed peas and barley, dry rice, plain cooked rice, cooked rice and dâl mixed, and Indian corn, were all used in different places and at different periods; the kind of food selected being determined by local circumstances, such as the facility of procuring it in the neighbouring markets, and the prejudices of the people on the score of caste.

147. The quantity of food obtained by each person varied at different places as much as the kind, ranging from a maximum of eight chittacks, equivalent to 16 oz. to a minimum in some cases, *e. g.*, parts of Chumparun and Tirhoot, of less than three chittacks, or 6 oz. The quantity of the food generally was insufficient, and the quality unsuited to the condition of those to whom it was given. In the Gaol Dietary Reports of the Lower Provinces for the years 1860-1862, the minimum daily allowance of food necessary for the mere preservation, in an unimpaired state, of the physical condition of the prisoners is stated at 15 chittacks for each non-labouring adult; and the necessity of fixing the component parts of this allowance of food so as to insure the presence of a due proportion of nitrogenous substance is strongly insisted on. Now, allowing for the consideration that prisoners, being under confinement, require a more substantial diet for the maintenance of health than persons not subjected to any restraint, it is still clear on the authority of the general testimony of medical men, that even the greatest quantity of food given to each person at any of the relief centres was insufficient, and its quality unsuitable to persons even in good health, and with digestion not impaired, as was the case with those resorting to the relief centres, by long privation.

During the famine in the North-West Provinces adult recipients of gratuitous relief obtained a daily allowance of 16 oz. of bread and 4 oz. of vegetables. This I assume to be the minimum quantity of food that ought to have been given, as rice and the other grains substituted for it at the relief centres are less nutritious than attah, and in the case of the former the addition of a fair proportion of vegetables is especially necessary.

148. In Sarun, Monghyr, and Bhaugulpore the quantity and description of food to be given to each applicant for relief was fixed by the Committees, and in these districts the various relief centres were supplied with grain from head-quarters. It would have been better if this system had been generally adopted, as the purchase of grain for any depôt where there was a large daily consumption, at the neighbouring markets, necessarily had the effect of making food locally dearer, and thereby increasing the hardships of those who were with difficulty maintaining themselves without recourse to seeking aid from public charity.

149. In the northern part of the Bhaugulpore District within the Soopoul and Mudehpoora Subdivision, great difficulty in procuring food was experienced at one period even by those who had the means of paying for it. The District Relief Committee sent out a large quantity of rice purchased by them at wholesale rates, for sale in small quantities at the local bazaar retail rate, but in no other part of the districts to which this report has reference does the necessity for such a measure appear to have arisen. In the north of Tirhoot, and in Durbhungah, in Chumparun, and the south and west portions of the Monghyr District, there was a great scarcity of grain, as all old stocks were exhausted, but the import trade was generally active throughout the period of extreme distress, and especially so in the districts of Shahabad and Patna, where the local markets were replenished and kept open entirely by large importations of grain by the railway from Delhi and other places in the North-West Provinces; and no action on the part of Government officers in the way of supplementing the operations of those engaged in the grain trade in these

districts generally would appear to have been called for throughout the period of scarcity.

150. The following statistics, in regard to the six districts in which the distress was most severe, contain in one view a complete summary of the effects of the famine, and the extent of the relief measures undertaken to alleviate the condition of the people affected by it:—

1. DISTRICT.	2. Extent of Area.	3. Estimate of Population.	4. Extent of Area in which the Local Distress was Intense.	5. Amount of Government Revenue derived from that Area.	6. Number of Relief Centres.	7. Amount subscribed for Relief.	8. Amount assigned by Government for Charitable Relief.	9. Amount assigned from Imperial and Local Funds for Relief Works.	10. Total Amount expended in Relief.	11. Total daily average Number Relieved Gratuitously or by Employment on Public Works in August 1866.	12. Total Number of Deaths from Starvation or Disease engendered by Want.
	Square Miles.					*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*		
Chumparun - -	3,781	870,000	1,700	3,36,261	10	9,574	14,500	5,000	24,451 7 –	5,217	56,000
Gya - - - -	5,689	1,367,392	1,360	4,78,514	6	12,371	1,000	9,050	12,640 1 3	1,080	3,387
Monghyr - - -	3,592	843,775	1,316	1,87,829	9	8,894	2,000	6,324	15,218 4 5	3,635	1,247
Sarun - - -	2,612	1,200,000	700	6,81,462	12	16,147	10,000	25,000	45,308 10 –	6,685	8,175
Shahabad - - -	4,403	1,602,271	1,204	- -	10	10,861	3,000	12,784	26,645 3 3	4,283	4,424
Tirhoot - - -	6,114	1,856,279	3,000	7,43,098	25	38,315	4,000	–	39,447 10 6	11,841	60,321

151. As regards the question of the general efficiency of the relief measures undertaken throughout the whole of the districts to which this report has reference, the results are as follows:—

The total amount expended from public funds was 2,29,202 rupees, the largest daily average number relieved during any one month of the period for which public relief measures continued, was 37,329, whilst the total number of deaths ascertained to have occurred as the direct or indirect consequence of an insufficiency of food was no less than 1,35,676; so that, taking the number of deaths added to the number relieved as representing the aggregate of persons unable to support themselves during the famine, the number of persons relieved and supported, as compared with that of persons requiring relief, shows a proportion of but little more than one to five. The proportion of lives lost to those saved was considerably upwards of three to one; and taking four months as the average period during which the public relief operations continued in full force, a sum of about 50,000 rupees per month only was expended for the relief of upwards of 150,000 persons.

152. The occasion, I think, called for the appointment of a special agency, to secure the conduct of relief operations on a scale commensurate with the extent of the distress, at least in the districts of Tirhoot, Chumparun, and Sarun, where it was most severe. A very arduous and trying task, entailing much sacrifice of time, and the endurance of very painful spectacles, was imposed on the several non-official gentlemen who so readily placed their services at the disposal of the relief committees for the administration of relief at the depôts in the interior of the districts; whatever measure of success may have attended the measures adopted for the support of the starving people in the vicinity of those depôts is mainly due to their acceptance and zealous discharge of this duty.

153. The rice harvest of 1866, as well as the preceding Indian corn crops, was, except in certain localities, generally above the average of ordinary years; the exceptions comprise the northern pergunnahs of Tirhoot, whose condition,

condition, resulting from the excessive mortality which prevailed there, and the desertion of their villages by a large portion of the agricultural population, has been previously described in this report, and two or three of the central pergunnahs of the Gya District, where the rice crop again partially failed. The prospects of the ensuing spring crop were, at the close of the year, everywhere excellent, and there was, consequently, no longer any apprehension of renewed distress being felt by the people of these districts generally during the current year, although food would probably to a certain extent maintain a high price in the market, as compared with the rates obtaining previously to the two years' drought. The previous exhaustion of dealers' stocks, it was anticipated, could not be sufficiently repaired by the produce of one season, however abundant, to bring prices down to the former level, even if the whole of that produce was forthcoming, whilst the experience of the past year would be certain to operate in the direction of inducing the producers to store their grain as much as possible, and thus prevent a large portion of the fresh stock from finding its way into the market.

154. *The remedial measures* which the experience of the past year seem to call for are—

1st. The promotion of irrigation works.

2nd. The improvement of the internal means of communication in the several districts.

3rd. The creation of a special agency for collecting accurate information in regard to the population, agricultural produce, and the state of trade throughout the provinces under the control of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

155. *Irrigation.*—For some years past the rain-fall has been much less abundant, and the draining-off of the surface water more rapid than formerly. This change may perhaps be partly accounted for in the clearance of forest, induced by the increasing consumption of timber, and progress of cultivation, which are going on all over the country; but whatever may be the cause, the fact of a gradual decline in the rain-fall, and the consequent necessity of substituting other certain sources of water-supply, is apparent. Even in the past year, when the produce was generally above the average, the crops, up to the middle of October, were in a very critical condition, and but for a timely fall of rain towards the end of that month, the failure of the two previous years was in danger of being repeated to a greater or less extent.

156. The existing means of irrigation are extremely limited: in the districts on the north side of the Ganges it is rarely adopted, and the cultivators generally show little appreciation of its worth, or desire to secure its benefits; but in Shahabad, Patna, Gya, and Monghyr especially, and generally in the other districts to the south of the Ganges, its advantages are fully recognised, and according to their means and capacity the people avail themselves to the utmost of rivers and streams (across which dams or weirs are erected, the water being thence conveyed to the lands through small channels locally termed "pynes") and the wells and reservoirs, which have been constructed to a limited extent, at the expense of the zemindars. Almost the entire cultivation of opium, which is regarded by the people as their most valuable crop, and to which they devote their best land in these districts, is aided by irrigation. In the main rice-growing tracts during the years of drought a fair crop was secured only where, as in parts of Shahabad and the subdivision of Nowadah in the Gya District, the means of irrigation were available. In the Shahabad District especially, I have been told, the ryots will work day and night to irrigate their lands where a supply of water is procurable.

157. Here, therefore, where the demand for irrigation and the benefit to be derived from it are undoubted, a scheme which will place the means of irrigating his land within the reach of the cultivator, at such cost as the landed interest will bear, is urgently required, and the want seems to be fully met by Colonel Dickens' Soane Canal project, which embraces the entire area of the Shahabad District to the north of the Khymore Hills, and that portion of the

Gya District which suffered most severely in the late drought. The scheme provides a complete system of irrigation by means of canals for the entire country intervening between the Kurumnasa and Poonpoon Rivers. It would be desirable, I think, to extend the works eastwards, if there be no practical difficulty arising out of the nature of the intervening country, to the Sukree River, which runs from south to north near the line of demarcation between the Gya and Monghyr Districts, or even to the River Keol, which lies further to the east and near the range of hills intersecting the Monghyr District.

158. In the districts to the north of the Ganges the need of irrigation, though not appreciated by the cultivators generally, is recognised, I think, by most of the landholders. I am not aware of any matured scheme of irrigation works having been projected for this part of the country, or of any inquiry into the feasibility and expediency (having regard to the nature of the country, and the supply and velocity of discharge of water through its intersecting rivers) of constructing canals for the purpose of retaining the surplus water of the hill streams, and rendering it available for irrigation; but as the high lands situated in the north of the Chumparun and Tirhoot Districts along the Nepalese frontier, appear to be specially subject to failure of crops through drought, the subject deserves attention, and the question of the practicability of constructing weirs across the two Gunduck Rivers, in both of which there is a continuous supply of water throughout the year, and the possibility of obtaining a sufficient water-supply by the construction of canals for the irrigation of the entire area subject to drought, requires practical solution by means of such detailed inquiries, conducted by competent officers, as preceded the maturity of the Soane Canal project.

159. In the Sonthal Pergunnahs, within the Damun-i-koh estate, the Government may profitably undertake irrigation works on a small scale by forming the ravines, which carry off the surface drainage water of the hills, into reservoirs for its storage for the purpose of irrigation, weirs being constructed across the ravines at such places as are best adapted for extending the supply of water to the largest area of the surrounding country.

160. *Improvement of Means of Internal Communication.*—In some districts much difficulty and delay in transporting grain to the relief centres in the interior resulted from many of the roads being more or less impassable in the rainy season; and owing to the same difficulty, and consequent increased cost of carriage of grain which had to be brought from distant marts to supply the local markets, the high price of food was still further enhanced, and those persons who were with difficulty able to purchase sufficient food for their subsistence were subjected to still further privation. When the local supply of food fails, and markets become dependent upon the stores of distant marts, the means of communication with those distant sources of supply becomes a most important question, and exercises a material influence over local rates.

In Gya, for instance, where a short local supply must be supplemented either by importations from the Chota Nagpore country, or the town of Patna, the absolute obstruction to traffic with that city during the rainy season, which recurs annually, owing to the unfinished state of the road between Jehanabad and the Poonpoon River, raised the price of rice in October 1865, to an increase of not less than 30 per cent. over the rates then obtaining in any of the surrounding districts. The Chota Nagpore source of supply had failed, and the transport of grain from Patna was either absolutely impracticable or so expensive, owing to the condition of the road, as necessarily to enhance its retail price to the above extent.

161. The want of a road to connect the railway with the interior of the Monghyr District, the unbridged state of the road between Nonee and Doomka and between Doomka and Sooree, where it is intersected by deep ravines, filled in the rains by a rapid stream frequently impassable for two or three days, the absence of any road communications between places in the interior of the Deoghur District, the incomplete state of the road between Bhaugulpore and Soopoul, and the want of roads to connect Burhait, Burrio, Hirampore, and Amraparah—

all

—all places of some importance in the Sonthal Pergunnahs—with the railway, were found to have enhanced to a considerable extent the pressure of local distress in those districts, owing to the difficulty and increased cost of carriage which were thereby entailed in the importation of grain for the supply of the small bazars in the interior.

162. The completion of the road between Patna and Gya is of the utmost importance, as connecting the latter district with the railway; the flood water of the Soane inundates the low country between Jehanabad and the Poonpoon River, and renders the road, in its present unbridged condition, almost impassable during the rainy season. The work of bridging this road and rendering it serviceable at all seasons has been going on for many years, and very large sums have been expended on it, but the work of one year has too frequently been destroyed by the inundation of the following year, and so the completion of the road has been indefinitely protracted. Considerations of practical economy therefore no less than a due regard for the interests of traffic point to the expediency of pushing on this work to completion with the utmost possible dispatch.

163. The completion of the road between Arrah and Sasseram in Shahabad, and the connection of Sasseram with Chowsa by a new road which has been planned and partly commenced, seem to be urgently required in that district. The completion of the road, commenced as a relief work, between Daoodnuggur on the Soane River, and Aurungabad on the Grand Trunk Road in the Gya District, the construction of a road to connect the Head Quarters of the Behar Sub-division with the Railway at Bukteearpore in the Patna District, and the construction of the projected roads between the railway at Luckeeserai and Gridhour and between Luckeeserai and Sheikhpoora in the Monghyr District, are all urgently needed to insure a more perfect means of internal communication in these districts. The land required for these last two roads was taken up by Government some three or four years ago; the one was to be constructed by the railway company, the other by the Public Works Department; neither has yet been commenced, and the land acquired for the former is being again absorbed in cultivation by the encroachments of the ryots. It is very desirable that both these roads should be taken in hand, the land being made over to the District Officer who can construct the roads at the expense of local funds.

164. *Statistical Agency.*—As before remarked many lives might have been saved, and the extreme severity of the distress in these districts greatly mitigated, if not altogether prevented, by the adoption of relief measures at a much earlier period; that the administration of relief was not sooner undertaken is due to the District Officers' want of acquaintance with the condition of the people. This want of information on the part of District Officers is more or less general, and must, I think, in a great measure, continue so, as the necessary condition of our existing local administrative system, by which details are sacrificed to the principle of extreme centralization.

165. The District Officer, *i. e.*, the Magistrate Collector, is the referee on every subject on which local information is required, in regard to districts the extent of which is as great as 6,000, and, in the Behar Province, in no instance less than 2,500 square miles; with the exception of the officers in charge of the sub-divisions, of whom there are rarely more than two in each district, and except in Tirhoot, nowhere more than three, and the Abkaree Darogahs, or Excise Officers, of whom there are are not many, the Magistrate Collector has no subordinate agency working in the interior of the district through which he can keep himself regularly informed of such important subjects as the state of the crops, the increase or decrease of area under cultivation, the state of trade, and the conditions and prospects of the people generally.

166. When information is sought by the Government or the Board of Revenue on any of these subjects a special inquiry must be instituted; such inquiry can only be made through the irresponsible agency of the landholders, and the facts reported by the Magistrate Collector are mainly based upon a sort of average of the general information so obtained, supplemented perhaps by the

results of a special local inquiry instituted through office agency in the immediate vicinity of the Magistrate Collector's or the Sub-divisional Courts.

167. The Magistrate Collector, amidst his multifarious duties and occupations cannot possibly have time to devote to the acquisition, through personal inquiry, of statistical information in regard to agriculture, trade, and the social condition of the people. The only opportunities which he has for attaining this object are during the tour which he is required to make annually in the interior of the district, and owing to the claims upon his time which his judicial functions entail, claims which are being more pressed upon him by the superior judicial authorities than formerly; these tours are of less duration, and consequently less effective in leading to his practical acquaintance with the condition of the district and wants of its population generally.

168. Under an efficient administrative system the Chief Revenue Officer of the district ought to have full information as to the extent, and exact nature, of the cultivation of the entire revenue paying lands, the incidence of the assessment fixed by the permanent settlement upon the several estates within the district as shown in its practical operation in the division of the produce of the land between the State, the proprietor of the land, and the cultivator, and the consequent effect of such partition upon the condition of the population and the wealth of the district. He should know further the extent of the population, the numerical strength of the classes into which it is divided, their requirements in the consumption of food, the sufficiency or insufficiency of the local produce to meet such demand, and the extent to which the supply is ordinarily supplemented or diminished by the action of an import or export trade.

169. To acquire this statistical information, not as it may apply simply to one particular period, but in respect of its variation from year to year, and season to season, a special subordinate agency is required through which the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer could obtain reports of changes in the extent of area under cultivation, the condition of the crops, the demand for and supply of labour, the ruling prices of food and wages of labour, the results of each harvest in the out-turn of grain, the proportion of it finding its way into the market, and the condition of import and export trade, and its effect on the local markets.

170. No subordinate agency that could be established for this purpose would work well without the most active supervision, and so long as the offices of Magistrate and Collector remain united, so long as the Collector continues to be responsible for the entire criminal, as well as revenue, and executive administration of the district, he cannot give that well sustained and undivided attention to the working of the statistical department without which its purpose of affording publicity to the condition of each district and its population, as regards the local demand and supply of food and labour and their current value, as deduced from the most reliable data, could not be achieved.

171. So long therefore as this union exists, a distinct supervision would be necessary. One officer for each division acting independently of the Magistrate-Collector, and subordinate only to the Commissioner, would probably be sufficient. The functions of the proposed department would be to take a census of the population of each district, to keep an accurate registry of the classes, into which the population is divided (this would not of course contain the names of individuals but the number of the population of each class), and to submit for publication reports of the prices current, the state of the crops, estimates of the probable out-turn of produce, and the quantity of each kind of produce imported to, and exported from, each district.

172. Through the same agency a general system of registration of births and deaths might be introduced. It is of the utmost importance that there should be some approximately correct information, not only as to the aggregate of the population which must be supported by the produce of the soil, but that it should be known in what proportions the several classes contribute to that aggregate, and especially how many persons are supported only by the wages of manual labour and how many have no means of obtaining a livelihood except through

through dependence on general charity. The means of testing the material progress of the resources of the country, and ascertaining in what way the condition of the several classes of its population is affected by the exportation of its surplus produce is essential to a practically efficient system of administration. Had there existed the means of collecting such information previous to the drought, the extent to which the people must suffer from its effects could have been clearly estimated, and the severe distress and loss of life caused by it could have been prevented by such well-timed measures as a full knowledge of the situation and its requirements would have rendered feasible.

I have &c.
(signed) *F. R. Cockerell,*
Superintendant and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs,
on Special Duty.

ANNEXURES.

No. I.—PART I.

STATEMENT showing the Average Prices of the Edible Grains in most general Use amongst the Poorer Classes in the several Districts of the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, including the Sonthal Pergunnahs, during the Four Years previous to 1866.

1. DISTRICT.	2. Description of Edible Grains in most general Use by the Poorer Classes.	3. 1862.		4. 1863.		5. 1864.		6. 1865.	
		Seers.	*Chat.*	*Seers.*	*Chat.*	*Seers.*	*Chat.*	*Seers.*	*Chat.*
PATNA DIVISION:									
Chumparun	Rice	32	–	30	–	20	–	16	—
	Indian corn	44	–	35	–	35	–	24	—
	Pulses	22	–	25	–	20	–	16	—
Gya	Rice	25	–	27	8	20	–	12	—
	Indian corn	32	–	40	–	37	–	19	—
	Gram	26	–	31	8	29	–	16	—
	Pulses	34	–	43	–	39	–	18	—
Patna	Rice	30	8	26	5	25	1	15	—
	Gram	31	13	37	5	28	13	21	2
	Pulses	40	5	51	8	44	2	25	—
	Indian corn	38	3	46	8	23	15	21	2
Sarun	Rice	46	8	46	8	27	4	13	—
	Indian corn	64	–	52	–	46	–	15	14
	Pulses	39	–	42	–	35	–	16	—
Shahabad	Rice	30	–	25	–	20	–	12	—
	Indian corn	44	–	40	–	28	–	16	—
	Pulses	40	–	40	–	28	–	14	—
Tirhoot	Rice	32	–	35	–	28	–	12	—
	Indian corn	35	–	42	–	35	–	16	—
	Pulses	32	–	35	–	32	–	14	—
BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:									
Bhaugulpore	Rice	27	–	26	8	25	4	13	2
	Indian corn	–	–	38	–	31	4	17	5
	Pulses	–	–	22	11	22	11	12	12
Monghyr	Rice	30	–	31	–	26	–	13	—
	Indian corn	43	–	52	–	40	–	16	—
	Pulses	23	–	27	–	27	–	12	8
Purneah	Rice	–	–	36	–	31	–	17	—
	Gram	–	–	21	8	22	13	12	2
	Pulses	–	–	21	4	21	3	16	8
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:									
Deoghur	Rice	35	–	30	–	22	–	14	—
	Indian corn	45	–	50	–	40	–	18	—
	Pulses	24	–	18	–	14	–	11	—
Doomka	Rice	34	8	34	12	25	14	16	—
	Indian corn	50	–	50	–	50	–	20	—
	Pulses	40	–	30	–	25	–	20	—
Godda	Rice	35	–	35	–	35	–	18	8
Pakour	Rice	27	12	26	2	21	12	15	2
	Indian corn	40	–	27	10	23	2	20	5
	Pulses	28	2	26	8	22	6	14	—
Rajmehal	Rice	30	12	30	12	25	–	18	—
	Indian corn	45	–	25	–	20	–	30	—

Calcutta, 15 March 1867.

F. R. Cockerell,
Legal Remembrancer, on Special Duty.

PRICES ruling at the under-mentioned Periods in the several Districts of the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, including the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

QUANTITY of GRAIN procurable for One Rupee at the different Grain Bazars throughout the District during the Period between September 1865 and November 1866.

DISTRICTS.	Description of Edible Grain in Use by the Poorer Classes.	September 1865.		October 1865.		November 1865.		December 1865.		January 1866.		February 1866.		March 1866.		April 1866.		May 1866.		June 1866.		July 1866.		August 1866.		September 1866.		October 1866.		November 1866.	
		Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.
PATNA DIVISION:																															
Chumparun	Rice	15	15	15	15	15	15	11	11	12¼	12	10⅓	10½	10½	10½	9½	9½	9½	9½	8¼	8½	8½	8½	6¾	6¾	12½	12½	16½	16½	18½	18½
	Indian corn	15	15	15	15	13	13	13	13	12	12	11¼	11½	11	11	11	11	11	11	9	9	23	23	24	24	24	24	24	24	26	26
	Pulses	13¼	13¼	14½	14½	10	7	9½	7	8	6½	7½	5½	7	6	7	6	7	6	8	6	8½	7	7½	7	7½	6¼	11	7½	16	7¼
Gya	Rice	10	7	10	7	15	9	15	9½	14	9	13¼	12½	13	10½	10½	9¾	10	8	9¾	7¼	9½	7¾	8	6¼	9½	8½	10	9	13	9
	Indian corn	16	13	13	11	15	12	16	13	16	13	14½	13	13	12½	16	13	15½	12½	13	11	13½	10	13½	8¾	20	12½	19	14	20	17
	Pulses	13½	12½	11¼	10	14½	11	14½	11	13	10½	16	13	15	13	17	14	13	12½	11½	11	11	10½	10½	10	12	10	13½	10½	15	13½
	Gram	13	13	11	11	11	11	12	12	12	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	12	12	10¼	10½	10	10	9¼	9¼	10½	10½	11	11	14½	14½
Patna	Rice	12·3	11½	11	10½	12½	10¾	14	12	21	14	18	15	18	15	12¼	12	12	11½	10¼	10	11	9½	12¼	11	12	11¾	13	9¾	17½	13
	Gram	16	16	12¼	12¼	11¼	11¼	13	12	15	10	14	10¾	14	11	18½	14½	14	12¼	13	10	13	10	12⅔	10	16½	12½	18	14	17½	13
	Pulses	16	11	13½	8½	13	9½	15	8¾	15	8	15	8½	18	9¾	18½	10¾	10	10	12¾	10¼	12½	9½	11½	9½	13½	10	13½	9¾	16½	9¾
	Indian corn	14	14	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	18	18	14	14	14	14	12	12	12	12	16	16	16	16	14	14	16	16
Sarun	Rice	11½	11½	10	10	13	7¾	14½	9	14	9	13½	10	13½	7	12½	7	11¾	7	10¾	7	10	6¾	10	7	12½	12½	13	13	14	14
	Indian corn	16	16	15	15	16	15	16	15½	16½	15	15½	14½	17½	16	15½	14	14	12	14½	12	13½	11½	11	10	25	25	23	23	25	25
	Pulses	–	–	–	–	12	10½	12½	11	11¾	10	11	10½	14	10	14	9	13	10	12	9	11½	9	9¼	8	13	13	13	13	15½	15½
Shahabad	Rice	–	–	–	–	13½	12	13½	12½	13¾	12½	14	12	13¾	12	11¾	9	10½	10	10	8¾	10	9	12	9	14	10½	14¼	14	18½	18
	Pulses	–	–	–	–	11	10	11½	9½	11½	9½	13	10½	14	9	14	12	14	11	11½	11½	11½	11	10	10	12	9½	11	10½	14	10½
	Indian corn	–	–	–	–	14¾	10½	15½	11	14½	11	15	12¾	18	15	16	15¼	16	13	–	–	13	13	–	–	18	13	14	14	20	20
Tirhoot	Rice	14	9	14	9	13	9	14	9	15	9	14	8	13	9	10	8	9	7	9	7	7	6	7	5	10	7	9	8	14	9
	Indian corn	15	15	15	15	14	14	16	16	18	18	13	13	15	15	13	13	11	11	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	10	20	20	20	20
	Pulses	13	11	13	10	12	10	14	11	11	10	13	9	14	10	13	11	10	8	10	8	8	8	7	7	15	10	12	11	9	9
BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:																															
Bhaugulpore	Rice	16½	16½	13½	13½	11¼	11¼	11¼	11¼	15	15	13¾	13¾	13¼	13¼	12	12	11½	11½	10	10	8¼	8¼	8¼	8¼	8¾	8¾	10	10	12½	12½
	Indian corn	19½	19½	19	19	16	16	15	15	15	15	16	16	16	16	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	16	–	–	22	22	22	22	22	22
	Pulses	15	15	12¼	12¼	12½	12½	11	11	13¼	15¼	12	12	12½	12½	12½	12½	12	12	11	11	8¼	8¾	8¾	8¾	8¾	8¾	10	10	10	10

No. 1.—Part II.—Prices ruling at the under-mentioned Periods in the several Districts of the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, including the Sonthal Pergunnahs—*continued.*

DISTRICTS.	Description of Edible Grain in Use by the Poorer Classes.	Quantity of Grain procurable for One Rupee at the different Grain Bazars throughout the District during the Period between September 1865 and November 1866.																									
		September 1865.		October 1865.		November 1865.		December 1865.		January 1866.		February 1866.		March 1866.		April 1866.		May 1866.		June 1866.		July 1866.		August 1866.		September 1866.		October 1866.		November 1866.	
		Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.	Highest.	To Lowest.
Bhaugulpore Division—*continued.*																											
Monghyr	Rice	15	12	11	10	15	10½	13	9½	13	10	11	8	10½	8	9	8	9	8	8	7	7½	7	7½	7	7½	7	9	8½
	Pulses	12½	8	10	8	12	7½	13	8	14	9	12¾	8½	15	8½	12	8½	12	9	12	9	10	8½	9½	8	10	9	11	9
	Indian corn	20	20	16	16	14	14	17	13¾	17	12¾	17	12¾	17	13	15	13	15	13	15	12	14	10	13	11	30	20	22	16	35	20
Purneah	Rice	14	13	12	10	15	9	18	8	17	16	18	16	13	12	12	11	12	11	11	10	9	8	8	7½	16	9	12	7½	17	8
	Gram	12	12	12	12	12	12	7	7	11	11	12	12	11	11	16	16	13	13	13	13	10	10	10	10	8	8	10	10	10	10
	Pulses	20	11	13	8	12	8	14	6¼	14	8	16	10	15	12	13	12	10	8	10	8	9	7	8	7	8	7	8	7	8	7
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:																													
Deoghur	Rice	–	–	14	14	–	–	–	–	16	16	13	13	13	13	11	11	10	10	9½	9½	7½	7½	6½	6½	7	7	8	8	17	17
	Pulses	–	–	12	12	–	–	–	–	20	20	14	14	14	14	11	11	10	10	10	10	8	8	7	7	8½	8½	9	9	9	9
	Indian corn	–	–	20	20	–	–	–	–	18	18	16	16	16	16	14	14	13	13	11	11	10	10	10	10	16	16	18	18	24	24
Doomka	Rice	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16¼	16¼	15½	15½	12⅝	12⅝	12	12	11	11	9	9	8	8	6½	6½	9	7	9	8	21	18¾
	Indian corn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19¾	19¾	19¾	19¾	16	16	14	14	12	12	12½	12½	10	10	–	–	32	20	32	22	30	20
Godda	Rice	20	20	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	15	15	14	14	10	10	8	8	8	8	6½	6½	6	6	8	8	12	12
	Indian corn	30	30	30	30	20	20	18	18	18	18	18	18	16	16	14	14	12	12	11	11	10	10	8	8	20	20	25	25	30	30
	Pulses	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	16	14	14	14	14	12	12	10	10	9	9	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	10	10
Pakour	Rice	17	16	16	16	14	13	16	12	13	12½	16	15	16	14	11	10½	11	10	10	9¼	10	8	9½	7	11	9	14	10	20	18
	Pulses	16	15	16	16	13	12	12	12	15	11	18	12	20	12	14	12	14	10	14	12	10	7	8	8	13	8	13	10	15	11
	Indian corn	22	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	22	21	22	20	20	16	15	15	14	14	10	10	10	10	10	10	12	12	14	14	15	15
Rajmehal	Rice	26	26	26	26	26	26	20	18	18	12	16	12	13	10	11	9	10	9	9	8	9½	8	8	7	10	8	10	8	16	11
	Indian corn	30	30	30	30	30	30	25	25	20	18	28	16	20	16	20	20	20	20	16	16	8	7	12	11¼	30	30	25	25	20	20
	Pulses	21	21	21	21	21	21	16	16	12	8	11	8	11	7	12	7	10	7	10	7	9	8	8	7	9	8	9	8	10	8

N.B.—Under the head of pulses a variety of small grains are included, the different kinds of which most commonly used by the people necessarily vary in the several districts, hence a greater range of prices is observable in this class of grain than in the others which are quoted in this Statement.

Calcutta, 15 March 1867.

F. R. Cockerell,
Legal Remembrancer, on Special Duty.

No. II.

STATEMENT showing the Average Daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously, and Average Daily Number of Persons employed on Works undertaken for the Purpose of affording Relief.

DISTRICTS.	June 1866.		July 1866.		August 1866.		September 1866.		October 1866.		November 1866.		December 1866.		Nature of the Works undertaken to afford Relief.
	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	Average daily Number of Persons relieved gratuitously.	Average daily Number of Persons employed.	
PATNA DIVISION:															
Chumparun	2,450	667	4,228	2,338	3,648	1,869	3,129	1,846	–	–	–	–	–	–	Repairs of public roads.
Gya	436	117	1,085	117	1,057	123	1,146	195	379	317	90	317	–	317	Construction of new roads from Mudunpore to Myhunun, from Aurungabad to Nubeepore, from Daoodnagore to Aurungabad, from Gya to Rajwali, and from Govindupore to Burea.
Patna	–	969	–	1,167	1,522	1,399	2,919	2,111	2,399	2,111	1,883	1,372	1,197	–	Repairs of roads in Birkrama, Noubutpore, Moosari, Hilsa, Bankeepore, Barh, Makamah, and Behar.
Sarun	1,480	206	5,621	2,440	4,919	1,766	3,824	1,672	800	3,005	141	3,616	–	1,747	Mending and raising roads.
Shahabad	–	–	990	1,218	3,415	868	3,727	1,662	2,008	559	976	44	330	52	Repairing, turfing, dressing, &c., of roads.
Tirhoot	3,775	583	6,788	461	11,621	220	6,856	182	4,435	79	2,481	61	695	–	Repairing roads; leveling a Serai and filling up a large ditch.
BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:															
Bhaugulpore	–	–	248	280	708	441	1,019	250	676	223	–	254	–	221	Digging a tank, construction of a road near Soopool. Repairing a road from Merzahaut to Bowsee. Widening a road from the gaol to Manick Sircar's Ghât.
Monghyr	–	–	–	–	1,058	838	2,201	1,049	1,774	1,382	–	517	–	–	Cleaning the fort ditch and sloping its banks; constructing two roads, one inside the fort, and the other behind the hospital.
Purneah	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Construction of a road at Mynanagore, and cleaning jungles on road sides.
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:															
Deoghur	–	–	–	–	306	163	636	321	259	86	148	24	58	–	Repairing a road from Deoghur to Rohini; repairing two roads from Kurroun police station to the Sudder distillery; digging a tank in the Nala sub-division.
Doomka	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Godda	–	–	–	–	95	–	131	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Earthwork on Amraparo to Moorarooee-road.
Pakour	–	–	94	–	327	150	270	–	116	–	5	–	–	–	Repairs of the road from Baheeah to Burhat, and from Tinpahar to Boreeo.
Rajmehal	–	727	–	1,411	306	510	276	17	72	–	47	–	–	–	
TOTAL	11,410		28,486		37,329		35,439		20,374		11,976		4,617		

Calcutta,
15 March 1867.

F. R. Cockerell,
Legal Remembrancer, on Special Duty.

No. III.—STATEMENT of Mortality from Starvation and Disease in the Districts

DISTRICTS.	JANUARY 1866.									FEBRUARY 1866.									MARCH 1866.								
	From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.				
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.
PATNA DIVISION:																											
Chumparun	–	–	–	–	112	134	196	442	442	–	–	–	–	216	242	295	753	753	–	–	–	–	224	227	213	694	694
Gya	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Patna	–	–	–	–	5	5	2	12	12	5	2	–	7	21	14	3	38	45	3	1	–	4	19	10	–	29	33
Sarun	73	49	43	165	103	76	46	225	390	62	49	51	162	102	75	49	226	388	81	77	46	204	101	86	45	232	436
Shahabad	8	3	2	13	9	1	–	10	23	11	9	8	28	3	4	–	7	35	33	13	17	63	12	9	5	26	89
Tirhoot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:																											
Bhaugulpore	–	–	–	–	17	3	–	20	20	2	–	–	2	19	4	1	24	26	2	1	–	3	17	3	1	21	24
Monghyr	–	–	–	–	16	5	1	22	22	6	2	1	9	11	1	1	13	22	2	–	–	2	12	5	1	18	20
Purneah	–	–	–	–	2	4	–	6	6	–	–	–	–	6	2	3	11	11	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	3	3
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:																											
Deoghur	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Doomka	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1
Godda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Pakour	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rajmehal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TOTAL	81	52	45	178	264	228	245	737	915	86	62	60	208	378	342	352	1,072	1,280	121	92	63	276	387	342	295	1,025	1,309

DISTRICTS.	JULY 1866.									AUGUST 1866.									SEPTEMBER 1866.								
	From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.				
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.
PATNA DIVISION:																											
Chumparun	2,112	2,197	2,613	6,922	1,772	1,811	2,203	5,786	12,708	2,712	2,814	3,752	9,278	1,052	1,112	1,409	3,573	12,851	2,012	2,042	3,015	7,069	1,012	1,142	1,518	3,672	10,741
Gya	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Patna	–	21	3	59	41	27	13	81	140	44	31	15	93	69	42	11	122	215	35	21	2	58	11	20	7	38	96
Sarun	356	282	189	827	192	102	94	388	1,215	358	305	96	759	120	76	57	253	1,012	178	138	56	372	166	98	70	334	706
Shahabad	455	309	179	943	195	120	30	345	1,288	323	286	89	698	67	121	13	201	899	188	60	78	326	36	27	2	65	391
Tirhoot	–	–	–	4,283	–	–	–	5,438	9,721	–	–	–	5,846	–	–	–	11,245	17,091	–	–	–	4,443	–	–	–	4,213	8,656
BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:																											
Bhaugulpore	1	2	–	1	19	4	1	24	25	8	4	–	12	28	10	–	38	50	18	4	2	24	22	12	–	34	58
Monghyr	26	9	–	35	30	14	1	45	80	107	48	5	160	75	21	4	100	260	92	40	4	136	40	14	2	56	192
Purneah	–	–	–	–	27	5	5	38	38	4	2	–	6	18	10	2	30	36	–	–	–	–	21	9	6	36	36
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:																											
Deoghur	2	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	2	34	12	15	61	–	–	–	–	61	58	21	18	97	–	–	–	–	97
Doomka	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Godda	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	6	–	–	6	2	4	2	8	14	1	3	2	6	9	2	–	11	17
Pakour	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rajmehal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TOTAL	2,987	2,819	2,984	13,073	2,276	2,084	2,617	12,145	25,218	3,596	3,505	3,972	16,919	1,431	1,396	1,498	15,570	32,489	2,582	2,329	3,177	12,531	1,317	1,324	1,605	8,459	20,990

Calcutta, 15 March 1867.

of the *Patna* and *Bhaugulpore* Divisions, including the *Sonthal* Pergunnahs.

APRIL 1866.									MAY 1866.									JUNE 1866.									DISTRICTS.
From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.					
Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	
																											PATNA DIVISION:
215	291	425	931	257	295	313	865	1,796	222	297	392	911	161	197	199	557	1,468	282	328	697	1,307	191	214	252	657	1,964	Chumparun.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Gya.
2	6	–	8	19	12	–	31	39	6	4	–	10	17	15	3	35	45	16	12	5	33	35	20	13	68	101	Patna.
190	152	97	439	99	82	60	241	680	220	210	122	552	117	67	54	238	719	321	258	106	685	159	188	103	450	1,135	Sarun.
74	52	33	159	54	36	20	110	269	126	91	36	253	68	64	20	152	405	259	181	105	545	189	106	21	316	861	Shahabad.
–	–	–	1,617	–	–	–	1,717	3,334	–	–	–	3,058	–	–	–	3,062	6,120	–	–	–	3,437	–	–	–	5,156	8,593	Tirhoot.
																											BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:
–	–	–	–	21	10	2	33	33	–	–	–	–	17	4	–	21	21	–	–	–	–	16	7	–	23	23	Bhaugulpore.
3	2	–	5	32	3	1	36	41	7	2	2	11	21	15	1	37	48	8	9	–	17	29	13	1	43	60	Monghyr.
–	–	–	–	4	5	–	9	9	–	–	–	–	9	14	3	26	26	–	–	–	–	18	8	2	28	28	Purneah.
																											SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Deoghur.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Doomka.
–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	Godda.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Pakour.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Rajmehal.
484	503	555	3,159	486	444	396	3,043	6,202	582	601	552	4,796	410	376	280	4,128	8,924	887	788	913	6,925	637	556	392	6,741	12,766	

OCTOBER 1866.									NOVEMBER 1866.									DECEMBER 1866.										DISTRICTS.
From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.					From Starvation.				From Disease.						
Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Total.	Grand Total.	
																												PATNA DIVISION:
2,642	2,730	3,567	8,939	420	408	417	1,245	10,181	502	571	904	1,977	102	140	180	422	2,399	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	56,000	Chumparun.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	* 3,387	Gya.
16	8	2	26	69	47	22	138	164	3	1	2	6	5	6	–	11	17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	907	Patna.
34	38	26	98	277	204	87	568	666	28	21	24	73	220	192	59	471	544	3	5	1	9	91	71	42	204	213	8,175	Sarun.
57	23	16	96	11	14	–	25	121	19	6	8	33	3	7	–	10	43	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4,424	Shahabad.
–	–	–	1,615	–	–	–	2,756	4,371	–	–	–	638	–	–	–	1,797	2,435	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	60,321	Tirhoot.
																												BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:
20	4	3	27	30	18	–	48	75	8	4	2	14	28	9	–	37	51	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	406	Bhaugulpore.
119	35	4	158	59	8	1	68	226	74	16	–	90	81	21	1	103	193	15	4	–	19	40	20	4	64	83	1,247	Monghyr.
–	–	–	–	20	9	–	29	29	–	–	–	–	8	13	–	21	21	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	243	Purneah.
																												SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:
16	6	4	26	–	–	–	–	26	4	5	1	10	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	196	Deoghur.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	235	Doomka
–	–	–	–	5	3	–	8	8	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	3	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	47	Godda.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	50	Pakour.
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	38	Rajmehal.
2,904	2,841	3,622	10,985	891	711	527	4,885	15,870	638	624	941	2,841	447	390	241	2,875	5,716	18	9	1	28	131	91	46	268	296	135,676	

* From Disease, 1,360; from Starvation, 2,027.

F. R. Cockerell, Legal Remembrancer, on Special Duty.

No. IV.

STATEMENT showing the FUNDS available, and AMOUNT expended, in RELIEF OPERATIONS.

DISTRICTS.	Realised by Local Subscriptions.	Assigned from Local Funds.	ASSIGNED FROM GENERAL RELIEF FUND.		Grant from Imperial Fund for Public Works.	Total Amount available for Relief Purposes.	AMOUNT EXPENDED IN RELIEF OPERATIONS.			Unexpended Balance up to January 1867.	REMARKS.
			From Government.	From Calcutta Relief Fund.			Amount Expended in Gratuitous Relief.	Amount Expended on Relief Works.	TOTAL.		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
PATNA DIVISION:	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	*Rs.* a. p.	
Chumparun	9,574 – –	5,000 – –	14,500 – –	– –	– –	29,074 – –	12,981 14 –	11,469 9 –	24,451 7 –	4,622 9 –	*Rs.* 2,209 was advanced to cultivators to enable them to carry on their agricultural operations.
Gya	12,371 2 –	– –	1,000 – –	– –	9,050 – –	22,421 2 –	6,695 11 6	5,944 5 9	12,640 1 3	9,781 – 9	
Patna	12,205 – –	7,600 – –	– –	– –	8,413 – –	28,218 – –	9,925 14 3	16,305 8 3	26,231 6 6	1,986 9 6	
Sarun	16,147 – –	5,000 – –	10,000 – –	– –	20,000 – –	51,147 – –	21,707 13 11	23,600 12 5	45,308 10 4	5,838 5 8	
Shahabad	10,861 3 3	284 – –	2,000 – –	1,000 – –	12,500 – –	26,645 3 3	19,617 14 –	7,027 5 3	26,645 3 3	—	
Tirhoot	38,315 10 5	– –	4,000 – –	– –	– –	42,315 10 5	37,439 10 6	2,008 – –	39,447 10 6	2,867 15 11	
BHAUGULPORE DIVISION:											
Bhaugulpore	13,561 11 9	3,854 9 3	– –	– –	– –	17,416 5 –	8,287 5 8	4,583 11 –	12,871 – 8	4,545 4 4	
Monghyr	8,894 3 5	1,324 1 –	2,000 – –	– –	5,000 – –	17,218 4 5	7,047 13 1	8,170 7 4	15,218 4 5	2,000 – –	
Purneah	2,252 – –	– –	– –	– –	– –	2,252 – –	– – –	169 13 –	169 13 –	2,082 3 –	
SONTHAL PERGUNNAHS:											
Deoghur	3,171 – 9	480 – –	2,000 – –	– –	– –	5,651 – 9	2,402 2 9	1,181 13 6	3,584 – 3	2,067 – 6	
Doomka	872 – –	– –	2,000 – –	– –	5,000 – –	7,872 – –	2,635 9 10	4,219 4 9	6,854 14 7	1,017 1 5	
Godda	– – –	15 – –	500 – –	– –	– –	515 – –	515 – –	– –	515 – –	—	
Pakour	– – –	3,089 – –	1,100 – –	– –	– –	4,189 – –	757 – –	3,089 – –	3,846 – –	343 – –	
Rajmehal	1,069 – –	*10,046 – –	800 – –	– –	4,000 – –	15,915 – –	1,134 13 2	10,284 – –	11,418 13 2	4,496 2 10	
TOTAL – – – *Rs.*	1,29,293 15 7	36,692 10 3	39,900 – –	1,000 – –	63,963 – –	2,70,849 9 10	1,31,148 10 9	98,053 10 3	2,29,202 5 –	41,647 4 10	

* *N.B.*—Of this sum 10,000 rupees was advanced by Government from the revenue of the Damun-i-koh estate for expenditure on relief works for the benefit of the people residing in the estate.

Calcutta,
15 March 1867.

F. R. Cockerell,
Legal Remembrancer, on Special Duty.

Appendix I.

From *F. M. Halliday*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Chumparun, to the Officiating Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. A.); dated 4th November 1865.

Sir,

Referring to your docket memorandum No. 132, dated 21st ultimo, forwarding copy of Board's letter No. 537, dated 19th idem, I have the honour to submit the following report:

2. From the inquiries I have made, it is apparent that there will be a serious scarcity of food in my district; the rice crops have failed in most parts owing to the early cessation of the rains, and where, in some low lands, the crops looked promising, they have been destroyed by the late heavy inundations arising from the breaking of the Gunduck embankments to the south-west of the district, and from the floods of the Little Gunduck and Dhunontee Rivers in the north portion, where most of the rice cultivation is carried on.

3. The Indian corn crops, of which there is considerable cultivation, and on which the people depend much for food, turned out well, but I am informed on reliable authority, that there has been so great an export, that the available supply is now altogether insufficient to meet the requirements arising from the unexpected failure of the rice crop.

4. In previous years the people depended greatly on the supplies of grain, which were exported from Nepal, but this year, owing to some scarcity in that country also, the Nepalese Government has strictly forbidden exportation.

5. The prospects of a rubbee crop are not good, for in many parts of the district second sowings have as yet failed. Under these circumstances the prices of all the necessaries of life have, of course, already risen considerably as compared with those of an ordinary season, and there is no doubt that they will run still higher unless the prospects of a rubbee crop become better. Rice, which usually sold at 16 to 18 seers per rupee, is now selling at an average of about 7 to 9 seers. All other grain has risen in the same proportion.

6. With regard to any public measures for alleviating the probable general suffering, it would be, I think, advisable to apply for funds to carry on public works, by which some relief might be afforded to the labouring classes. The general complaint, however, is that the district is "empty" of grain.

7. Some European landholders from whom I have been making inquiries, and who have been connected with the grain trade, tell me they would gladly import large quantities into the district from even the Lower Bengal districts if they knew to what markets to go. They would import largely to alleviate the expected pressure on the poorer classes of their own tenants, and I would beg to suggest that, with a view to assisting such landholders, information should be given to the Collectors of the districts most in need, not only of the prices current in each district, but of the names of the principal places in any district where the supplies have not failed at which grain could be procurable.

From *J. S. Drummond*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Gya, to the Officiating Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 978); dated 15th November 1865.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the report called for in the Board's letter No. 537, dated the 19th ultimo, on the present state and prospects of the crops in this district, the prices of food, and the condition of the poorer classes, premising that I have been unavoidably prevented from doing so on an earlier date by delay in the receipt of information from Mr. Worsley the sub-divisional officer of Nowadah, who, however, it is due to him to state, was engaged in a fruitless attempt to ascertain from the zemindars the available stock of food.

2. The points on which information is desired are—

1st. The available stock of food.

2nd. The state of the crops.

3rd. Present prices as contrasted with those of ordinary seasons; and, 4thly and lastly, the remedial measures which may be deemed worthy of adoption.

3. As respects the first point, the available stock of food in the district, I beg to state that it is quite impossible to supply anything like accurate information on this head, and for this reason to assign even any approximate quantity would probably be productive of more harm than good. As, however, the present year may be said to be one famine year on another, and there is ground, therefore, for supposing that former stores of grain have been largely drawn on in the course of this and the past year, during which high prices have more or less prevailed, the local supply cannot fail to be limited. In point of fact there can be no question that the local grain markets are now, more or less, partly at least, dependent on assistance from other districts. The sources from which such assistance from without is mainly derived, are the districts of the Chota Nagpore division.

4. On the subject of the present state and future prospects of the crops as regards the Nowadah subdivision, I annex Mr. Worsley's letter, in original, respecting which I would remark that his account of the state of the case is more reassuring than I was led to expect, though the "dhan" crops in that part of the district are certainly better than in other portions. The rates given by Mr. Worsley in the 2nd paragraph of his letter, are probably according to cutcha weight; 9 pusserees of dhan cutcha weight would be 6 pusserees pucca weight, and this would give 21 seers of rice. Similarly, 12 pusserees cutcha would be 8 pusserees pucca, and yield 27 seers of rice. I fear, notwithstanding Mr. Worsley's account of their present state, that hopes, founded on the rubbee crops, are but too likely to prove delusive.

5. The general state of the dhan throughout the district may be summed up thus: The crops in low lands, and that can be artificially watered from pynes, wells, and ahurs, are safe and good upon the whole, but their produce would have been increased 25 per cent. had rain fallen in due season. The higher dhan lands are dried up, and under no circumstances could yield a grain; even where such lands are watered from ahurs, the waters have become expended, and the temporary preservation of the crops thereon by this means will, through lack of rain, be attended with no ultimate benefit. The south-eastern and south-western portions of the district have suffered least, but throughout the country lying south and west and north of and in about the station embracing the Sherghotty, Aurungabad, Daoodnuggur, Arwul, Jehanabad, and Gya thannahs, the damage occasioned by the drought has been very extensive. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that not much less than one-half of the rice crop throughout the district has failed.

6. The prospects for the rubbee are, however, infinitely worse, and I regret to state that at present there seems but little likelihood of there being any rubbee crop at all. Most people that have ventured their grain have lost it from grubs, and even though artificial irrigation may in places have admitted of the crop being raised, it is not to be expected that it will stand against continued drought. The rain which fell about a week ago was wholly insufficient, and can have been productive of no material good, and while the expectation of rain is but slight, indeed its coming now even would be too late in most cases.

7. Next, with respect to the prices of the necessaries of life, as before noted, the crops failed last year also, and since May 1864 prices have been steadily rising, until last month the climax was attained and the cheapest rice sold for 7 seers per rupee! At this period there being, moreover, no work on hand at the time which would have afforded means of employment, the poorer classes were put to great straits, and distress amongst them was very prevalent. Had numbers of them not emigrated, many must have succumbed altogether under the pressure of the times. The number who have emigrated from this district from January to October amounts to 3,055. The people used to throng the courts complaining of the high rates of food, and there being reason to fear that many would have died of sheer starvation if immediate measures for their relief were not taken. I commenced distributing grain gratis daily to such as were altogether indigent, and at a meeting of the principal residents of the town, it was resolved that a subscription should be raised to defray the cost. This resolution is now being given effect to, and money being raised for the purpose, and I have every hope of collecting some 5,000 rupees to be devoted to this object. While the prices remained at such famine rates, upwards of a thousand persons were daily afforded relief in this way, and now that prices are abating, measures are in course of adoption to admit of a gradual withdrawal of the relief until such time as it shall be necessary to resort to it again, for I fear that the pressure will begin to be felt anew about February next, and it would be unwise to continue now on the same scale the relief which will then be more urgently needed. It was due to the liberality of the Mohunth of Bodth Gya, who at first supplied me with grain, that I was enabled to take immediate measures for relief.

8. The present prices of food are still three times as dear as they were in 1863, and the rates are even now beyond the reach of the poorest classes. I understand that in parts of the district people are actually using as food the dregs of the mustard seed, which has been compressed to extract oil. There is hope, however, that when the new rice comes into the market, prices will still further abate, for at least, though only again to rise, some few months hence.

9. With regard to the remedial measures, which the general scarcity may demand at the hands of Government, there can be no doubt that the great desideratum is employment

ment for those who would otherwise succumb or resort to crime for their livelihood. I addressed the different Executive engineers in the district, inquiring to what extent they would be able to give employment in the event of the sanction of Government being obtained to the necessary expenditure, and I enclose such replies as have been received. I would strongly advocate extra work being made available on the Patna road, as proposed by Mr. Luff, the Executive engineer employed thereon, and I venture to suggest that the opportunity would be an excellent one for expediting the much desired completion of that important line of communication. The abandoned works in the Behar road division might also be resumed; but on the necessity of finding employment for the labouring classes in that neighbourhood, I would propose that Mr. Worsley, the Deputy Magistrate of Nowadah, should be specially consulted. His present report is silent on this point; but my own impression is, that if the Rajwar serfs of his subdivision cannot be induced by some means to take employment on the roads during the coming time of pressure, their masters, the zemindars, are likely to leave them to gain their subsistence by robbery and theft rather than support them, and I confess I look forward with some dread to the next thieving season in the Nowadah subdivision, with the difficulties of restraining the Rajwar population so much enhanced as they are likely to be by the high prices of food. The Baroon and Beehta road will, I suppose, afford the means of work to the poorer classes about Arwul and Daoodnuggur, and if eventually found necessary, too, to find employment for the people further south, that road might doubtless with advantage be extended along the Soane and Koel Rivers, with the view of facilitating communication with the Palamow district.

10. I would also suggest for consideration whether, in presence of the general scarcity of food throughout the country, some measures might not legitimately be taken to discourage the export of grain from the country for purposes other than that of its consumption as an article of food without the exercise of any unwarrantable interference with the grain trade.

11. It only remains to make one more remark, and this is on the subject of the forthcoming agricultural show at Patna. In a former letter, No. 262, dated the 14th of July last, I had advocated the postponement of that show till a more favourable year, and however premature such recommendation may have been then, I submit that the state of things now is not such as would be likely to conduce to a successful exhibition of the kind, and that the inducement to a cordial support of the project from the people of this district must necessarily be few. I would again invite attention, then, to the consideration suggested in paragraph 3 of my former letter, as possessing still greater force now than they had then.

From *E. Drummond*, Esq., Officiating Magistrate of Patna, to the Officiating Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. A.); dated 4th November 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 297, dated 30th October 1865, calling for an immediate report on—

1st. The present state and prospects of the crops in this district; and second, the prices of food and the condition of the poorer classes.

2. In reply to the first point I would state as follows: As regards the rice crop, I am afraid that there will be little more than a quarter and certainly not more than half an average crop. Up to the middle of the month of September the prospects were better than they have been for years, but the want of rain has dried up the crop, and much of it is lost. Still I feel sure, from the information that I have collected, that the rice crop in this district will be as much this year as it was the last, for there has been a very general over-sowing of lands in rice which were never so sown before, and which could never, in any ordinary year, be expected to yield a crop. Reports of a general failure have been spread (where as the failure is chiefly on these lands) last year's crop was a bad one, and this year's will be a bad one too, but not as bad as is reported by general rumour.

As regards the rubbee crop, I should say, from all that I have heard on the subject, and from the information that I have gathered, that there will be a half, and very probably a three-quarter crop.

As regards the prices of food and the condition of the poorer classes, I am sorry to say that rice is averaging 10 seers and Indian corn from 12 to 14 seers for the rupee, and, of course, the other grains, dâl, &c., are proportionately dear. These high prices press heavily on the poorer classes and on all who live on a fixed income, and I do not see any immediate prospect of there being a decrease sufficient to afford much relief. There is plenty of grain in the district, but it is all in the stores of large goledars, mahajuns, and zemindars, who are holding back for high rates, and, until there be a fresh crop or large imports from elsewhere, prices will remain much as they are; with the high rates now ruling in the Gya district, too, they cannot be expected to fall until the drain from that

district ceases and the prices in both districts be equalized. With the rain that is now falling, however, there is a prospect of a fair rubbee crop, and I do not think that there will rise, nor do I, under present circumstances, see any reason to expect that there will be, a famine in this district, as large imports may be expected in addition to the grains now in store.

The only measure of relief that I would venture to propose is this, that the Government should press on the railway company an immediate reduction of their rates to four annas per maund from Calcutta, or to such sum as would divert a great part of the river traffic to their line. I can state confidently that this would at once cause prices to fall, and would, I think, by the increased traffic which must result, pay the railway company well.

From *J. J. Grey*, Esq., Magistrate of Sarun, to the Officiating Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. A.); [not dated.]

Sir,

Circular Memorandum No. 284, dated 20th October 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your communications noted.

I proceed to answer the inquiry under the various heads to which it applies.

Memorandum No. 297 of 30th October 1865.

The rates at which that kind of rice, which is the "staple" consumption of the people, has been sold during the last two months, have varied from 15 to 8 seers. It is now selling at 10 and 11 seers for the rupee. In an ordinary year it would have been sold during these months at from 19 to 22 seers for the rupee.

As regards the crops, I should put them down approximately as noted below:—

Last year's "bhadooee" (Indian corn, "janera," &c.) a 12-anna crop.

Last year's rice crop (aghunee) about a 5-anna crop.

Last year's "rubbee" (pulses, peas, wheat, barley, &c.) nearly full, say a 15-anna crop.

This year's bhadooee, a 12-anna crop.

This year's aghunee, probably a 6-anna crop (not yet cut, but already much parched and lost for want of rain).

This year's rubbee is hardly sown, and seed is hard to procure; even in the best years this district is largely supplied from Bengal, and in this year, although the demand from this district is greater, and the stock available for supply in Bengal is less than usual, I am not aware that there has been, or that it is probable that there will be, any stoppage of supply at the higher price of 9, 10, and sometimes 12 and 13 seers for the rupee sold in this district.

The rice bought in Bengal is now purchasable there at 19 or 20 seers, instead of at 30 or 35 seers. In short, the price at which the rice is now bought in Bengal before export is about that at which it would be sold easily in an average year in this district.

The present sale rate of 10 to 12 seers for the rupee in this district may, no doubt, vary; but at present, so far as I can learn, there is every hope of a supply at these higher rates being available for some six months, and by that time, if all goes well, the rubbee crop will be cut.

But much depends on the progress of the rubbee crop, and if that crop fails, the distress in May and June and subsequent months of next year will be very lamentable.

On the whole I would sum up as follows:—

That for the next six months there is every hope of a supply of rice being available, but at the higher rates of 9 to 12 seers, instead of 19 to 22 seers for the rupee.

And this proportion is consistent with the extent to which the Bengal supply has been diminished and demand increased, and to which the local crops of former and present years have been deteriorated.

That this being so, the people at large will suffer severe pressure, but not famine for these months. No doubt amongst the very lowest classes there will be very great distress, and there may probably occur isolated instances of even starvation and death; but for the people generally so long as the staple grain is purchasable at even a higher price than that which rules or is likely to rule till the local "rubbee" crop is cut, I do not anticipate anything like a famine; and I have learnt from the best source available to me that the chief grain dealers expect to be able to supply grain at the higher prices I have named (9 to 12 seers), up to the time when the rubbee harvest ought to be reaped.

And if the rubbee harvest is good all will be well. If it fails, we may indeed apprehend the most frightful distress, Rain is much wanted; and there is difficulty in getting seed (for the rubbee planting), which is chiefly owing to the sowing having already failed widely from want of water and the dearness of seed in consequence. I would strongly suggest that the Government officials should urge the land proprietors, the rent receivers, to assist the cultivators and rent-payers in getting seed. It is their own interest to do so, and any advance or temporary remission made for that purpose would be amply repaid on the cutting of the rubbee crop. It may also be worthy of consideration whether the time has come for any prohibition as to export of grain from British India.

You will gather from this letter that my opinion briefly expressed is, that for the present there is no reason to fear any general famine, but that there will be lamentable distress, and even instances of starvation amongst those who cannot buy rice or grain at the higher rates,

rates, and who cannot find a substitute in the grain or seed of the crops which have also largely failed. But for the population at large there can be no famine or starvation so long as the rates are such that they can half fill their stomachs where they quite filled them before.

What happens after May of next year must depend on the rubbee crop, for which we want facilities for procuring seed and still more early rain.

What I have said relates solely to my own district, and is chiefly based on what I have learnt from verbal inquiry from Baboo Sheugholam Shaha and others. On my return to Chuprah I will, if necessary, report more fully, and meanwhile I do not delay to send you, in accordance with your urgent request, the best information I can now supply.

From *A. T. Maclean*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Shahabad, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 645); dated 1st November 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, as required by your memorandum No. 132, circular of 21st ultimo, upon such information as I have been able to collect on the present state and prospects of this district in regard to this season's crops.

2. It is well known that the "rubbee" crop was, to a great extent, a failure last year, owing to drought, and this fact has increased the pressure this year by reducing the stores of grain very seriously. Notwithstanding this, however, there was every reason to hope that the rice crop of this year would be abundant, and more land was laid down in rice than in previous years.

3. The continuous drought which has prevailed since August has, however, proved very disastrous, and throughout the rice-bearing parts of the district the crop has failed. I am informed that about one-fourth or even one-eighth of a crop is all that may be looked for.

4. Another reason has combined with the want of rain, viz., the unusual prevalence of westerly wind. This has dried the irrigated land earlier than usual, and the reservoirs have become exhausted.

5. The available stock of grain in hand is extremely limited, and in fact the district is almost entirely fed by imported supplies. Grain is dispatched from the different railway stations to the south of the district in large quantities. I have not been able to ascertain accurately the supply in hand, but I am assured on all sides that it is very small.

6. There is too much reason to fear that food is already beyond the "free reach" of the poorer classes, as in spite of the imports the price keeps high, or more than 50 per cent. above prices of an ordinary year.

7. The cold weather grain crop for this year is also in great jeopardy, and will fail to a considerable extent if rain does not fall speedily. The ground is too dry for sowing, and that portion already sown is suffering daily.

8. It is difficult to propose any scheme which shall effectually relieve the present condition, but unless matters improve it will be necessary to form local committees, raise money for importing grain, and apply to Government for aid in carrying out works which will give employment and food to the people.

From *A. J. Elliot*, Esq., Collector of Tirhoot, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 67); dated 27th October 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letters, as per margin.

Memorandum No. 284, circular dated 20th October, to address of magistrate of Tirhoot, and Memorandum No. 132, circular dated 21st October, to address of collector of Tirhoot.

2. The dhan or paddy crop has suffered severely. There will not, I doubt, be more than an 8-anna crop, and prices must therefore be excessive for the year to come; the cause of this failure is consequent on the fall of rain throughout the district having been very partial. The rains may be said to have compressed themselves into one heavy fall, and the lands were therefore first flooded, and then drained, and at last famished for moisture. Large quantities of paddy that would not come to ear, have been cut down as green food for cattle. Certain portions of the district are entirely destitute of paddy crop, while in others the crop is good, and in some few places very good. It is impossible at present, until the crop is gathered, to give any positive information as to the extent of the pressure that may be expected.

3. The accompanying statement gives a general idea of the increased rate of articles of food

food at present, as compared with former years, and it is stated that the present high rate has not previously obtained in Tirhoot.

4. This increase, however, is not caused only by the deficient crop of last year, but to large quantities having been exported to Nepal and to the North-West. Large purchases have been made and exported, whereas the imports are nil. Doubtless dealers have made large profits, and the poor and indigent suffer.

5. There have been several instances of starvation and suicide attributable to the excessive cost of food, but still not to any extent; petty crime has of course increased.

6. Prices of labour are rising now, though but a short time since it was stationary at the old rates.

7. It is difficult to move the zemindars in a matter where their interests are not concerned by a quick return of outlay; but I hope next month, at a meeting that has been called, to endeavour to interest them in the subject of large importations from more lucky districts, and distributions to the masses at a price only covering the outlay. I have, of course, grave doubts as to such an attempt on my part succeeding.

8. The great want of moisture has led, in several instances, villagers working together to cut canals or ditches for irrigation, but such small measures can only be partial. If there is not rain during the next seven days, there is great fear also for the rubbee crop.

9. In a short time hence, therefore, I shall be better able to make a report that may be relied on.

10. The poorer classes are at present doubtless hard pressed, and in the event of continued failure their condition will be most critical. If our exports could be stopped we might, even under present circumstances, tide over the coming year, but such a prohibition is, I conclude, impossible.

11. I shall send every Saturday a price current, required by Secretary Board's letters, No. 537, dated 19th October 1865, paragraph 3, direct to Board's Office, and a copy thereof direct to your office, to be forwarded by telegram to Calcutta.

From *F. J. Alexander*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Bhaugulpore, to the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division (No. 796); dated 1st November 1865.

Sir,

Commissioner's Office endorsement, No. 682, dated 19th October 1865, and letters No. 140, dated 23rd idem.
b. From Deputy Collector of Banka, No. 182, dated 23rd October 1865.
From Deputy Collector of Mudehpoorah, No. 194, dated 26th October 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letters noted in the margin, and in reply to furnish the report therein called for, so far as I am able to do so from the information which has reached me up to date. I annex copies of the letters marginally noted, received from the officers in charge of the subdivisions of Mudehpoorah, Saople, and Banka on the subject. I expect to receive fuller information in the course of a few days.

I.—*State of the Crops.*

Owing to the early cessation of the rains the prospect of the rice crop throughout the district is not good, and the out-turn will undoubtedly be less than in ordinary years.

The deputy magistrate of Mudehpoorah reports that there is at present a 10-anna crop on the ground, and taking the district generally, I think the average out-turn will amount to a 10-anna crop, though in places it will be considerably less than that. The quantity of land cultivated in rice this year is greater than in previous years, which may counterbalance, though partially only, the deficiency in the produce.

The prospects of the rubbee crop (wheat, barley, oats, peas, gram, &c.) are at present very poor, and the out-turn, unless we have rain at an early date, will be far below that of other ordinary years. The recent dry winds and early cessation of the rains have been most detrimental to the sowing operations, &c., in connection with the rubbee crop. The poorness of the murwa crop, as reported by the deputy magistrate of Mudehpoorah, is much to be regretted. This crop is very little cultivated in that part of the district which is south of the Ganges.

The janera crop (Indian corn) has generally been a good one.

II.—*Grain in Store.*

On this point I can of course give only an approximate idea, but I am told that owing to the large quantities of grain which have lately been exported to other districts to the west, that the available quantity in store, as compared with other years, is only 4 annas out of 16 annas, the remaining 12 annas having been either consumed or sold. The quantity

quantity in store, together with the produce of the coming rice crop, will, it is estimated, be sufficient for the requirements of this district if not exported to other districts.

The following is the total weight of grain exported from Bhaugulpore station during the month of September and the first 28 days of October 1865, and corresponding months of last year:—

	Mds.	*s.*
September 1865 - - - - - -	31,096	0
October to 28th, 1865 - - - - -	33,562	30
September 1864 - - - - - -	8,688	0
October 1864 - - - - - -	10,608	0

Prices.—This district was highly cultivated last year, as stated above, every available beegah that could be was sown in rice, and the out-turn to be expected from the coming rice crop is more favourable with us than in some of the other districts to the west; at the same time the quantity exported this year being so much in excess of previous years, has tended, of course, to raise the price of grain much above that of previous years. This is so far beneficial that it must limit the demand to a certain extent for the time being in this district itself, and if the quantity of grain in store, together with the produce of the coming crop, be not sufficient to meet our own requirements and the demands of other districts, the export to which cannot of course be interfered with, we must in turn look to other districts for our supply. We have received rice from the eastern districts, but not as yet in any proportion to the quantity of grain exported.

The following is a statement of the prices of the chief articles of consumption at this season of the present year, compared with the prices of such articles in previous year:—

	Sold in (Kartic) October 1865.	Sold in (Kartic) October 1864.	Sold In (Kartic) October 1863.	Sold in July 1865.
	Seers.	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*
Rice - per rupee	8 to 9	15 to 20	19¾	12 to 14
Dâl, Urhur „ -	8	16	14	12
„ Kullye „ -	10	18	18	14
Wheat - „ -	9½	14	26½	13 to 14
Gram - „ -	10½	22	24½	18
Janera - „ -	14	35	1 md. 2½	30
Attah - „ -	7½	10	16	11

Remarks.—No cases of immediate or general distress have as yet been brought to my notice, though there have been complaints on all sides of the high prices now prevalent, and of the large quantity of grain that is being exported to other districts. There can, however, be no doubt that the present high prices are already being felt by the poorer classes, and until the rice crop now in the ground is gathered, *i.e.*, for the next month or so, no diminution, but rather a rise in the prices, must daily be expected. When the rice crop is ready the prices will doubtless fall, but I do not anticipate to any great extent or for any considerable period. Looking at the accounts of the poor prospect of the rice crops in other districts more to the west, and considering how poor the prospect of the rubbee crop even with us is, we must therefore be prepared for high prices for some time to come, and for much distress and want among the poorer classes, and I would suggest that measures be at once set on foot by Government to organise relief committees at the Sudder Station and subdivisional head quarters, with a view to alleviate distress when the time requires.

Any further information bearing on this subject shall, as it is brought to my notice, be duly communicated to you.

From *H. Metcalfe*, Esq., Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of Banka, to the Officiating Collector and Magistrate of Bhaugulpore (No. 182); dated 23rd October 1865.

Sir,

In reply to your endorsement, dated 20th October, I have to state that the price of rice in this subdivision is unusually high, 11 seers for the rupee, by the small weight of 80 sicca rupees to the seer. The ryots say that if no rain falls until harvest time (and I think it improbable any will fall) their rice crop will be half destroyed. This, as professional opinion, is ominous. I have naturally remarked the crops in the vicinity, and I am of opinion that where irrigation is carried on from tanks and hill streams the crops will do well. Where the crops depend on rainfalls they will be injured. On the whole, I think, a bad harvest is probable, but I am not at all prepared to say that there will be a drought.

2. I think the high price of rice (and of pulses too) is owing mainly to the mahajuns buying up the grain for export to the western provinces. I believe the general outcry at present is not of bad crops, but of the scarcity of grain caused by export. If grain continues at its present price up to the harvest time, the lower classes in this subdivision will not suffer extreme want. I cannot say what the consequence of a bad harvest and exportation combined will be next year, but I think famine in such a contingency is not improbable. I beg to add a list of the prices at which pulses, &c., are selling here.

From *E. Stewart*, Esq., Deputy Collector of Mudehpoorah, to the Officiating Collector of Bhaugulpore (No. 194); dated 26th October 1865.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 753, dated the 20th instant, I have the honour to offer the following remarks on the state and prospects of the crops:—

1. *Rice crops, aghunee dhan.*—As far as I have seen, this crop is at present better than it was last year. But the prospects, I am informed, are not good owing to the early cessation of the rain. There is now about a 10-anna crop in the ground, but even this proportion, it is anticipated, will, to some extent, decrease before the crop is reaped.

2. *Murwa crop.*—This crop, upon which the poorer classes, it may be said, depend almost entirely for their food, was nearly a total failure. On an average it may be said a 2-annas proportion of the crop was gathered in. This, it appears, was caused by the incessant heavy rains after the crop was sown.

3. *Bhadooee rice crop* was the same as in other years.

4. *Koorthee, a kind of pulse*—Is very good, better than last year, and there is no chance of its being destroyed unless it rains heavily.

5. *Janera Holcus Sorghuni.*—This crop is also very good, and there is no prospect of its being destroyed.

6. *Rahur dâl.*—This crop is good, and is not likely to fail.

7. *Kulye crop.*—This crop has been reaped, and was a very poor one.

8. *Tory, a kind of mustard.*—This has just been sown, and the prospects are not good, owing to the recent dry westerly winds; the moisture in the soil has been dried up, and the seed cannot germinate fairly.

9. *Wheat, Barley, Linseed.*—The same remarks apply to these crops. The staple articles of consumption of the poorer classes in this district are rice, dhal and murwa. The latter is the cheapest food, and is made into cakes. There is considerable scarcity of the above articles, and the poorer classes suffer from it; even those who have the means cannot find the articles to buy, as there are no golahs or large storehouses here, and the petty class of grain vendors, in many cases, decline to sell, and are holding back from expectations of greater scarcity. It is expected that this state of affairs will last till the aghunee rice crop is reaped, when there will be some improvement.

I send enclosed a list of the current prices obtaining here and in the neighbouring bazars.

From *J. D. Gordon*, Esq., Collector of Monghyr, to the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division (No. 1086); dated 31st October 1865.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a report in the nature of that called for by the Board of Revenue as explained in the 3rd paragraph of your letter, No. 140, of the 23rd instant.

2. For the delay in the submission of this report I am not answerable, having, as you are aware, only yesterday received charge of this district.

3. I must ask you further to bear in mind, in perusing this necessarily somewhat meagre report, that I am unable to test from personal knowledge of the district, the information which has been placed before me as a basis. I trust the figures given, as regards prices and the injury done to crops, are tolerably accurate, and as your call is urgent, I prefer sending you such a report as, under the circumstances, I am able to furnish, to delaying to send you a report pending further and more minute inquiry. Should I have reason to suppose hereafter that any information now supplied is materially inaccurate, I will duly inform you of the fact.

4. I am

4. I am required to report upon the several points undermentioned:—

(A). The available stock of food (in grain) in this district.

(B). The extent to which the crops are already hopelessly injured.

(C). Present prices of necessaries of life as contrasted with prices in an ordinary season.

(D). Remedial suggestions.

5. I proceed in order to touch on these points—

(A). I cannot pretend to express in figures the available amount of food in store in this district; any estimate I could form would be so very rough as to be practicably valueless. It is at no time easy to arrive at the truth in such a matter, but at a time like the present it is specially difficult, seeing that those best informed are the very persons most interested, from motives of distrust and direct pecuniary interest, in withholding information. I may state generally, however, from what I have been able to glean, that there is a fair quantity of grain in store in this district.

(B). The subjoined Table furnishes the information required under this head:—

Pergunnahs.	Rice Crop Injured.
	Annas.
1. Bistbazaree, Umritho, Chuckye, Khurruckpore, Purbutpara, Subkubrabady, Lukhimpore, Subrooee, Soorujgurrah, Behar, Obhoypoor.	8 ($\frac{1}{2}$)
2. Salemabad, Sumaye, and Kujrah - - - - - -	12 ($\frac{3}{4}$)
3. Gidhour, Sukubrapally, and Moonghyr - - - - -	10 ($\frac{5}{8}$)
4. Bullia, Mulkee Nyepoor, Akberpoor, Ranee - - - -	6 ($\frac{3}{8}$)
5. Bhoosaree, Badebliboosary, and Muldha - - - - -	4 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

This is no doubt a bad return, but is less unfavourable than one might have supposed. If rains should now fall, the condition will be no worse, and it may be better. I believe that it may fairly be estimated that throughout the district about three-eighths of the crop has been destroyed. There is every appearance of rain very shortly, and should expectation on this score not be again disappointed, matters will be decidedly improved, not only by the probable saving of growing crop, and by the facility given to put in crops yet unsown, but also by the immediate relief which such improvement of prospect may be expected to afford in loosening the grasp on his store of the mahajun holding for still higher prices.

(C). Ruling prices are contrasted in the following Table with those which ruled in July last, and also with those of this season in the two preceding years:—

———	Present Price.	Price in July 1865.	Price in October 1864.	Price in October 1863.
	M. s. c.	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*
Coarse rice - -	0 11 0	0 18 0	0 22 0	0 27 0
Oosna rice - -	0 10 0	0 16 0	0 20 0	0 20 0
Urwa or Basmuttee rice.	0 9 0	0 12 8	0 16 0	0 16 0
Urhur Dhâl - -	0 10 0	0 17 0	0 27 0	0 26 0
Mussoor, Mutter, Kullye, Khesaree, Dâl.	0 10 0	0 18 0	0 30 0	0 30 6
Attah - - -	0 8 0	0 13 0	0 15 0	0 20 0
Flour - - -	0 6 0	0 9 0	0 13 0	0 15 0
Wheat - - -	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 22 0	0 27 0
Gram - - -	0 12 0	0 30 0	0 35 0	0 34 0

These figures, which are, I believe, fairly accurate, speak for themselves. Times are certainly hard when, to the poor man, in respect to the absolute necessary of life, two rupees and three rupees suddenly take the place of one.

(D). Here again I must regret that ignorance of the particular wants of the district should prevent me from suggesting local useful works. But there is one work of such general and such great benefit upon which a large amount of labour may be bestowed, relief being proportionately granted, that I do not hesitate to notice it. I allude to the chord line of railway which it has, I believe, been resolved to construct, and which might, with immense advantage in every sense, be commenced upon now. The tracing may perhaps be incomplete, but, if so, it would be very desirable to expedite it at this end of the chord, especially where the labour would be opportunely within reach of a very large number of able-bodied hungry labourers.

Unless some such large work absorbing really an appreciable amount of the out-of-work people be provided, the natural consequences of scarcity of food, increase in mortality and increase of crime, can scarcely be avoided. Exportation of grain from this district has been carried on to a very great extent, chiefly to the North-Western Provinces. I believe that this continues to a slight extent at present.

From *J. Beames*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Purneah, to the Commissioner of the Bhagulpore Division (No. 750); dated 30th October 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to reply to your letter, No. 140, dated 23rd instant, and at the same time to your memorandum, No. 682, dated 19th idem, forwarding a letter from the Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 5769, dated 17th idem. As both letters call for a report on the same subject, I presume my present report will answer for both.

State of Crops.

2. Owing to the very short time allowed me, my report must necessarily be imperfect. I have had time to use my eyes in the neighbourhood of the town of Purneah, and to make inquiries from several experienced residents. My information concerns—

1st. The Sudder station and its neighbourhood for the centre of the district.

2nd. The banks of the Ganges, east of Caragolah and neighbourhood of Munshabee for the south.

3rd. Kishengunge subdivision for east and north-east.

4th. The Sreepoor estate for the north of the district.

5th. Dhurmpoor estate for the west. These places being well apart from each other, their condition may, I think, be taken as a good indication of the state of the rest of the country. I have also got price lists from the following places, which are the only large grain markets in the district.

1. Kushba and Thowasgunge, seven miles north-east of Purneah.
2. Ekumbah, 20 miles north-east of Purneah.
3. Raneegunge, 30 miles north-west of Purneah.

1. *The state of crops.*—Rice, which is the staple of food here, is grown in two crops.

1st. The bhadooee or summer crop reaped in August (Bhador); 2nd, the aghunee or winter's crop, reaped in December (aghunee). The bhadooee is an inferior rice to the aghunee. In most parts of the district the bhadooee crop was an unusually good one; the people are now living on the new bhadooee rice, which is very unwholesome, and has given rise to a severe epidemic fever, which is now depopulating whole villages. In the town of Purneah two-thirds of the population are prostrated. The aghunee crop now in the ground has fared hitherto but indifferently. In the south it is "below the average by a little." In Kissengunge 2 annas out of the 16 of this crop has already perished of drought. In the extreme east beyond the Mahanuddy, people are living on "kucho" and other edible roots. No bhadooee is sown in the last-named country. In Sreepoor "one-half of the average produce" only is expected. In Dhurmpore the aghunee crop is only now being sown, and promises well as far as the state of the soil goes, but the bhadooee was a failure. Here, however, the people have wheat and plenty of pulses of sort to live on. From Raneegunge I learn that the people are living on "murwa," a coarse sort of millet. Near Purneah the crops that I have inspected of aghunee rice look very flourishing, and those I have consulted tell me there will probably be nearly a full yield.

2. *Prices of Food.*—In the Sudder station prices, as compared with last year and the year before, are very high.

I have

I have not had time to get fuller particulars, but the above are the principal grain marts, and the extreme dearness of food can be seen from the prices ruling there:—

	1865.	1864.	1863.
	Seers per Re.	*Seers per Re.*	*Seers per Re.*
Rice, 1st sort - - -	9	22	26
„ 2nd sort, bhadooee -	16	31	40
Dâl, Rahur - - -	8	13	16
„ Peas - - - -	12	26	40
„ Khesaree - - -	12	12	35
Attah - - - - -	8	9	—
At Kushba:			
Rice, 1st sort - - -	10	23	27
„ 2nd sort - - -	19	32	42½
Dâl Rahur - - -	9	12	16
„ Peas - - - -	10	28	40
„ Khesaree - - -	12	30	35
Attah - - - - -	—	—	—
Thomasgunge:			
Rice, 1st sort - - -	10	23	27
„ bhadooee - - -	16	32	42
Dâl Rahur - - -	8	12	16
Mutters - - - -	10	28	40
„ Khesaree - -	12	30	35
Ekumbah:			
Rice, 1st sort - - -	10	21	—
„ bhadooee - - -	16	30	—
The other grains are not sold at Ekumbah.			
Raneegunge:			
Rice, medium - - -	12	35	50
„ bhadooee - - -	18	28	—
Dâl Rahur - - -	13	—	—
„ Khesaree - - -	13	—	—
Attah - - - - -	9	—	—

3. *Prospects of the poorer classes.*—I am not disposed to take so gloomy a view of the future as some people here do. The honorary magistrate of Munshahee remarks on his neighbourhood (one of the poorest in this district):—"I think there is no change in the condition of the poorer classes within the last few years; clothing and food have risen much in price within the last 18 years, but in proportion wages of servants and labourers have increased also."

The prospects of the crops of pulse and minor grains are not so bad as those of the rice crop. The west wind begins to blow about the beginning of November, and at once diminishes the low malarious fever which is so common in Purneah in October. At present we have days of east winds alternately with west winds, but the west winds are increasing in frequency. The bhadooee rice is unwholesome for the first three or four months after it is harvested, but about the end of November it gets fit to eat, and as the crop was plentiful I anticipate great improvement in the health of the district. If we only succeed in saving our aghunee crop, or the greater part of it, towards February, the fear of famine will probably pass away. Labour is plentiful for those who are strong enough for it. I do not think the people would come forward to work at any great public work to be paid by Government, as suggested by the Board, nor do I know of any public work, except road-making, in which many men could be employed; and road-making is not the work for people emaciated by famine. In Umballa, in the famine of 1861, we tried it, but the deaths were very numerous.

4. *Available stock of food.*—I have no certain statistics to offer under this head, nor can conceive how any reliable information on the subject can possibly be obtained.

What grain may be in store in the houses of zemindars, and in the rural population generally, could only be ascertained by a tedious inquiry. The grain merchants are either obstinately silent or lie volubly as to the extent of their stores. A respectable resident of Kushba, the chief emporium for rice, tells me that for the last two or three weeks an average of 2,000 maunds a day of rice has entered Kushba, and an equal quantity has left it. Four thousand maunds is the guess of another well-informed person as to the amount in store in Raneegunge; but there are, on every river in the district, numerous outlying

golahs belonging to Bengalee merchants, where the grain of the neighbourhood is brought up and shipped off down country. We cannot even guess at their contents, and this leads me to mention that the export trade is as brisk as ever. This is a great cause of the present scarcity; one would expect that a failure of the crops would check exportation; that it has not had this effect in Purneah is, I think, due to the fact that the grain grower is always in debt to the grain merchant, and is bound to deliver so much rice after each harvest. He may be starving, but that is no affair of the grain merchant; he will have the rice, or the ryot is sued in the Civil Court and ruined. At the present moment there are merchants from other districts, Mirzapore and Arrah especially, buying up the grain at Raneegunge and elsewhere. As fast as the grain is brought in by the ryot, it is sold to them and transferred to their boats. Such a state of things is almost enough to tempt one to forget political economy for once and stop the export. Purneah has a name for being a great exporting district, and as long as it retains this name so long will people from outside come to buy, and so long will golahs flourish on every river in the district. I think this much at least might be done; notices might be widely circulated among merchants of other districts to the effect that this year there was a famine in Purneah, and that prices were high, and that it will therefore not be worth their while to go there to buy. I don't suppose this will stop the exportation, but if it stops a part of it only, it will do good. A very experienced landowner told me a few days ago that if one-eighth only of the present aghunee crop could be secured to the ryots for home consumption it would be sufficient. The fact implied that at present not one-eighth is secured is significant enough. The best remedy for our present distress would be to stop or check exportation by any legitimate means. I need scarcely say that I have taken special pains to point out to all concerned that on no account can any interference with trade be permitted, but the native mind may, under the circumstances, be excused for not seeing matters in the same light. There is one more point; could not the Commissariat Department be made for once to do its own work, and feed the troops passing through the district? I have now on my table indents from three regiments which will arrive here during the next month. These indents require among other things 920 maunds of rice and attah, 782 maunds of gram, and 7,095 maunds of other cereals; all this must be supplied from the district, causing still greater scarcity.

In conclusion, I trust to be excused for the scantiness of my statistics, in consideration of the short time allowed me; I have done the best I could, and looking over this letter again, I think I have collected enough facts to give a good general idea of how we stand. Should more precise information be required, I can supply it on further time being allowed me.

From *C. W. Wilmot*, Esq. Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Deoghur, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 1456); dated 23rd October 1865.

Sir,

In obedience to instructions conveyed in your memorandum No. 682, dated 19th inst., forwarding letter No. 5760, dated 17th current, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, I have the honour to report that the present state of the crops in my division is very unpromising. No rain having as yet fallen, the dhan is even in the most favourable places looking very unlikely to give much return; on all but the lowest of the land the plants are perfectly withered, and under the best circumstances that can now occur, very little more than a 10 anna crop can be expected. A list of the present prices is annexed for your information, but the stock is small, and prices likely still to rise. Should, however, any rain fall within the next 10 days, much of the apprehended scarcity will be prevented, and the cold weather crops may do well, but dhan is the principal dependence of the people here, and a possibility of its failure is looked forward to with great uneasiness. There have been within the last month immense numbers of beparies attending the hâts here, and buying up everything they could get for Monghyr, Hazareebaugh, and Raneegunge. The consequence has been the immediate rise of prices.

2. As yet the condition of the poorer classes has not been much affected, but in a very few days great increase of crime will surely occur. A report that the railway works were likely to commence shortly, has brought numbers of people from Hazareebaugh and other places, &c., looked forward to here as promising provision. Should there be no change in the weather within the time I named in my first paragraph, the poor will suffer most severely for want of almost everything, but there is still the hope of a change of weather.

Prices of Articles.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*		*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
Rice per 80 sicca maund - -	3	8	–	Wheat, attah - - - -	5	–	–
Rahur dhal ditto - -	4	–	–	Salt - - - - -	5	–	–
Moong ditto ditto - -	3	5	–	Ghee - - - - -	22	–	–
Ooreed ditto ditto - -	3	–	–	Mustard oil - - - -	11	8	–
Gram - - - - - -	2	8	–	Indian corn - - - -	2	–	–

(signed) *C. W. Wilmot*,
Assistant Commissioner.

From *C. W. Wilmot*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Deoghur, the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 1485); dated 30th October 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 139, of the 23rd instant, and, in obedience to the instructions therein contained, I beg to submit the following report on the subject of the prevailing and anticipated scarcity of food in the division.

2. My letter No. 1456, of the 23rd instant, contained almost all the information you require, and all that I can do now is to report on the subject of, 1st, stock available; 2nd, extent of injury which the crops on the ground have suffered; 3rdly, the present prices of the articles of food in common use in this part of the country in comparison with the prices in an ordinary season at this time of the year.

I. With reference to the available stock of food, it is next to impossible to obtain any approach to accuracy with reference to the quantity of grain in store—the growth of last year, but the new dhan will be available for use within the next fortnight, and by 15th of December, all this year's dhan crop will be harvested, so that the stock will continue increasing, and there will be no absolute want of rice felt until the present crop is disposed of or consumed.

II. The result of careful inquiry and observation leads me to believe that the produce of the crop on the ground will not exceed half the usual quantity, for in many places where the dhan looks well the grain is small and light.

III. In order to exhibit the prices of the necessaries of life prevailing at the different hâts in this division, I have prepared a table showing what quantity of each description of grain, &c., can be obtained per rupee; the seer is that of 80 sicca, which is in use here, and also in the last column I have given the prices of last year at the same time, which may be considered a fair criterion of prices during ordinary seasons.

3. After consideration I am inclined to believe that the greatest want will be felt after February next, by which time the greater part of the present harvest will have been consumed or exported, the result being the same in either case; until then, although prices may remain comparatively very high, yet the real suffering will not be felt to its full extent. Up to the present date there has been no appearance of rain, and great anxiety exists as to the cold weather crops failing entirely. I will continue until further orders sending you a statement every Monday similar to that enclosed, a copy of which I will likewise send to the secretary to the Board of Revenue, unless my sending it to you be sufficient.

4. Should it meet your approval, I will submit an estimate for completing the road from Deoghur to Jyepore and from Deoghur to Sarawan, and also several others in the interior of the division, which would be very useful, and also be a means of affording relief.

STATEMENT showing quantity of each description of grain, &c., per rupee at the several Hâts in the Deoghur Division of the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

Description.	Sarawan Hât.	Patrole Hât.	Roheinee Hât.	Sobyjore Hât.	Mohunpoor Hât.	Same Month last Year.
	Mds. s. c.	*Mds. s. c.*	*Mds. s. c.*	*Mds. s. c.*	*Mds. s. c.*	*Mds. s. c.*
Paddy or dhan	0 32 0	0 21 0	0 22 8	0 35 0	0 25 0	1 22 8
Rice	0 16 0	0 14 0	0 14 0	0 15 0	0 14 0	0 32 0
Oats	0 16 0	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 16 4	0 14 0	0 24 0
Rahur	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 15 0	0 15 0	0 20 0	0 34 0
Beereekluaye	0 16 0	0 15 0	0 20 0	0 16 4	0 20 0	0 32 0
Khesaree	- -	- -	0 16 0	- -	- -	1 0 0
Moosooree	- -	- -	0 13 0	- -	- -	1 0 0
Ghingra	0 20 0	0 13 0	0 16 0	0 20 0	0 16 0	0 36 0
Koorthee	0 18 0	0 20 0	0 20 0	0 25 0	0 22 0	1 10 0
Salt	0 8 0	0 7 0	0 7 8	0 8 0	0 7 0	0 8 0
Ghee	0 1 12	0 1 14	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 12	0 2 0
Kochra oil	0 6 0	0 4 0	- -	0 4 0	- -	0 6 0
Mustard oil	0 4 0	0 2 12	0 4 0	- -	0 3 0	0 5 0
Goor	0 15 0	0 16 0	0 11 8	0 20 0	0 16 0	0 20 0
Mowah	0 3 0	0 2 4	0 2 0	0 3 0	0 2 5	0 4 0
Janera	0 22 0	0 20 0	0 18 0	0 25 0	0 22 0	1 20 0
Moong	0 15 0	0 16 0	0 16 0	0 20 0	0 16 0	0 24 0
Attah	- -	0 11 0	0 10 0	- -	- -	0 16 0
Wheat	0 14 0	0 13 0	0 11 0	- -	0 12 0	0 24 0
Mustard seed	0 16 0	- -	- -	- -	- -	0 21 0

(signed) *C. W. Wilmot*,
Assistant Commissioner.

Camp Ooperbunda, Assistant Commissioner's Office,
30 October 1865.

From *A. W. Cosserat*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Doomka, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 540); dated 1st November 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour, with reference to Government letter No. 5760 of the 17th October 1865, forwarded with your office memorandum No. 682 of the 19th October 1865, and your reminder No. 697 of the 28th October 1865, to report as follows:—

The prospects of a rice crop were, up to about the first week in October, very good indeed, and an abundant season was looked forward to, but the failure of the rains from the 12th September caused a sudden and alarming increase in the prices, which fell at once from 24 and 25 seers per rupee to 13 and 14, and this has been the average wholesale price for rice since, but the alarm has subsided to some extent, though great anxiety still prevails, and there is a perceptible lull in the district in business of all kinds. The retail price is from 11 to 12 seers per rupee of 80 tolah weight. One good fall of rain about the beginning of October would have secured an unusually plentiful rice season, but the want of this rain has reduced the prospects to about a fourth of the average season of the past few years.

The gathering in of the new crops will lower prices to 16 seers per rupee or about that, but not much more against an average price of a maund per rupee for last season. The crop of oil seeds will not be equal even to one-fifth of what it was last year, but about the prices of this species of produce I can give no accurate idea. Suffice it to say that it is the principal stand—by for the cultivator to pay his rents and his mahajuns dues from, and the enhanced prices will scarcely compensate for the loss owing to the scarcity. I have given in the margin a comparative statement of prices of principal articles of food at the different markets in this division, which will show clearly the extent to which the scarcity will be felt. The janera or Indian corn crop was an unusually good one, and it has served, in a great measure, to keep the price of rice down, otherwise the consequences would have been serious. The Sonthals and most of the cultivators have reserved their janera crop, and are now living on it, but there is a very great demand for it from other districts, and carts are coming in hundreds daily mostly from Bhaugulpore and Hazareebaugh, and the price has been raised from 2½ maunds per rupee to 20 seers per rupee, and under such tempting prices very many ryots will be induced to sell their stock.

Articles in	October 1864.	October 1865.
	Mds. s.	*Mds. s.*
Cleaned rice, per rupee	0 28	0 12
Jenera „ „	1 10	0 20
Dhal, Urhur „	0 26	0 12
Oil - - „	0 3½	0 2½
Attah - „	0 12	0 8

The condition of the poor at present is not so bad, as most of them are agriculturists, and have a stock of grain in store; but I am much afraid that about this time next year there will be some real distress, though immediate aid is not needed. A few thousand rupees spent on works of improvements that had been proposed would be of very great benefit to the district, but I do not urge the necessity of this at present, as it might be depriving other districts more in need of assistance.

From *A. W. Cosserat*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Doomka, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 541); dated 1st November 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour, in reference to your letter No. 139 of the 23rd October 1865, to refer you to my letter No. 540 of the 1st November 1865.

2. In addition to the information therein given, I beg to state that the stock of grain in this district is very small indeed, if I may judge from the fact that no single dealer can supply so much as 100 maunds of rice, and with the greatest difficulty I got this quantity the other day from Pergunnah Mahemodabad. The cultivators have each got a small stock of janera with them, which will last them to about the end of December, when the new crop of rice will be gathered, but in estimating the stock of grain in this district to make up for the scarcity this cannot be taken into account.

The price of rice and janera is decidedly so high as to place it beyond the reach of the poor, who would, as I have already reported, starve if they had not a small stock in store.

I can suggest no other mode of relieving the poor but by spending money in works of improvement, and in this matter would beg to suggest that, according to circular No. 1013 of the 12th August 1859, the three per cent. therein authorised to be set aside for improvements may be appropriated from the collections of the last five years, and this year equal to about 2,000 rupees to be spent in the Damin-i-ko, and for the rest of the district a special grant of 3,000 rupees from the Public Works Department, and 7,000 rupees from the Local Fund Budget, will relieve the distress. I would, however, with due deference suggest that, as this money is to be expended for the twofold object of rendering aid to the poor and of constructing works of public improvement, the money be expended by the district officer, and not by the Public Works Department, who cannot spend it so as to afford relief where it is most needed.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *R. S. T. Macewen*, Esq., Officiating Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs Godda Division, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 523); dated 3rd November 1865.

WITH reference to your letter No. 139 of 23rd ultimo, I have the honour to report as follows on the present state of the crops and scarcity of food in this district.

2. From inquiry and personal observation I estimate the harvest that will be gathered in the undernoted pergunnahs will be nearly as follows:—

In Godda, an	-	8 anna crop.
„ Amlomoteea	-	8 „
„ Pussye	-	12 „
„ Barkope	-	10 „
„ Putsundah	-	14 „
„ Muniharee	-	14 „
„ Damun	-	12 „

3. The eastern part of the district is better than any other. Pergunnahs Godda and Amlomoteea will suffer most, and the rents in these pergunnahs are the highest. The Damun ryots say they expect a 10-anna crop, but from what I have seen I think they will reap more, and particularly to the east of Simrah Bunglow the paddy is very good, and in many villages a full crop may be expected. The last rains were heavier in this part of the country, and it is besides well watered by mountain streams, and the ryots have carefully husbanded the water.

4. At present there is no actual scarcity of food in the district, but prices have risen considerably, and a great deal of grain is being exported.

5. There is still, I believe, a good deal of grain in the district, and if large exportations are not made before the new harvest is gathered, prices will probably not rise very much higher, but everything depends on the crop at present on the ground. The rubbee crop, I am sorry to say, is reported to be a failure everywhere in the district, and much land remains still unsown, owing to the dryness of the soil. If there should be rain, however, hopes are still entertained for this crop. Mustard, too, on which a great number of the ryots in this part of the country depend to pay their rents, is also a failure.

6. The grain taken from this district goes to Bhaugulpore and Colgong for export up-country, it is believed.

7. With reference to the fourth paragraph of your letter, I have no suggestions to offer at present. I don't think the time has yet come for Government to take any measures, and although, no doubt, the poorer classes suffer to a certain extent, I have heard of no severe cases.

From *G. C. M. Smith*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Pakour, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 443); dated 31st October 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour herewith to submit the report called for in your letter No. 139, of the 23rd instant, regarding the present state and prospects of the crops, &c.

The failure of the present paddy crop and the prospect of the cold weather crops being very poor from want of rain, coupled with the fact of the large amount of grain already and now being exported to the North-West Provinces, have raised the price of all the necessaries of life to a fabulous height, as will be seen from a glance at the subjoined table.

With such a state of things prevailing, there can be no doubt but that the poorer classes are reduced to great straits, and that a large amount of crime may be expected. About 10 annas of the paddy crop is already gone beyond hope of recovery; the remaining portion being irrigatable is pretty secure.

Throughout all last cold weather, and for the last month, immense quantities of rice and Indian corn (janera) have been exported to Doomraon, Benares, and other places in the north-west. The stock in hand is, therefore, I fear, but small, and totally inadequate to supply the wants of the people, now the present crop has generally failed.

The only relief affordable by Government is, I think, in the way of expenditure in public works.

I may be allowed to suggest that the present one would be a good opportunity for putting the old railway cart-road in good order, and also for the construction of the much-required roads from Mooradoi and this station to the hills at Amrapara and Heranpoor, respectively.

TABLE showing the Prices of various Articles of Food at different periods.

NAMES OF ARTICLES.	Rice per Rupee at present.	Rice last October.	Rice in July 1865.
	Seers.	*Seers.*	*Seers.*
Fine rice - - - - -	10	20	19
Coarse rice - - - - -	11	22	21
Rahur dhal - - - - -	9	19	18
Kullye dhal - - - - -	12	22	30
Atta - - - - - -	9	16	16
Janera - - - - - -	21	47	40
Gram - - - - - -	13	30	20

G. C. M. Smith,
Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *G. C. M. Smith*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Rajmehal, to the Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 942); dated 30th October 1865.

YOUR letter with the enclosures did not reach me till the 27th instant.

I cannot ascertain with any degree of accuracy the available stock of food, because all the dealers are under the impression that Government intend to step in as purchasers or to interfere in some other manner, but from many sources I gather that there is no deficiency in the stock, and the only thing likely to cause suffering to the people is their inability to pay the high rates likely to rule for some time to come.

Regarding the extent to which the crops are injured, I believe my information from various sources permits of my stating there will be an eight-anna crop of rice; the crop of janera was short about 10 annas.

Of mustard, linseed, gram, and wheat much remains to be sown, owing to the early cessation of rain; of that which was sown, much has died off from want of moisture and from the ravages of insects.

At the outside not more than a quarter crop of the above articles can be expected.

Extensive exportation of rice, dhal, and janera is going on from Sahibgunge to Benares and Doomraon. Exportation from the interior of the Dammun seems to have been checked by the Sonthals by common consent.

	RAJMEHAL.				BURHAIT.				SAHIBGUNGE.	
	Price on the 26th October 1865 per Rupee 80 Sicca Weights.	July 1865.	October 1864.	October 1863.	Present.	July 1865.	October 1864.	October 1863.	Present.	July 1865.
	M. s. c.	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*
Common rice -	0 12 0	0 19 0	0 22 0	0 30 0	0 18 0	0 24 0	0 25 0	0 32 0	0 12 0	25 to 30 srs.
Good rice - -	0 11 0	0 16 0	0 20 0	0 27 0	0 16 0	0 21 0	0 20 0	0 28 0	0 8 0	0 12 0
Rahur dâl - -	0 8 0	0 12 0	0 16 0	0 18 0	–	–	–	–	0 8 0	0 16 0
Ooreed - -	0 12 0	0 16 0	0 20 0	0 25 0	0 11 0	0 16 0	0 16 0	0 20 0	0 10 0	0 20 0
Peas - - -	0 12 0	0 16 0	0 22 0	0 28 0	–	–	–	–	0 12 0	0 25 0
Attah - - -	0 10 0	0 13 0	0 14 0	0 16 0	–	–	–	–	0 8 0	0 16 0
Flour - - -	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	–	–	–	–	–	—
Bhoota - -	0 16 0	0 25 0	1 0 0	1 5 0	0 32 0	1 0 0	0 20 0	2 0 0	0 18 0	1 5 0
Sirsoo - - -	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 16 0	0 25 0	0 16 0	0 16 0	–	—

Rajmehal, 30 October 1865.

G. C. M. Smith,
Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs.

From *W. F. Macdonell*, Esq., Collector of Chumparun, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 131); dated 10th February 1866.

Sir,

In reply to your Circular No. 13 Ct., calling for a weekly report regarding the rubbee crop, I beg to state that from the inquiries I have made it would appear that rubbee crop has not suffered as much as was at first feared from the late heavy rains.

In the northern parts of the district little or no damage has been done. In fact, the crops benefited by the rains around Moteharee, the rubbee and pea crops have slightly suffered, both of these being in flower at the time. The poppy, on the other hand, looks better than it did before.

In the south-western portion of the district the crops are also very fine. But the crops in a few villages in the south-east corner have been damaged terribly by the hail storm on the 8th. I enclose a list of the villages which Mr. Cosserat, the opium agent, has kindly furnished me with. His list, of course, refers especially to the poppy, but where the poppy has been destroyed, I fear the other crops have shared the same fate.

On the whole the district has escaped wonderfully, and the prospects of the rubbee crop are as good as when I last addressed you on the subject previous to the heavy rain.

NAMES of the VILLAGES in which Injury has been done on the 7th and 8th February 1866, by Hailstorm.

Names of Villages.	Remarks.	Names of Villages.	Remarks.
1. Kadarpoora -	16 annas destroyed.	1. Bysackroah -	12 annas destroyed.
2. Koosar - -		2. Gondowree - -	
3. Koonooa - -		3. Rampoor - -	
4. Mahomedpoor -		4. Myhurriah - -	
5. Nowrgowah -		5. Bhogwanpoor -	
6. Sarunpoor - -		6. Daroopallee -	
7. Kissarrea - -		7. Soobayah - -	
8. Gouchee - -			
9. Tajpore - -		1. Mahowda - -	8 annas destroyed.
10. Buncut - -		2. Bukhree Nazir -	
11. Kossaiwe, part of		3. Koteah - -	
12. Bowepoor - -		4. Tajpoor Barra -	
13. Nowagong - -		5. Monohur Chupra	
14. Kadhan - -		6. Bijdurree - -	
15. Hosah - -		7. Dajira - -	
		8. Durun Chupra -	
1. Phooltukia - -	14 annas destroyed.	9. Madun Sirseea -	
2. Pudmem Chupra		10. Balmee Sirseea -	
3. Salla Chupra -		11. Sobaya - -	
4. Byreea - -			
5. Multhea - -			
6. Butna - -			
7. Derooa - -			
8. Kandeah - -			
9. Hossainee, part of			

Chumparun Collectorate,
20 February 1866.

(signed) *W. F. Macdonell*,
Collector.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *J. S. Drummond.*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Gya, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 1220); dated 15th January 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report generally that wherever the rubbee crops have come up, the prospect of a considerably increased out-turn, owing to recent rains, exists, and I am given to understand that the rain has also enabled the people to sow "chenna" crop, which will, it is trusted, go some way towards alleviating the scarcity, though the growth of this crop being dependent, to some extent, on irrigation, must be confined to places where means of artificial irrigation exist. The rain was too late to admit of the sowing of any other crops.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *H. Kean*, Esq., Deputy Collector in charge of the Collector's Office, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 1379); dated 6th March 1866.

THE crops had already suffered to no inconsiderable extent in consequence of the lateness of the rainfall in the beginning of the season, and the consequence was that in many

many places the seed had not germinated, a circumstance which the rain in January compensated for in some measure by producing the most beneficial effect on that portion of the crops that had come up.

From *E. Drummond*, Esq., Collector of Patna, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 39); dated 15th February 1866.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular No. 13 Ct., dated 10th instant, and, in reply, beg to state that up to the beginning of last week the prospects of the rubbee crop were very good, and the district would have had a three-quarter crop.

2. On Friday night and all Saturday very heavy rain fell, which must have damaged the peas, mussoor, and khesaree crops. Prices have slightly risen in consequence.

From *J. J. Grey*, Esq., Collector of Sarun, to *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 215); dated 24th February 1866.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your communications noted.*

2. Since my report † that the district crop was likely to be a "fourteen annas" out of a full "sixteen annas" crop, it has been injured by hail and rain.

3. On the 8th instant a hailstorm of extraordinary severity passed over a part of the district about 35 miles long by from five to eight miles broad, or about 200 square miles. I have reported ‡ separately about this hailstorm. It is only necessary to say here that all the crops in part of the district, as above indicated, have more or less been injured, and throughout a considerable part of the "line" of the storm have been utterly destroyed.

4. Rain fell on the 10th and 11th, and did some harm, which was not very serious, as the rain, though it was persistent night and day throughout the district, did not fall with sufficient force to "lay" the standing crop, and was immediately succeeded by sunshine and a favourable west wind.

5. The hail was most destructive, but local and partial. The rain was less injurious, but more general. I fear that the general district crop will now be a "twelve anna" instead of a "fourteen anna" one.

6. But a "twelve anna" out of a full sixteen anna crop is no bad average, and the crops, as they now stand, are very fine and abundant.

From *W. H. Alexander*, Esq., Collector of Shahabad, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 924); dated 6th March 1866.

Sir,

FROM reports received from the subdivisional officers, and from inquiries made here, it appears that the rubbee crop is generally promising, and no great change is apparent either one way or another since I last reported.

MEMORANDUM from *A. J. Elliot*, Esq., Collector of Tirhoot, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 772); dated 19th February 1866.

YOUR Circular No. 13, dated 10th February 1866.

Subject.—The prospects of the rubbee crop are good. In some parts of the district it is far over the average, and in others below it; but, as already reported on a former occasion, I see no doubt that the total crop will be fully up to the 12 annas there specified. On the one hand it is stated that the recent rains have had little bad effect on the crops, while on the other that it has been most beneficial. I am inclined to the latter supposition myself, for the rain, with one partial exception, has not been heavy, but a mild quiet rain. The partial exception noted was a violent hailstorm that did harm to the fruit trees and plants in blossom, and it is expected thereby injuring the fruit; but as the storm was of very short duration, and passed over a very confined line of country, and directly over the town of Mozufferpore, from west to east, it has had no general bad effect on the crops.

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* Circular No. 13 of 10th February 1866, calling for report on the prospects of the rubbee crop.
† No. 200, dated 22nd January 1866.
‡ No. A. T., dated 19th February 1866.

From *R. L. Mangles*, Esq., Collector of Bhaugulpore, to the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division (No. 1270); dated 3rd March 1866.

Sir,

With reference to the Board's letter, No. 23A, of the 16th, forwarded with your office endorsement, No. 217, of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to report as follows:—

As far as I can ascertain, little or no harm has been done to the crops near and about the station by the unusual rainfall of the past month. The ryots, like cultivators of the soil in all parts of the world, always complain of the season, whatever it may be; but from my own observations I should be inclined to think that the rain had done positive good. The deputy magistrate of Banka reports that in his subdivision such has been the case.

The deputy magistrate of Mudehpoorah reports as follows:—

"The prospects of the cold weather crops in this subdivision are very good. The crops have not been injured by the late rain; on the contrary, they have been improved by it, and the general opinion among the natives is, that they would have failed without it. The wheat and barley crops are in particular very good, especially along the banks of the Kossye river."

On the whole, I am led to believe that throughout the district the returns of the cold weather crops will not be below the average of past years.

From *E. C. Craster*, Esq., Collector of Monghyr, to the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division (No. 277); dated 20th March 1866.

Sir,

In reply to your memorandum, No. 217, of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the report on the state and prospects of the cold weather crops in this district required by the letter of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, No. 23A, of the 16th idem.

2. In order to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the true state of the cold weather crops over the whole district, I called upon all the subordinate officers for reports of the result of their observation and inquiries in the several parts of the district which each has visited. Mr. Brett reports of the country in the Gogree Thannah that the wheat crop appeared to him to be very good. Deputy Collector Ameer Hossein reports of the pergunnahs Bulliah, Mulkee, Bhoosaree, and Furkyah that the cold weather crops generally had promised to be full average, but that the rain which fell heavily all through the district in the second week of February did damage; the yield in prospect being thereby reduced from 16 annas to 12 annas. Deputy Collector Moulvy Ahmed, B.A., in charge of the Jumooee subdivision, reports that the harvest in that part of the country is not a good one, the yield not being much above one-third of a full crop. Mr. Little, on the other hand, reports of the same part of the country (Sheikhpoorah) that the wheat and oat crops have not suffered, but that grain and other pulse had been injured to some extent by the rain in February last.

3. During the past and current months I have myself visited the following pergunnahs:—Kajruh, Soorujgurrah, Chandunbhooka, Gidhour, Purbutpara, Havelee, Khuruckpoor, Sukubrahady, and Monghyr. The observations and inquiries which I have made in the course of my tour lead me to the conclusion that up to the time when the heavy fall of rain took place in February the cold weather crops had promised remarkably well; that rain undoubtedly did injure their existing prospects, but according to the best authorities whom I have been able to consult, the injury was not so great as might have been feared. According to the most trustworthy estimates that I have received, the injury done by the rains of February will not reduce the anticipated results of the harvest by more than a fourth; the crop may fairly be set down at a 12-anna one.

Extract from a Letter from *C. W. Wilmot*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Deoghur, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 284); dated 1st March 1866.

In reply to your letter, No. 219, of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following report on the prospects of the cold weather crops in this division.

2. In the margin I have shown the grain and the out-turn, and regret much that it should be so very poor. The rain, not having fallen before the end of December, allowed no opportunities for sowing, and the result has been as exhibited, wretched in the extreme.

Description.	Return in Money.	In Fractio
	Annas.	
Gram - -	2	$\frac{1}{8}$
Wheat - -	4	$\frac{1}{4}$
Barley - -	4	$\frac{1}{4}$
Sirgoojah - -	4	$\frac{1}{4}$
Teel - -	4	$\frac{1}{4}$
Rahur, Kullye -	12	$\frac{3}{4}$
Ooreed - -	8	$\frac{1}{2}$
Koorti - -	12	$\frac{3}{4}$
Kassera Janera -	12	$\frac{3}{4}$
Sugar-cane -	16	Full cr
Mustard - -	0	Full fail

3. The mustard crop has been a total failure, and grain very nearly as bad.

4. On the other hand, sugar-cane has been most excellent both in quantity and quality; the cane is particularly rich in juice this year. There is a great demand for it, and the price put now is 12 seers of 80 sicca weight per rupee for goor. Rahur, koortee, and kassera janera have also been a little successful, and ooreed has been more favoured than the rest, but it is only comparatively.

5. The

5. The cold weather crops may be looked on as almost failures. The great hope and reliance just now here is the coming mohawa crop and the mangoes, both of which ought to be in six weeks from now. The mango trees are in magnificent blossom, but the mohawa trees have not yet lost their leaves. Should both or either of these fail the distress will be immediate and very great.

From *A. W. Cosserat*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Doomka, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 154); dated 26th March 1866.

Sir,

Commissioner's Letter No. 219 of the 24th February 1866. Commissioner's Memorandum No. 290 of the 1st March 1866.

I HAVE the honour, in reference to the correspondence noted in the margin, on the subject of the cold weather crops, to report as follows:—

The following are the crops sown in this district and gathered during the cold weather:—

1. Wheat	5. Kullye.
2. Gram.	6. Ghangrah.
3. Koortie.	7. Sirsoo (oil seed).
4. Rahur.	8. Sirgoojah (oil seed).

1. Wheat is only sown to a very small extent, and that only in pergunnah Hendwah of this district. I estimate that out of a total area of 306,200 beegahs in the whole district (including jungle and cultivation), that not more than 200 beegahs of wheat is sown. This crop depends entirely upon irrigation, and the rain has, therefore, had no great effect on it, but has done good.

2. There is not more than 2,000 beegahs of gram sown in the district in an ordinary season; this year not more than half this quantity was sown, owing to the failure of the rains. There was not more than a six anna crop secured; the late rains have perhaps secured an eight anna crop. It has decidedly done good to this crop.

3. *Koortie.*—Is a crop sown early in the season, and suffered considerably from the failure of the rains. A 25 per cent. crop was secured and reaped before the late rain fell, and it has therefore not affected this crop one way or the other.

4. *Rahur.*—Is also sown early in the season, certainly not later than August. A full crop was sown, but it did not prosper for the want of rain. The late rain was too late to do it any good. It did no harm. The yield has been about 50 per cent. of an ordinary season.

5. *Kullye.*—Is sown in August and September, and gathered in December and January. This crop was sown to its full extent, but may be regarded as a total failure.

6. *Ghangra.*—Is of the same nature as kullye, and has nearly failed. Not more than 25 per cent. has been gathered. The Pahariahs depend almost entirely on this crop, and its failure has affected them very considerably.

7. *Sirsoo.*—A total failure. A greater part was not sown, and that which was sown did not come up.

8. *Sirgoojah*—An out-turn of two annas in 16 has been secured.

9. The statistics as regards the different crops have been given above, but I would also beg to report the effect the plenty or scarcity of these crops produces on the populace.

10. A total failure of wheat would not affect the people in general; it is only grown by the wealthy for their own home consumption.

11. The short out-turns of the grain, koortie, rahur, and kullye have increased the price of dhal, which adds, though to a small extent, to the general dearness of food, but the poor are not much distressed for the want of this article of food, a scarcity of rice being more felt than anything.

12. Ghangrah, as I have already remarked, was the stand-by of the Pahariahs, and the failure of this crop has brought them down to a very low condition; and as an instance in point I might mention that prosperous families, with whom I was personally acquainted while engaged in the survey of the Mohoogurlia Hill, have had recourse to theft and housebreaking for their sustenance.

13. Sirsoo and sirgoojah are chiefly depended on for the payment of rents. The failure of this crop has not had any effect on the cultivators directly, but indirectly, as they were obliged to sell their dhan crops, they have suffered.

14. It is not out of place to mention here that the crop of mohawah is amazingly plentiful, and will be a great stand-by in time of need to the poor, who are even now living entirely on it. The manner in which they make use of it is to dry it first, and then boil it and eat it. A small quantity of rice or other grain, therefore, is made to go a great way mixed with mohawah, which by itself is not considered bad food.

15. Rice

15. Rice and other articles of food is increasing in price daily, and I would not be surprised to see it as high as six seers per rupee, when the condition of the poor, most of whom now have but one meal a day, will be very low indeed.

P.S.—I have omitted to report that the prospects for next year's rice crop have been considerably withered by the late rains, and if it were not for the general scarcity, this fact would tend to keep down prices, but I fear, under existing circumstances, it will have no beneficial effect this year.

From *E. G. Man*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Godda, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 151); dated 28th February 1866.

Sir,

In reply to your letter, No. 219, of the 24th instant, I have the honour to submit the report therein called for.

2. The incessant and heavy rain that we experienced in this district from the 1st February to the 18th has caused great loss to the rubbee crops. For first two or three days the stalk of the several crops was greatly improved by it, and in Moniharee Pergunnah the wheat straw grew amazingly (this I noticed myself), but the constant rain has beaten it down; it has also destroyed the flower of the bhoab, and rotted the root, and had the same effect upon the robee which was out in blossom.

3. I had asked on my tour the opinions of many ryots concerning the crops for my own satisfaction, and on receipt of your letter under reply collected the villagers resident near here in Barkope with the zemindars, jemadars, and others, and from their statements and my own knowledge send you the following estimate of the probable out-turn for these cold weather crops:—

Gehum or wheat - - - - - -	10 annas.
Bhoot or gram - - - - - - -	10 „
Dhal or khesaree - - - - - -	4 „
Barley or jaw - - - - - - -	10 „
Dhal, mussoor - - - - - - -	8 „
Rahur dhal - - - - - - -	6 „

From *G. C. M. Smith*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Pakour, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 186); dated 28th February 1866.

Sir,

I regret to have to report in reply to your letter, No. 219, of the 24th instant, just received, that the cold weather crops in this division are a complete failure. But a small quantity was sown, as the ryots did not calculate on such an early and sudden cessation of the rains, and only found too late, and when there was little or no moisture left in the lands, that they need not expect more rain.

In the small strip of country to the extreme east of this division, subject to the influence of the Gangetic inundations, a small quantity of such crops as wheat, &c., was sown, where, from the alluvial nature of the soil, a little moisture had been retained, and the little rain we have had at times since the commencement of the year has done much good, and will render the out-turn a tolerably good one.

In all the other portions of my division which I have visited during the last month, not a beegah of any crop is to be seen, as the small quantity, originally sown with insufficient moisture, was, as a rule, completely destroyed by the subsequent drought.

From *W. M. Smith*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Rajmehal, to the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Bhaugulpore (No. 84); dated 5th March 1866.

Sir,

In reply to letter, No. 219, of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to report as follows:—

The principal cold weather crops in the Damun are sirsoo, sirgoojah, linseed, teel, gram, and rahur. Musooree and khesaree are also sown.

The first four crops will not nearly return the seed sown. Gram will be about one-eighth of an ordinary crop. Rahur will be about half a crop.

Musooree and khesaree I have scarcely seen.

Along the banks of the Ganges the crop of wheat, gram, oats, peas, kullye, khesaree, and musooree, is nearly an average one. Linseed is poor, and sirsoo bad.

No. 12.—(December 1865.)

THE following correspondence is published for general information and guidance, and in order that there may be an easily accessible record of the principles upon which the Government considers itself at liberty to afford assistance in times of scarcity.

2. Commissioners are requested to keep the Board promptly informed of all measures of assistance adopted under these Government orders. So far as the Board are at present informed, local relief committees have been formed in the districts named in the margin. Full particulars of the operation of these committees should be furnished for notice in the Board's Preliminary and Administration Reports of the year, special notice being taken of any liberal contributions.

Cuttack.
Gya.
Midnapore.
Monghyr.

3. Particular attention should be paid also to the conduct of the wealthy landholders on this occasion, and any examples of a wise liberality on their part towards their tenantry should be at once reported for the satisfaction of Government.

(Land Revenue.—Miscellaneous.—No. 373A.)

Board to Government.

Sir, Fort William, 25 November 1865.

THE Board of Revenue have purposely deferred making the report upon the state of the crops and markets and the prospects of the country throughout the Lower Provinces, called for in Government Order, No. 6227, dated 31st October 1865, until they could obtain such authentic information and statistics from the interior, as the local officers could supply.

A. Grote and E. T. Trevor, Esqrs.

2. The rainfall in the Lower Provinces this year has been generally capricious, irregular, and scanty. The Board have before them only the figures* in regard to Calcutta. Up to the present moment there is, as compared with the average of the last five years, a deficiency of no less than 10·46 inches (61·58 against 72·04). This does not represent the whole of the evil, for in the first five months of the year there was an excess fall of 15·27 inches, so that the deficiency in the months of June to October (the rice season) has been very serious. In fact, since the beginning of June to date, there has fallen only 37·06 inches, instead of an average of 62·79, being a deficiency of, as nearly as possible, 41 per cent. When it is added that, since the middle of September, no rain whatever has fallen, this being the period of the existence of the staple rice crop of Bengal, when the seasonable supply of rain is peculiarly essential, there can be little wonder that the crop has failed to a serious extent.

** Fall of Rain as Registered at the Surveyor General's Office*

MONTH.	Monthly Average of Five Years from 1860–64.	Monthly Fall in 1864.	Monthly Fall in 1865.
	Inches.	*Inches.*	*Inches.*
January - -	0·32	0·00	0·48
February - -	0·35	0·47	1·86
March - - -	0·88	1·84	1·96
April - - -	1·77	1·11	4·28
May - - -	5·93	10·36	15·94
June - - -	15·64	18·73	8·63
July - - -	13·29	13·09	12·19
August - - -	14·71	16·64	5·99
September - -	10·68	12·59	10·25
October - - -	6·76	6·50	0·00
November - -	1·71	2·89	None to date.
December - -	0·09	0·00	—
TOTAL - - -	72·13	84·22	61·58

3. It would be of great interest to obtain similar rainfall statistics for each district. The Board fear, however, that they are not forthcoming in a reliable form: at any rate, it is not in their power to furnish them. Throughout the year the rainfall has been remarkably local and partial,† and it may be that the statistics for Calcutta are not much of a guide for the provinces generally. In some parts of the country it is alleged that the crops were drowned‡ in the early rains; this may, however, probably refer to the early rice crop, which is of minor importance.

4. For the purpose of this report, the crops of the Lower Provinces of Bengal may be divided into the early rice, the late rice, and the cold weather crops. The early rice is not a crop of any great general importance. The season was not generally unfavourable to it, and, so far as is known, the crop was an average one.

5. The most important crop of these provinces is undoubtedly the late rice. It is this crop and the cold weather crops (which in these provinces are much less important) which are affected by the drought of this year.

6. The Board are not yet in a position to speak decidedly in regard to the cold weather crops. In an ordinary season these crops would now be in the ground, and something might perhaps even yet be done in the way of sowing were rain to fall. As it is, it is stated very generally that the seed sown has not germinated, or, if it has germinated, that the blade has withered from drought or been destroyed by caterpillars. It is needless to speak of district details, for the same tale is told everywhere, varying only as the local officers are more or less sanguine. From no district, except perhaps in Eastern Bengal, is more than half

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† For instance, rain repeatedly fell in Chowringhee and not in town, and *vice versâ*.

‡ The Board have seen this stated in regard to Furreedpore, Pubna, Tipperah, and parts of the Hooghly District.

half a cold weather crop expected under the most favourable circumstances; and in many a total failure is anticipated.

7. It is impossible, however, at this stage to say with certainty what will be the actual out-turn. It may prove that the fears of those called upon to estimate the deficiency have exaggerated the evil, and that a larger area has been sown, and a larger portion of what has been sown will prove productive, than is now supposed. But at present the Board are inclined to fear that the cold weather crops will fail very largely. As this report is being written, however, it is reported that second sowings are, in some districts, succeeding better than could have been hoped.

8. The failure of the cold weather crops would be of comparatively small importance if the crop of the country, the late rice, had prospered; it is the state of this crop that really governs the market prices of articles of food in the greater part of Bengal.

9. The Board have received now from each Commissioner a report, in more or less detail, regarding the state and prospects of this important crop. The harvest is commenced in some districts and is rapidly coming on in all. So far as the estimate of experienced officers, assisted by local skilled advice and public opinion, is of value, the Board are in a position to place the facts as regards the late rice crop before the Government.

10. In a large part of the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions there has been no failure. Mymensingh, Sylhet, and North Dacca are said to be suffering to some extent from drought, and Tipperah has suffered to some extent from over-much rain; but upon the whole a fair average crop may, except perhaps in the northern parts of the Dacca Division, be expected from the eastern districts. When it is remembered that these districts are perhaps the chief rice-producing country, this will be regarded as a cause for great thankfulness.

11. But, excepting in those divisions, the failure of the late rice crop appears to have been universal throughout the Lower Provinces, as well as in the Benares Division to the west, in Nepal to the north, and along the eastern coast of the whole of the Madras Presidency. Even the great rice districts of Dinagepore and Rungpore have in no way escaped; indeed the reports from those districts and from Purneah are peculiarly discouraging. The Board think that, under these circumstances, it is quite useless to offer to the Government any detailed report of the state of each district, especially as they have already published each divisional or district report as they received it.

12. One collector expects a three-quarter crop; another a half crop; others as little as a quarter, or even an eighth crop. But these expectations are avowedly quite hypothetical, and not unfrequently the Commissioner differs in his estimate from the collector, or a collector differs from a neighbouring collector. The Board are not inclined to attach to these estimates any greater importance than is claimed for them by their authors; they are merely the opinions of intelligent gentlemen, framed upon such information as they could collect, upon a subject with which they are more or less familiar.

13. It is a gratifying fact that as the season has advanced the expectation of the out-turn of the crop has everywhere improved, so that now it is doubtful whether, in any district, there will be a less out-turn than one-half the average crop.

14. The districts which have suffered most are undoubtedly the Cuttack Division (especially Pooree) and Midnapore to the south, and Gya, Shahabad, and Chumparun to the west. At Gya, the cheapest rice procurable was selling at one time at seven seers for the rupee, and the residents raised a large subscription to feed the helpless poor. But things are improved even there, and the latest estimate of the rice crop, arrived at by an officer evidently not inclined to be sanguine, is that it will be half the average. The same out-turn is estimated for Cuttack by the Commissioner, but perhaps he, on the other hand, is rather too hopeful. It must be borne in mind that the province of Behar suffered much from drought last year, and that some of the most productive parts of Midnapore were devastated by the cyclone of the 5th October.

15. Upon the whole, the Board of Revenue are of opinion that, throughout the tract of country spoken of, *i.e.*, in all the divisions of Bengal, except Dacca and Chittagong, the out-turn of the late rice crop will be at least half the average crop. In Dacca and Chittagong it will not be much under the average.

16. Instead of recapitulating the estimates made by the local officers in regard to the crops in each district, the Board prefer to lay before the Government the accompanying table,* which shows the retail prices of the usual articles of food in each district according to the latest accounts, compared with the ordinary prices at this season of the year. This table may, the Board think, be relied upon as a far safer test, both of the deficiency of the present crop and of the stores of grain in stock, than any estimates founded upon mere opinion.

17. Speaking generally, this table shows that the prices of food are, throughout the country, double the ordinary rates. It is interesting and satisfactory to observe that prices have

* The table is not printed; it will be found in the "Calcutta Gazette."

have risen very nearly as much in proportion in the eastern districts as in the western; a token this, that the supplies which those districts are well able to furnish will be husbanded, and yet that they are being poured into those districts that need them. In accordance with this indication, the Board hear everywhere of grain being in movement, and they have no doubt that the laws of demand and supply are everywhere in full and active operation.

18. Having thus laid before the Government briefly, but they trust with sufficient accuracy, the present state of the case, the Board proceed to consider the prospects of the country until next harvest.

19. It is quite impossible to form any estimate of the stock of grain now in hand from last harvest. Various motives combine to induce holders to conceal their stocks, and any attempt at inquiry is met, in eastern fashion, by evident evasion or barefaced falsehood. It may, however, be assumed, from the high prices that have ruled of late years, that the stock of grain held in the country is not very large.

20. Even if this be so, the Board see no reason to doubt that the present crop will suffice to provide food for the actual necessities of the people. This is a very important point, for, if this opinion can be relied on, there will be no famine. The Board fully believe that it can, and they have some hopes that prices will not be very materially more unfavourable throughout the year than they now are.

21. The bulk of the population being agriculturists will obtain such high prices for their short produce, that, as a rule, they will not, it is expected, suffer very materially. Still, there are undoubtedly multitudes who will not be in a position to profit by that compensation, and for them suffering, though the Board humbly trust not generally famine, is in store this year.

22. To mitigate this evil, the Board of Revenue have already arranged for the early and regular publication of the retail prices current in each district. This will ensure such remedy being applied to the case of each place as the ordinary laws of political economy can supply. The Board presume that it is quite unnecessary for them to discuss any suggestions or projects that are not entirely in accordance with those laws. They have already said, and they desire to repeat it, that, in a case of wide-spread scarcity, such as the present, those laws alone can supply any real relief, and all that the Government can do is to encourage and facilitate their operation. There can be no doubt that it is altogether beyond the power of Government to mend matters by any extraordinary operations in contravention of those laws. Even if it be true, as has been often asserted (though the Board are by no means prepared to admit that it is certainly the fact), that the operation of these natural laws is in this country slow and uncertain, it follows only that it is the more clearly the duty of Government to do nothing that can clog or impede their working, and that it must direct its efforts to the removal of obstacles, and to the promotion of confidence among grain dealers.

23. All that the Government can really do—certainly all that it is necessary for it to do at present—is to encourage and assist in the employment of the labouring classes, especially in those districts where the distress is greatest. At present it may be said that the districts named in my 14th paragraph have, in this respect, the first claim to attention. The wants of the southern districts will probably be met by the operations of the Irrigation Company, who will, no doubt, gladly take the opportunity of a favourable state of the labour market, to prosecute their operations with more than ordinary energy. The Board are glad to learn that they have already been able to supply some water for the present need from the Kendrapara Canal, the only one of the irrigation works that has progressed towards completion. This will doubtless encourage them to push on their works with earnestness.

24. The Company should be carefully consulted before the Government undertake any extraordinary local public works of their own to meet the present distress.

25. In Gya, the road between Patna and Gya, which has been for so many years a standing reproach to the Government and the Public Works Department, furnishes a sphere for the employment of any number of labourers, and, either on that work or on some other local work, it seems desirable that as much money as possible should be spent this year. It will probably be also a favourable time for pushing on the construction of the chord line of railway from Raneegunge to Luckhiseraie, which will employ labour very largely.

26. As to the other districts named, the Board are not in a position to suggest any particular work, but they think it desirable that the Government should make preparations to proceed with local public works there without delay, in case the distress should appear to be becoming aggravated. If relief is given at all, in such cases, in any shape, it is of the utmost consequence that it should be given promptly.

27. Independently altogether of this action in regard to public works (which, if it be judiciously managed, need involve little more than the expenditure now of money that must otherwise be spent less economically hereafter, when there is not the same command of the labour market), the Government has certainly other obligations. In almost every district it either owns estates, or has (as in the case of Wards', attached, and such estates) all the responsibilities and obligations of ownership upon it.

28. The Board think that, in such a season as this, the Government, in its capacity of landowner, should be prepared to set, in such cases, a liberal example to all the great landowners

owners of this country, who will undoubtedly watch to see what the Government is doing. Their interests are indeed closely involved in the prosperity of their ryots; but that alone would not perhaps always suffice to induce them to act with sufficient public spirit. This is a matter of great importance; the Board have already stated that it was the hope of their feeling bound to assist, and interested in assisting the agricultural population at such a time as this, that was one considerable motive with the Government of 1793, for the creation of these powerful landowners. It must always be an important object of public policy in Bengal to encourage, and, by every moral force, compel these gentlemen, who make, many of them, enormous profits, in ordinary years, to assume, when occasion arises, the obligations and responsibilities that undoubtedly lie upon them.

29. Wherever therefore the Government is itself landowner, it behoves it to act with the liberal public spirit that it would like to see in private landowners. In this view, the Board have already informed the Collector of Tirhoot that he is at liberty to propose any measures for the relief of the tenantry of the immense estate of Durbhanga (in the way of useful public works for the benefit of the estate, &c.), that he would himself think incumbent, under the circumstances, upon a liberal landlord. The Board would be glad to be assured that the Government would approve of such measures being taken, in case of need in all estates in which the Government has upon it the obligations of proprietor, especially in Government estates, and estates managed directly on account of the recusancy of the proprietors. There are many such in Midnapore, and the people there must be ill prepared to meet the present pressure recurring so soon after the calamitous cyclone of last year.

30. The Collector of Tirhoot has reported demi-officially that he does not think anything necessary for the present, and probably other collectors would report in same manner; but it is well to be prepared.

31. At present the Board do not think any further measures called for; and, if their hopes are realized, nothing more will be called for. It is of the utmost consequence to wean the people of the country from the habit of relying upon Government for help, in circumstances in which no one but themselves can really materially help them. In this view it is important that the Government should leave no expectation outstanding that it will be prepared to make an attempt at general assistance, which, in the present case, it could certainly not render to any good purpose.

32. Even where famine actually supervenes, the chief, if not the only, reliance must be upon the efforts of local private liberality.

(Revenue.—No. 4204.)

Government to Board.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, Nos. 372A and 373A, dated respectively the 23rd and 25th ultimo, and in reply to convey to the Board the thanks of the Government for the very complete report which they have submitted on the present state and prospect of the crops in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. His Honor quite approves of what the Board have done, and concurs generally in the opinions they have expressed.

2. A copy of your second letter will be forwarded to the Public Works Department of this Government for consideration as to what may be done in the way of economically extending useful expenditure on the public works in the Cuttack and Behar Divisions, with reference to the remarks in paragraphs 23 to 26. It is to be hoped, the Lieutenant Governor observes, that in the latter division the advances on account of the opium cultivation; and in the former, the operations of the Irrigation Company, will tend materially to diminish the prevailing distress.

3. The measures proposed by the Board in paragraphs 27 to 29 are entirely approved. Where circumstances require it, the collectors may be authorised, with the sanction of the Commissioner, to expend in Khas Mehals, and in Wards' and Attached Estates, a moderate sum, in proportion to the rental, for the relief of the helpless poor on the estate, and in providing useful employment on subsistence wages for those who are able and willing to work, but cannot otherwise obtain it. This may be done, according to circumstances, either by directly expending the money on the estate itself, or by contributing to any general relief fund that may be formed in the district. But in any case care should be taken that money or provisions are distributed in a systematic way, and that none are relieved but those who are proper objects of charity.

4. Every endeavour should be made to induce the landholders and other wealthy residents to adopt a similar course, and unite in averting distress from the people on whose labour they depend. The formation of Relief Committees, under the direction of the Collector, in every district where distress prevails, should be encouraged. This appears to have been done in several districts, and the example should, the Lieutenant Governor thinks, be followed in others. It is upon the exercise of private liberality, his Honor believes, that, in an emergency of this kind, the chief dependence must be placed.

5. The original papers received with your first letter under acknowledgment are herewith returned as requested.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to Collectors of the Division (No. 29); dated 25th May 1866.

Sir,

I UNDERSTAND that the distress among the labouring poor in your district has latterly increased much in severity, and I fear that there is no prospect of its abatement until the next crop is some inches above ground, that is to say, probably for another three weeks or a month.

2. Under these circumstances, I beg to draw your attention to the Government letter forwarded with the Board of Revenue's Circular, No. 12, of December last, and to suggest the propriety of your at once adopting the measures indicated in its 3rd and 4th paragraphs.

3. You should likewise lose no time in giving employment largely in the parts of your district where the distress is the greatest, in the repair of roads. I shall be prepared to sanction an expenditure from the local fund during the next month on this account of a sum not exceeding —— rupees.

4. I request that you will report what steps you have taken under these instructions, at your earliest convenience.

Circular from *A. Money*, Esq., C. B., Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division, to the Collectors of Bhaugulpore, Monghyr, and Purneah, and to five Assistant Commissioners, Sonthal Pergunnahs (No. 714 Ct.); dated 15th June 1866.

IT is very necessary that accurate information should be placed quickly before me, and through me before the Government, regarding the present state of each district as to supply of food and facilities for procuring it, and as to the condition of the present crop and prospects of the next crop (aghunee crop).

These questions are intimately connected. Where there is a sufficient supply of grain in store in a district for three or four months' consumption, it is evident that, if the prospects of the next crop are good, this supply will gradually be thrown into the market. Under these circumstances, if there be much distress, it can be relieved by a judicious expenditure on works of public utility.

Where there is an ample supply, but at the same time good cause for apprehending failure of the next crop, the grain will be kept back in the hope of famine prices. To send money into a district in this condition will only be to hasten the time when such prices shall rule. Importation of grain would, under these circumstances, be the proper mode of relief.

Again, where the next crop promises well, but the district has already consumed or exported all its available grain, it is evident that, unless food be given to them, the people will starve during the next three months.

At the beginning of this period of scarcity it was supposed that the operation of the laws of supply and demand would adjust matters in each district more satisfactorily than could be done by Government interference or by the exercise of private charity, and as long as high prices and scarcity of food were incidental to only some districts, this supposition was borne out by experience. The commercial operations, to which the native dealers in grain are accustomed, (*i. e.*,) the removal of grain from one district to another, were carried on all over the country with great activity. But now that the superfluity of the rich districts has been transferred to the poorer ones, and that a general low level is found all over the country, the districts where much suffering exists can expect no relief from the unassisted action of trade.

The profit to be made at present by transporting grain from one district to another is, except in particular localities, where the railway or the down current of a river affords rapid and cheap means of carriage, not large enough to tempt dealers in grain, and importation from beyond the sea has not yet been largely induced by the high prices now ruling. I believe the cause of this disinclination to import is the general belief, formed principally on official reports, that there is an ample supply of hoarded-up grain in the country, which, in the event of large importation, would suddenly be brought into competition, destroying the importers' profits. My own belief is that this idea of the existence of large supplies is a mistake. We have had two and here and there three indifferent seasons in succession in Bengal and Behar.

Cotton in the North-west has for the last three years usurped large tracts formerly growing grain, and, while the food producing area has been thus restricted, the additional wealth brought in by the new cultivation has increased the demand for food. This demand Bengal and Behar have in great measure supplied.

I have made the foregoing remarks with a view of showing you that if great distress prevails at present in your district, you must not expect to see it relieved by trading imports from outside, and, as a consequence, to impress upon you the urgent necessity of ascertaining, as correctly as you can, the prospects of this year's crop and the approximate quantity of

of hoarded grain in your district. The first inquiry is easy enough. The second a most difficult one. You cannot, as to it, expect to obtain any but very general results. Every man, zemindar or mahajun, who deals in grain is interested in withholding the importation. I think your best plan will be to consult the chief zemindars and mahajuns in your district, examining each man more as to his neighbours' affairs than as to his own.

Consult also the planters in your district and the most intelligent natives of any caste or occupation. Pray remember also that to be of use, the result of your inquiries should be laid before me within, at the latest, 15 days after your receipt of this letter.

Appendix II.

From *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., on Special Deputation to inquire into the Circumstances attending the recent Famine, to the Indigo Planters and other Landholders of the —— District; dated 27th November 1866.

Gentlemen,

Having been deputed under the orders of Government to make a careful inquiry into, and report on, the circumstances connected with the origin and causes of the famine which has recently been experienced in several parts of this district, as well as to submit any suggestions that the results of this inquiry may point to regarding the means of preventing, as far as may be practicable, the recurrence of such a fearful calamity, I am anxious to obtain the valuable assistance which your local experience enables you to afford me in the prosecution of this object.

To this end I solicit your careful consideration of the questions mooted in the accompanying memorandum, and shall be extremely obliged by your furnishing me with all the information that it is in your power to supply on the several points therein raised; it is of some importance that I should be favoured with your reply as early as possible (that is to say, within no longer period than three weeks from this date), and I trust you will kindly excuse my pressing the urgency of this matter on your attention.

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1. Of what estates or portions of estates are you the proprietor or leaseholder, within those portions of the ———— district in which the inhabitants have suffered by the recent famine, and what is the approximate total area of the cultivated or culturable land of such estates, and where are they situated?

2. What are the several crops which supply food for the people grown within those estates, and in what months are they respectively sown and gathered? In what proportions are the cultivated lands of those estates applied to the production of those crops respectively?

3. What has been the average produce (*i. e.*, varying from full to $\frac{1}{16}$ crop) of this particular class of crops, in the localities above referred to in each year during the past five years, *i. e.*, from November 1861 to November 1866?

4. What have been the selling prices of rice and the other different kinds of produce used for food by the people of the district, respectively, at the close of each year from December 1861 to December 1865, and especially what has been the variation of prices of such produce in each month from December 1865 to November 1866?

5. When was the pressure from scarcity of food first felt amongst the population of your estates in each locality? When did you first become aware of the existence of such distress? At what period were you in a position to apprehend the extent to which this distress might be expected to proceed, and what measures were first taken by you to meet the calamity? When did you communicate, if at all, your apprehensions in regard to the condition of the people to the district officers of Government, and with what result?

6. To what extent, so far as you are able to estimate, the loss from absolutely reliable data, have the villages within your estates been depopulated by the effects of the famine up to the present time (1.) By deaths? (2.) By desertton of homesteads?

7. To what extent does the custom of payment of rent in kind obtain amongst your tenants, and what has been the effect of the recent scarcity of grain on such system of payments? By what instalments are the rents paid by your tenants realised in ordinary years? In what proportion (if any) have you found it necessary either to remit or postpone the realisation of such instalments during the past year in consequence of the famine?

8. To what extent does any exportation from, or importation to, the villages within these portions of your estates above referred to, of the several kinds of produce used for food, take place in ordinary years, and how far has this export and import trade, if any, been affected by the recent dearth?

9. Were

9. Were the measures adopted by the district officers of Government undertaken, in your opinion, at a sufficiently early period, and on a scale commensurate with the extent of the calamity which they were intended to mitigate? Were the principles which regulated the relief operations, so far as they fell within your cognisance, calculated, in your opinion, to afford as widely spread relief as was possible to the helpless poor, or in what respects were they deficient?

10. What, in your opinion, are the prospects of the people as regards the supply and probable price of food in the coming year?

11. Supposing this severe distress to have arisen from the entire or partial failure of the food-supplying crops caused by drought, is there in your opinion a remedy for such cause of failure to be found in the provision of such means of irrigation as have been provided in certain parts of the North-West Provinces?

Can you suggest any scheme of irrigation works for which the geographical features of this district may, in your opinion, present particular facilities?

EXTRACT from a LETTER from *James Forlong*, Esq., General Manager, Raj Durbhungah, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Commissioner, on Special Deputation (No. 123); dated 7th February 1867.

WITH reference to your circular requesting my opinion on the several points therein mooted connected with the recent famine, I beg to state that, having been on leave of absence in England for 1½ years from May 1865, I am unable to give you full information on the subjects of your inquiry in the way I should like to do, but so much as is in my power I give below:—

1. I am the general manager under the Court of Wards of Raj Durbhungah, which, in Tirhoot, consists of estates situate in 53 pergunnahs. I am given to understand that the pressure of the famine was felt, more or less, in all the above pergunnahs, but the parts which suffered most are the five pergunnahs noted in the margin,* which go by the name of Punch Muhla, stretching along the Nepaul Terai to the north of Durbhungah. I am not in a position to state the correct area of the cultivated or culturable lands in the Punch Muhula, but the same may be estimated at fully 75,000 beegahs.

* Ludovaree.
Bahadoorpoor.
Punharpoor
Mohar.
Delwarpore.
Nurrunga.

2. The following table will show the several crops which supply food for the people of Punch Muhula, and the names of the months in which they are respectively sown and gathered:—

Names of Crops.	Months in which Sown.	Months in which Gathered.
Amun or cold weather paddy	June and July	November and December.
Shama	May	July.
Konnee	ditto	ditto.
Marooah mukky Ous or high land Paddy and goomree	June	August.
Ooreed and Meth	July and August	September, October & November.
Jub (barley)	October and November	February and March.
Wheat Gram Moossoor Kessaree	ditto	ditto.
Urhur	June	April.
Moog	February	June.

I am unable to state to what extent the culturable lands are applied to the production of the above crops respectively. Probably eight annas, or half of the whole, is given to the cultivation of paddy and other crops cut in November and December; six annas to that of crops cut at other periods, leaving two annas waste land.

3. I am given to understand that the average produce of the above crops for the five years from November 1861 to November 1866 has been as under:

November 1861 to October 1862 - - 15 annas out of 16 annas or full harvest.
November 1862 to October 1863 - - 13 annas.
November 1863 to October 1864 - - 12 „
November 1864 to October 1865 - - 10 „
November 1865 to November 1866 - 4 „

4. The

4. The selling prices of rice and other different kind of produce used for food by the people of the district, respectively, at the close of each year from December 1861 to December 1865, so far as I can gather, has been as under:—

	December 1861.	December 1862.	December 1863.	December 1864.	December 1865.
	Rate per Rupee in 88 sicca weight.				
	Mds. *Srs.*	*Mds.* *Srs.*	*Mds.* *Srs.*	*Mds.* *Srs.*	*Mds.* *Srs.*
Rice (amun cut in November)	– 35	– 33	– 32	– 20	– 15
Shama	1 20	1 20	1 10	– 35	– 30
Konnee	– 32	– 30	– 25	– 16	– 16
Marooah	1 5	1 5	1 –	– 35	– 18
Mukky	1 –	1 –	– 32	– 26	– 20
Ous dhan (paddy cut in August and September) and gurree dhan.	1 15	1 15	1 15	– 38	—
Ooreed	– 26	– 24	– 33	– 25	– 21
Meth	– 32	– 30	– 36	– 30	– 25
Koorthee	– 30	– 28	– 36	– 26	– 16
Jub (barley)	– 34	– 35	1 –	– –	– 14
Wheat	– 32	– 30	– 30	– 16	– 12
Gram	– 25	– 26	– 26	– 22	– 13
Mussoor	– 31	– 30	– 30	– 27	– 16
Kerraon	1 –	1 –	1 –	– 24	– 14
Kessaree	1 10	1 10	1 5	– 26	– 16
Urhur	– 22	– 21	– 22	– 23	– 13
Moog	– 25	– 24	26	– 24	– 11

The variation of prices of such produce in each month from December 1865 to November 1866 is given below:—

	Dec. 1865.	Jan. 1866.	Feb. 1866.	Mar. 1866.	April 1866.	May 1866.	June 1866.	July 1866.	Aug. 1866.	Sept. 1866.	Oct. 1866.	Nov. 1866.
	Rate per Rupee in 88 sicca weight.											
	Srs.	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*	*Srs.*
Rice (amun)	15	13	11½	11¼	9	9½	7½	6	7	9½	13	16
Shama	27	24	25	20	16	16	16	20	25	18	18	18
Konnee	16	16	14	13	13	13	13	13	15	18	18	18
Marooah	20	18	12	10	9	9	10	10	12	16	20	26
Mukky	22	16	16	12	10	9	8	8	10	10	10	22
Ous dhan	38	23	19	20	18	16	15	12	13	20	35	38
Gurree dhan	38	23	19	20	18	16	10	12	13	20	35	38
Ooreed	15	14	12	12	12	11½	11½	7½	9	15	17	19
Meth	16	16	12	14	14	13	13	9	11	17	19	21
Koorthy	14	15	14	15	13	11	11	9	10	8	12	22
Jub	8	10	9	16	15	12	11	7	8½	10	9	17
Wheat	12	12	12	14	13	10	9	6	8	9	10	11
Gram	15	16	9½	12	10	11	11	7¼	9¼	10	12	20
Mussoor	13	13	12	12	12	14	12	9	10	11	11	20
Kerraon	12	12	11	12	11	12	12	8	10	11	14	16
Kessaree	15	15	14	15	15	16	16	10	11	12	16	25
Urhur	11	10	9½	10	13	15	12	8	9	11	11	13
Moog	12	10½	9	9	8	8	10½	8	8	9	9½	11

5. I was in England at the time referred to, but I learn from reliable sources that the scarcity was first felt in November; but the rice crop shortly after gathered relieved the pressure for a time, though it returned again with greater severity, as indicated in the foregoing tables. The late officiating general manager has reported to you when the expected distress first came under notice of the authorities.

6. It is not in my power to state with anything like accuracy the loss from death or desertion in the immense property in my charge, as the whole of it is let in farm. I fear, however, that the mortality in some places was very serious, and more particularly in the Punch Muhula. The Court of Wards, in consideration of this, has allowed remission to all native ticcadars of 6 annas of their rent, and to Mr. Campbell, whose farms were most extensive, 8 annas. The latter also having expressed his inability to retain his farms, yielding a rental of 54,000 rupees, in consequence of a large extent of ground remaining uncultivated by reason of death and desertion, and the partial failure of the crops this year, I have agreed to accept the resignation of the same, and will try by a most liberal policy to restore the villages to the prosperous condition they were in before the late famine was felt.

7. The Raj derives its rents from farmers, all in money. To some small extent the practice of taking rent from ryots in grain, otherwise called bhowlee, obtains among the farmers, but what has been the effect of the scarcity upon this system I am not prepared to say. The kists, according to which the farmers of the Raj pay their rent, are as follow:—

December	4 annas.
March	5 „
May	3 „
October	4 „

Of course in a year of such difficulty and distress as the past, rents generally were not paid with punctuality, but reasonable time and consideration having been shown wherever necessary, I may say that nearly the full rents have been realized, with the exception of those of the Punch Muhula, and it is the only part of the property (with some trifling exceptions) where actual remission is called for. The rental of the Punch Muhula is 2,07,427 rupees, and the rental of the rest of the estates in Tirhoot is 10,26,595 rupees.

8. The villages in Punch Muhula not only produce sufficient for their own consumption, but also in ordinary years carry on a thriving export trade. Last year of course they were almost entirely dependent upon imports from other parts of the district.

9. I am not prepared to answer this question from personal experience, but refer to the letter of Mr. Anderson, the late officiating general manager.

From the records of the office, I learn that the following measures were adopted in the Raj for the relief of the famine:

Large remissions of rent in the Punch Muhula, amounting to perhaps some 88,000 rupees, were given as above stated.

Fourteen thousand rupees were subscribed to the famine relief fund of Tirhoot.

Five thousand rupees to that of Bhaugulpore, and from the beginning of June to the close of October, 20 to 25 maunds of rice were daily distributed amongst the poor who came in from the town of Durbhungah and the neighbourhood, amounting in value up till then to 18,000 rupees, besides considerable gifts of cloth were made to the poor.

To the immediate poor of Durbhungah relief on a most liberal scale is still being dispensed.

And indirectly no doubt great relief was afforded by the consideration and time, which were readily given whenever necessary to the farmers in paying their rents.

Any operations in the way of road or embankment making, almost the only mode in which general relief can be given through the medium of work, were quite prohibited by the rainy season, in which the suffering was at its height.

On my arrival here on the 10th of November last, I found 750 people living in a garden about two miles from this, and under the general supervision of the magistrate, but more particularly under the care of one of the municipal Commissioners. The people seem to me in a state of great want and distress, and as the funds for their support were nearly exhausted, I removed the whole of the above people to a garden within a few hundred yards of my own residence, and had upwards of 60 of them placed immediately in a large dwelling near the estate hospital, placing them under the charge of the sub-assistant surgeon, as they were in the last stage of physical debility and required careful watching and dieting. Since then, the paupers have been kept entirely at the expense of the estate. They have been well housed, clothed, and have had two substantial meals every day, during which I have visited them to see that they had all they wanted, and that there was no neglect. Dr. Gayer, the civil surgeon of Mozufferpore, has twice inspected the pauper relief afforded here, and on both occasions expressed surprise at the cleanliness, comfort, and thorough efficiency connected with it, and not many days ago when he came here he could scarcely believe that the paupers were the same emaciated individuals whom he had seen nearly three months before.

10. The prospects of the coming year are, I am sorry to say, not very cheering, for though the crops have been plentiful every where, except the Punch Muhula, and there only arising from the breadth of land sown having been greatly reduced, still rice, which a month ago was selling at 22 seers per rupee, is now already selling at 17 seers, and with a tendency

tendency to be higher. As the year progresses, I doubt not the bulk of the people in this district will have very hard times to contend with, but you may rely that this estate will do its duty as it may be necessary, and with no stint hand.

11. I do not think there is any need for expensive works connected with irrigation, as water exists nearly every where, and can be directed by the ryots at not much cost to irrigate his field when necessary.

From Captain *A. N. Cole*, Manager of the Bettiah Estates, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Special Commissioner, on Deputation to inquire into the Circumstances attending the recent Famine (No. 138); dated 17th February 1867.

Sir,

In forwarding the report called for by you relative to the famine which has recently been experienced in the Chumparun district, where the estates of the Maharajah of Bettiah are situated, I beg to apologize for the delay that has arisen in submitting such. Unavoidable absence on affairs connected with the estate prevented my being able at an earlier date to submit a report of at all a satisfactory nature, with regard to the different points mooted therein, and but comparatively a short residence in the district has rendered me diffident in enlarging much on subjects on which a more prolonged experience would have enabled me to report with more confidence.

Replies to the Questions mooted in the Memorandum forwarded with Circular No. 150 of *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Special Commissioner; dated 11th December 1866.

1. The Maharajah of Bettiah is proprietor of 24 of the 25 Tuppahs, composing Pergunnah Mujhowah, and also of Tuppah Nanore, Pergunnah Simraon, Sircar Chumparun. I would estimate that in three-fourths of this estate actual famine prevailed, while in the remainder, to the south and north-west, great scarcity existed. I would compute the area of this estate at 16,00,000 acres, remarking that in such is comprised the various lands that from time to time have been separated from the parent estate, but to which the replies now given are applicable. I would estimate that but one-half of the estate is under cultivation, and from such I would deduct a half as under cultivation of poppy, indigo, oats, gram, and the various pulses not adapted for human food, there remaining therefore, 4,00,000 acres as the area under cultivation for such purpose.

2. The following are the crops which supply food for the people: The dhan, or rice crop, sown in the months of April, May, and June, and reaped in October, November, and December; its proportion would stand to one-third of the crop grown for food. Kodoo and mukky are the crops that next are produced, sown and reaped in the months above mentioned, and forming, with the dhan, the bhudaie crops, and to which I would give a third of the land under cultivation, while the rubbee crop, viz., wheat, rahur, ooreed, and smaller pulses, sown after the rains, and reaped in the months of March and April, I would set down as occupying the remaining third of the land supplying food for the people.

3. The average produce of the crops may be given as follows:—

The year 1861 and 1862 produced a 16 anna crop.
„ 1863 and 1864 „ 12 „
„ 1865 varying from 4 to 6 annas.

4. Tabular statements are given of the different kinds of produce used as food, respectively, at the close of each year from December 1861 to December 1865, and of each month from December 1865 to the close of 1866.

5. It was at the close of the rainy season of 1865 that it was seen that great distress would prevail. My reply to a report called for from the Assistant Magistrate in charge of Bettiah, dated 13th November 1865, is annexed. In March 1866 a report was called for and submitted by me as to the prospects of the rubbee crop; copy is also given. In November 1865, at the suggestion of the Commissioner of Patna, I endeavoured to purchase seed to be distributed to the smaller ticcadars to give out to their ryots for the rubbee crop of 1866. The attempt was ineffectual, although, I believe, grain was in the district; the holders were only prepared to sell in the very smallest quantities, and I found the very question being mooted, caused prices to rise; in the meantime, exportation from the district was going on, dealers having made their advances and so secured the scanty stock of grain in the district. Early in May 1866 I opened a depôt, relieving daily such persons as appeared in distress with uncooked food—wetted gram. In June 1866, at the request of two influential European ticcadars, I addressed the then Collector of the district, Mr. Beames, who had but recently taken charge, suggesting the advisability of a meeting being called. My request was promptly

promptly replied to. A meeting was held; the European gentlemen holding leases under the Maharajah, undertook to afford relief to the poor by opening out depôts, giving employment and making monetary advances. This, I believe, was faithfully carried out.

On the part of the Maharajah, I was authorised to subscribe the sum of 5,000 rupees, and a like sum was endeavoured to be raised by me from his suite and others enjoying his bounty; nearly 4,000 rupees more was thus raised. A centre for the issue of cooked food was established, and besides the donation of the Maharajah, I undertook to supply an equal quantity of food as was purchased from the proportion alloted by the Head Relief Committee at Moteharee. Work was also given to the able-bodied in repairing roads, and some of the Municipal Chowkedaree money applied for and expended in repairs to the town roads, thus also giving employment. I would state, private charity was very extensively exercised in the town of Bettiah by the Maharajah and the inmates of the palace, at whose gates food was daily distributed; as also by two or three rich mahajuns of the town.

6. Absolutely reliable data being called for, in reply to the question as to the extent of depopulation from the effects of the famine by deaths and desertion, I must state candidly I am unable to give such.

That the mortality was great is unquestionable, and that a heavy blow was inflicted by so awful a calamity on an already thinly populated district is equally apparent.

7. All rents are paid in specie; such is realized from native ticcadars in 11 instalments, while from the European ticcadars it is collected in 10. From those whose holdings were small, when one-half of the rent had been paid in, postponement of any demand was made, and from the larger holders, when two-thirds was liquidated, equal discretion was exercised. At the close of the year 1273 *F.*, one-third of the rents remained unrealised. Application was made by me in July 1866, through the Collector of the district, under the exceptional case both of the famine and the native leap year, whereby the estate was deprived of an instalment of rent that would otherwise have fallen due, that postponement for a short period of one-fourth of the Government rent, payable in October 1866, might be permitted, but the Board of Revenue did not deem fit to accede to the request.

8. In ordinary years, exportation of rice is calculated to amount to 15 or 16 lacs of maunds; other produce used as food to a nominal extent; no importation exists; exportation, as mentioned by me in paragraph 5, continued, as the money for the grain had been advanced.

9. My reply to Question 5 shows that at an early period the attention of the official authorities was given to the failure of the crops in the year 1865, and again, on the expectations to be realised from the rubbee, and wherein a hopeful prospect was held out; the mischief had already been done on the bhadooee crop failing, as such affords the chief subsistence to the poorer classes of this district. The dearth having occurred, I know of no measures that the authorities could have taken consistent with the principles of a free trade Government, that would have ameliorated the distress more than were exercised. The grain at an earlier period, say October 1865, was present in the district that would have afforded sufficient for the population, but the exportation thereof could not be stayed, nor could at that time sufficient quantities be purchased, such having been forestalled by advances given by the traders.

10. The prospects of the people, as regards the supply and probable price of food for the coming year are good, bearing in mind that the ryots have to complete their engagements which they were unable to meet as to the quantity of grain they had to furnish on the advances given, and which must now be made good from this year's crop.

11 and 12. Inundation from the Gunduck River, which forms both the western and greater portion of the southern boundary of Chumparun, as well as drought, caused the failure of the crops. I am of opinion more effectual measures might be taken to control the Gunduck. To the south a large embankment exists, repairs to which were executed last year, and the sum of 2,000 rupees, advanced by the authorities, has to be refunded by this estate. Within the last two years the Gunduck also has overflowed its banks a short distance south-west of Bettiah; and much damage has been done to the crops. A large bund, under European superintendence, is being erected at the expense of the Raj; but I think that, under Government supervision, more efficient control could be exercised than left in the hands of the proprietors of the soil, who would be only too glad to pay their quota for such supervision. There are two rivers, the Sikrana and Dhunoutee, the former more properly a hill torrent running from west to east along the northern border of Chumparun; it retains, however, during the dry season, sufficient water to be of important use. The ticcadars through whose villages it runs, are constantly at issue as to the right of damming up this river. A judicious power and control exercised would render such of great benefit, whereas often the water is wilfully wasted, and holders of land who require such urgently are deprived, because a more powerful neighbour exercises first control over the stream.

The River Dhunoutee, also lower down in Chumparun, winding through the district from west to east, presents also great facility for use for irrigation purposes.

STATEMENT of Selling Prices of Rice and other Produce at the Close of Each Year, from December 1861 to December 1865, at Seers for the Rupee.

Description of Grain.	1861 December.	1862 December.	1863 December.	1864 December.	1865 December.
Rice, viz.:					
Fine	25	22	25	19	9
Middling	30	26	29	21	10
Coarse	35	30	35	24	13
Paddy (dhan)	50	52	55	35	17
Kodoo	70	60	80	50	25
Mukky	37	40	52	33	14
Wheat	28	25	23	20	8
Oats (jye)	37	34	51	34	16
Mustard	12	13	14	15	13
Castor Seed	14	16	17	16	14
Gram	25	27	28	25	11

STATEMENT Exhibiting Selling Price of Grain during the Year 1866, at Seers for the Rupee.

Description of Grain.	YEAR 1866.											
	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Rice, viz.:												
Fine	10	10	9	8	8	6	6	6	7	7	7	19
Middling	11	10	10	10	9	7	6	7	8	8	8	22
Coarse	12	11	11	10	9	9	7	7	8	14	17	24
Paddy (dhan)	18	17	17	16	14	13	11	10	12	11	16	39
Kodoo	25	24	25	25	21	20	19	19	37	38	39	50
Mukky	14	11	14	13	11	10	10	21	20	23	22	34
Wheat	10	10	14	10	10	10	8	8	10	10	11	14
Oats (jye)	16	14	17	23	20	20	20	18	18	18	19	24
Mustard	13	17	16	15	16	16	16	14	16	13	13	14
Castor Seed	14	16	16	15	16	16	15	15	16	15	15	14
Gram	10	10	14	12	11	11	8	8	12	13	15	18

From Captain *A. N. Cole*, Manager of Bettiah Estates, to *J. Anderson*, Esq., Assistant Magistrate, Bettiah (No. 95); dated 13th November 1865.

Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 380, dated 11th instant.

The present state and prospects of the crops of the portion of the estates of the Maharajah of Bettiah, situated within the sub-division under your charge, are but gloomy indeed. To realize such, it is necessary to revert to the rubbee crop of the past year. Heavy rains fell during the time of harvesting; the crops could not be got in, and were more or less seriously damaged while cut on the ground.

The periodical rains set in late, and with difficulty the mukky and pulses sown at this period could be reared. The rain fell sparingly, while the flushes from the hill streams were exceedingly heavy, and owing to the Ganges not being able to carry off the flow of water brought to bear upon it, a reflux of these streams, including the Gunduck, took place: heavy inundations ensued; the Government bund at Gobindgunge burst, laying the greater portion of the district under water. The mukky and other crops were swept away, while, I would remark, that such as escaped the inundation almost equally suffered from a continued drought, as for upwards of two months, beyond one slight shower, no rain has fallen.

Deprived of the mukky and other pulses, the ryots have been compelled to draw on the scanty produce of their rubbee crop for food, and have entrenched upon their stock reserved

for seed; and very many are consequently without the means for sowing their rubbee crop. Fears also, and from what I can hear, well-grounded ones, are entertained that such grain as can be produced will not germinate successfully from the damaged state in which it was got in.

Although at present the condition of the poorer classes does not appear to call for aid, the interval between the gathering of the next rubbee crop will be one of the greatest privation to them, and employment will have to be found to enable them to provide for the still further high prices of food, which, I fear, must inevitably prevail.

The price of articles of food is much the same as that ruling on the 20th October last, and published by the Board of Revenue on the 4th instant.

From Captain *A. N. Cole*, Manager of Bettiah Estates, to *F. M. Halliday*, Esq., Officiating Collector of *Chumparun* (No. 105); dated 12th March 1866.

Sir,

With reference to the information called for in your letter, No. 222, dated 9th instant, I have the honour to report that the late fall of rain within this portion of the district has been highly beneficial to the crops.

The storm, which appears to have swept across the northern portion of Zillah Sarun and created such devastation, was, I believe, felt but in a modified degree in the south-eastern portion of the estate of the Maharajah situated in Tuppah Doultah, Zillah Chumparun. On the whole the realization of a 12 anna rubbee crop is confidently looked for, and if the present weather but continues, an early harvest will be ensured.

From *G. Macleod*, Esq., in charge of the Affairs of the Rajah of Hutwa, in the Sarun District, to *F. M. Halliday*, Esq., Collector of Sarun; dated 21st December 1866.

Sir,

With advertence to your memorandum, No. 258, of the 7th instant, forwarding copy of a circular letter, from the officer on special deputation to inquire into the circumstances attending the recent famine, I have the honour to state, on behalf of the Maharajah of Hutwa, that the calamity inquired about was caused by extraordinary drought and the fearful visitation in a hail-storm of such magnitude that it was destructive of the entire crop of a large tract of country. From the geographical features of the country, subject as it is to inundations on the full rise of Ganges and other bordering rivers, it will be obvious that any extraordinary drought of itself must affect the cultivation, especially of rice, and although artificial means of irrigation exist to a very large extent in all sections of the district in the shape of wells, embankments, water courses, and reservoirs, wells alone are clearly insufficient to meet the supply of water required for the rice cultivation, however useful they may partially be found for the rubbee and the poppy: all, it seems, must depend upon a good and seasonable fall of rain. Canals, connecting one river with another, intersecting the district in different localities, can only provide water when the rains are favourable. I leave it to scientific men to decide the question, but it strikes me that canals, if excavated, subject as the district is to inundations, will be found destructive to agricultural purposes. The Gunduck, in its full rise, on overflowing, has, I believe, and as I understand from people of local experience, been found destructive to cultivation, and hence the construction of expensive embankments, under charge of the Executive Department, Public Works, to check its sudden and rapid course towards which the zemindars of the district contribute.

With these preliminary remarks I now proceed to answer your questions *seriatim*, numbering the replies in the order of your inquiry:—

1. The Maharajah of Hutwa is the proprietor of several pergunnahs of the district. Pergunnah (1) Kalianpore Koseerh, (2) Sipat, (3) Putchlukh, (4) Chowbar, (5) Bara, (6) Bal, (7) Dhungsee, (8) Bargee, (9) Audur, (10) Nurhun, (11) Murhul, Manghee, Makergoa, in Zillah Sarun. In the pergunnahs marked, number 1, 2, 3, of the largest portions of the villages forming those pergunnahs in the rest of several villages and talookas. The Maharajah also owns villages in pergunnahs Mehsee and Bubra, in the Chumparun District, and certain villages in pergunnah Peero and Arrah in Shahabad, conferred as a jagheer by the Government for services during the mutiny. A few villages in the Gorruckpore District also belong to him. All the "ilaqa" of the Raj suffered from famine with some graduation with respect to the sections visited by the hail-storm; there the distress was of fearful extent. The cultivated and culturable area of the Raj approximating nearly to correctness, may be estimated at 100,000 beegahs.

2. The crops are bhadooee, aughunee, and rubbee; the first produces mukky, murooa, kodoo, sawan, tungnee, dhan, ooreed, soothnee, kund, and chenna; the second provides a dhan and a chenna crop. The third is productive of all geahoon, muttur, gram, urhur, murooa,

murooa, khessaree, kirao, sugar-cane and chenna: these are all edible articles for the people as well as for cattle, with some exceptions.

The bhadooee crop is sown in Asarh and gathered in Koar, the aghunee sown in Asarh and gathered in Aughun, and the rubbee is cultivated in Kartick, and gathered in Chyte and Bysakh. The proportions are bhadooee and rubbee two-thirds, and aghunee one-third.

3. The average produce has ranged from seven to eight maunds per beegah in fair seasons. Statistical information as to each class of crop produced during the last five years I regret cannot be furnished. It is unusual with the native zemindars to have a record of this nature.

4. A separate tabular statement, showing the selling prices of grain, is submitted, and, I trust, it will be found to contain full information.

5. In the month of Chyte 1273, corresponding with March 1866, the pressure from famine began to be felt generally, and it was immediately widely known, as people were flocking about for food, and dying in large numbers. Immediate measures were taken to relieve the needy by a supply of grain and cooked rations: the ration is distributed to this day. Employment was also given; a very large temple being under construction; a tank dug, pucka ghauts made to it, affording works and means of support to hundreds. Roads in different parts of Hutwa were put under construction to be connected with the existing public and ferry fund roads. The pressure from famine was so generally known, that no special communications were made from the Raj. A Famine Relief Fund was formed by the district officers, to which, irrespective of the local outlay of the Raj in providing means of support, contributions were sent. The means of showing relief put in progress by the Government officers of the district were certainly praiseworthy. For my own part, as member, at the time of the fund, I can conscientiously say that each one with extreme anxiety and fellow-feeling entered on the work of relief. The several indigo planters of the district also cheerfully co-operated, and took a benevolent part in assisting the distribution of food as well as in providing work for the poor and needy.

6. I regret I cannot speak from absolutely reliable data of the losses sustained by death and desertions, as no record appears to have been kept in the Raj of the actual population. Perhaps the police will be better able to supply this information. From all I can learn, and what I have personally observed since August last, I am credibly informed that the loss

By death is about - - - - - -	14,000
By desertion - - - - - - -	6,000

7. Twenty-two seers and a half, including village charges has been the hissa-hakimee in Bhuolee tenures from immemorial usage. The aughunee and rubbee crops having failed, loss was naturally sustained to a very great extent. The tenants of the Raj pay their rents as follow: In Koar, six annas; Kartick and Aughun, four annas; from Pous to Falgoon, four annas; Chyte and Bysakh, two annas. Consequent to the destitution, six annas instalment was postponed, and desertions on the other hand rendered outstandings, as a matter of course, totally irrecoverable.

8. The home produce of rice as well as of wheat and barley is apparently insufficient for feeding the population of the district. Much depend on importations from Bengal and other neighbouring districts for the supply of food. The exportations of the district in fair seasons are confined to mukky, leguminous plant produce, and liaginous seeds. The export and import trade were materially reduced by the drought.

9. The measures for relief, I have every reason to believe, were seasonably put in force, and as early as it was possible to organise plans for the desired relief, the principles that regulated the relief operations, I believe, were sound and judicious; grain was distributed, employment given, local works put in progress, contributions sought locally and from the Government. If the system was obnoxious to any objection it arose solely from the scarcity of grain, and the merciless conduct of grain dealers who stood out as speculators (whose actions were insusceptible of check or control) to demand high prices for the grain in store, prices which the labouring classes with or without a family would not possibly afford to pay.

10. The prospects of the current year are at present good, and if seasonable rain falls the harvest will be abundant. The bhadooee and aghunee crops have been gathered, the first fully equal to expectations, but a portion of the aghunee has suffered for want of sufficient rain to push the crop on to perfection. Anticipations of the rubbee at present are very fair. It remains to be seen what the out-turn eventually will be. Appearances are encouraging, and if the all-wise Dispenser of all events will mercifully and graciously look upon his people, such misery as has prevailed over the land will be greatly alleviated. Mukky is at present selling at the rate of eight pusarees for the rupee, and dhan at the rate of 10 pusarees, the local seer weight being 48 siccas.

11. It has already been answered in the preliminary remarks.

RATES of ARTICLES sold per Rupee from the Year 1861 to 1865 in Hutwa Raj Estates.

Names of Articles.	Rates of 1861.	Rates of 1862.	Rates of 1863.	Rates of 1864.	Rates of 1865.
	M. s. c.	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*
Rice, meheen, or very nice	– 25 3	– 26 8	– 26 –	– 17 12	– 15 –
„ "pooran," or old	– 39 7	– 39 –	– 39 –	– 24 –	– 18 –
„ "tauf," or clean	1 3 11	1 3 8	1 5 –	– 26 –	– 21 –
Coarse rice	1 7 8	1 6 8	1 6 8	– 27 4	– 22 –
Atta	– 36 –	– 34 –	– 30 –	– 26 –	– 16 –
Flour, or myda	– 27 –	– 24 –	– 22 –	– 19 –	– 11 8
Wheat	1 3 14	1 3 8	– 39 –	– 33 –	– 19 –
Oats	1 25 14	1 30 –	1 6 –	– 39 –	– 24 –
„ mixed with keras	1 25 8	1 30 –	1 6 –	– 39 –	– 24 –
Muttur, or pea	1 18 –	1 24 –	1 – –	– 12 8	– 20 –
Keras	1 – –	1 6 –	1 2 –	1 2 –	– 24 –
Mukky, or Indian corn	1 24 –	1 24 –	1 12 –	1 6 –	1 – –
Suttoo, meheen	– 36 –	1 – –	1 2 –	– 26 –	– 19 –
„ mota	1 5 –	1 6 –	1 – –	– 29 –	– 20 –
Gram, or bhoot	1 5 14	1 15 –	1 13 8	– 39 –	– 19 –
Rahur dhal, meheen	– 35 –	– 30 –	– 32 –	– 28 –	– 14 8
„ „ mota	1 6 –	– 39 –	1 2 –	– 35 –	– 18 –
Ooreed dhal	– 36 –	– 36 –	– 28 –	– 36 –	– 23 –
Dhal, mussoor, or keessaree	– 36 –	1 9 –	1 6 –	– 36 –	– 17 –
Basun	– 22 –	– 31 8	– 30 –	– 19 8	– 9 8
Dhooas	– 20 8	– 20 4	– 20 –	– 19 8	– 12 –
Moong	– 32 –	– 33 –	– 30 –	– 26 –	– 20 –
Mathee	1 18 –	1 24 –	1 18 –	– –	– 26 –
Rice, or dhan, meheen	1 24 –	1 18 –	1 12 –	– 39 –	– 30 –
„ „ mota	1 27 –	1 21 –	1 18 –	1 – –	– 33 –
Ooreed	1 1 –	1 – –	– 31 8	– 30 –	– 24 –
Kodo Chowl	1 12 12	1 6 –	1 6 –	– 30 –	– 24 –
Sathee, or bhadooee dan	1 30 –	1 24 –	1 18 –	– 39 –	– 33 –

MONTHLY RATES of Articles sold in the Year 1866 in the Hutwa Raj Estates.

Names of Articles.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	Decemb
	M. s. c.	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s.' c.*	*M. s.*
Mukky	1 2 –	– 36 –	– 33 –	–	–	–	– 21 –	– 21 –	1 2 –	1 6 8	1 3 –	1 3
Murooa	–	–	–	–	–	– 36 –	1 2 –	1 6 –	–	–	–	–
Swaan	–	–	–	–	–	1 6 –	1 6 –	–	–	–	–	–
Tangoony	–	–	–	–	–	– 36 –	1 2 –	–	–	–	–	–
Dhan, Bhadooee	– 33 –	– 33 –	– 33 –	– 29 –	– 25 –	– 22 –	– 24 –	– 37 8	1 3 –	1 – –	1 9 –	1 9
Ditto, Aghunee	– 33 –	– 33 –	– 33 –	– 29 –	– 25 –	– 20 –	– 24 –	–	– –	1 1 8	1 9 –	1 9
Chowl, meheen	– 15 –	– 15 –	– 13 –	– 13 –	– 12 –	– 11 –	– 11 –	– 12 –	– 12 –	– 13 –	– 13 –	– 13
Ditto, mota	– 22 4	– 22 –	– 22 –	– 19 –	– 17 –	– 14 8	– 13 12	– 17 –	– 22 –	– 36 –	– 37 –	– 37
Dhal, urhur	– 18 –	– 18 –	– 16 –	– 20 –	– 18 –	– 17 –	– 14 8	– 16 –	– 17 –	– 19 –	– 22 –	– 22
Oats, or jue	– 25 –	– 24 –	– 33 –	– 30 –	– 25 –	– 22 –	– 19 –	– 24 –	– 26 –	– 30 –	1 2 –	1 2
Wheat	– 18 12	– 18 –	– 23 –	– 23 –	– 22 –	– 19 –	– 17 –	– 19 –	– 19 8	– 24 –	– 25 –	– 25
Muttur, or pea	– 29 –	– 29 –	– 26 –	– 28 –	– 24 –	– 22 –	– 18 –	– 17 –	– 16 –	– 29 –	– 36 –	– 36
Gram	– 19 –	– 20 –	– 26 –	– 25 –	– 22 –	– 19 8	– 17 –	– 19 –	– 22 8	– 27 –	– 33 –	– 33
Keras	– 30 –	– 30 –	– 27 2	– 24 –	– 24 –	– 22 –	– 22 –	– 20 –	– 18 –	– 16 –	– 30 –	– 30
Rahur	– 22 –	– 22 –	– 26 –	– 24 –	– 22 –	– 20 –	– 19 –	– 20 8	– 22 –	– 24 –	– 30 –	– 30
Mussoree	– 21 –	– 21 –	– 27 –	– 23 –	– 22 –	– 20 –	– 18 –	– 19 –	– 18 –	– 22 –	– 25 –	– 25
Chenna	– 17 –	– 30 –	– 30 –	– 30 –	– 31 –	– 27 8	– 28 –	– 28 –	– 28 –	–	–	–
Ooreed	– 34 8	– 24 –	– 24 –	– 25 –	– 22 –	– 19 –	– 16 –	– 18 8	– 19 –	– 27 –	– 27 8	– 27

From Messrs. *Burrows, Thompson* & Co., of Jugdispore Estate, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., C.S., Commissioner, deputed to inquire into the late Scarcity and Distress in Behar (No. 6); dated 24th December 1866.

Sir,

We have the honour to submit the following replies to your queries:—

1. The answers following refer to an area of about 56,000 beegahs (35,000 acres) comprised in the Jugdispore jungle estate, with 49 villages adjoining, and Belgaon, all situated in Pergunnahs Beheea and Peeroo. Of the above, 40,000 beegahs (=25,000 acres), represent the cultivated rent-paying land.

2. The crops grown within said area may be classed as—

1st.—Bhadooee sown in Assar (June-July), reaped in Kooar (September, October). It consists principally of janera (bhoota), Indian corn, large seed.

2. Murwa, used for making bread.
3. Samma, a kind of rice.
4. Tangum, a kind of rice.
5. Ooreed (bhadooee), a kind of pea or dhal.
6. Sacrah dhan or sattee, early rice from broadcast sowings.

2nd. Aughunee sown in Assar, reaped in Aughun (November, December), viz.:

1. Paddy Ihruhur, "rope," or transplanted rice.
2. Koortee, dhal.
3. Mussooreea janera, small seed.
4. Ooreed (Aghunee).

3rd. Cheit or rubbee, viz., wheat, barley, gram, peas, chenna, sugar-cane, poppy, cotton, mustard, linseed, teel, rahur dhal, mussoor dhal, khessaree dhal—about 37,000 beegahs are sown with these crops, and 3,000 beegahs with indigo. The proportion on which each of the above crops is grown, taking the total cultivated area as 16, will be represented approximately by

Bhadooee	-	-	8
Aghunee	-	-	6
Chaitee -	-	-	2 and 8 for a "chaitee" or second crop

from the bhadooee land.

3. Taking 16 to represent a full crop, that of

1862	may be valued at	12
1863	„	12
1864	„	10
1865	„	8
1866	„	16

These figures indicate the general crop of each year, but the rice crop of the same years were about

1862	„	10
1863	„	8
1864	„	4
1865	„	4
1866	„	16

4. The selling price of various kinds of food at the dates named is shown in the list annexed as nearly as we can give them.

5. The rice crop of 1864 having failed, the poorer classes began early in 1865 to feel the influence of the scarcity. The pressure of higher prices was increasingly felt as the year advanced. In October of that year (1865) Mr. Maclean, officiating Collector, wrote to us on the subject, and we annex copy of our reply, which will show how matters then stood. Weekly returns were, in compliance with the requisition of Mr. Maclean, furnished by us of the prices at which grains of various kinds were selling in the bazars hereabouts. The fears and apprehensions expressed in our letter were fully realised, and we gradually increased our own weekly distribution of relief as the distress increased, and when the Relief Committee was formed, a daily distribution was commened at Peeroo and Jugdispore, the weekly one being continued at Beheea, to the extent shown in the returns already furnished to the Committee.

6. There was very little extreme distress in the villages of this estate, and there have been very few deaths from starvation in them. This results from various causes, the principal being that in spite of two bad seasons in succession, the ability of the tenants of the estate to support their own poor relations and dependents is now much greater than it was some years ago, and than is now that of the bulk of Assamees in Shahabad. This increased ability arises from better cultivation and greater efforts on their parts than was before usual with them, and this again seems to follow from the feeling of certainty which they now have, as to

to what they will have to pay in the shape of rent, &c., &c., and that they themselves will be allowed to benefit by the results of their labour and enterprise, and will not be fleeced indefinitely either by zemindar or zemindah's amlah. The advances made in respect of the opium cultivation, also contributed largely to reduce distress in these villages, as also advances on account jumooah, or irrigated indigo, and a sum of about 30,000 *l.* cash paid out amongst the labouring and most needy classes for work about our indigo field and factories.

The bulk of those who were relieved at the Beheea, Jugdispore, and Peeroo Centres were from villages outside our own "elaka;" some of them from places very distant, and it would, of course, have been better if relief could have been secured to them in their own localities, but it was no time for turning away any who were really in need.

7. Bhowlee, or payment in kind, was very general in the villages of this estate when they first came into our hands, seven or eight years ago; but we are gradually getting rid of it by arrangement with the bhowlee Assamees themselves, and there is now comparatively very little of it remaining. The change has been to the manifest advantage of both Assamees and zemindar, as the better crops which they now grow, and the rapid improvement in their condition demonstrates. The system of bhowlee tends very greatly to keep down the produce from a given area of land, owing to the absence of certainty on the part of the cultivator as to what he will be called on to pay, the feeling that the zemindar will probably take a large proportion of the increase which would result from his exertions, and the absence of that sense of definite responsibility which a man feels when he knows that he has a fixed rent to pay.

Rents are payable by four equal instalments in Kartik, Poose, Cheit, and Bysack, but practically the jumma is accepted by us at such time during the year as the ryots realise the procceds of their crops.

We do not expect that remission of the rent to any extent will be necessary, but we have had to give extra time to the extent of about one-fourth of our jumma.

8. The chief articles of export from the neighbourhood of Jugdispore are jagree (goor), linseed, mustard, wheat, castor, rahur, and ghee, and no large quantity of any article used for food is imported, except rice and salt, but during the past year, and the preceding one, the exports have been smaller, and the imports much larger than usual. The following figures indicate the extent to which imports have increased. A Return which we have before us shows, that while the receipts at Beheea Railway Station for inwards traffic amounted, in the last half of 1864, to 11,750 rupees, they amounted, in the same period of 1865, to 44,750 rupees, the bulk of the increase being for carriage of rice and other grain. This large increase will also serve to indicate how very much greater would have been the distress hereabouts but for the existence of the railway. We have not by us at present the return for the first half of this year, but the imports this year also have been very considerable.

9. There can be no doubt that if the relief operations of the Government had commenced earlier, many would have been saved from the extreme starvation which overtook them before the help came, and from consequent weakness, disease, and death. Another beneficial result would have been that large numbers of those who subsequently became too weak to work at all could have been set to do something as a condition of relief, and the centres of relief, instead of being the last refuge of starving, weak, and diseased multitudes, might have been centres of remuneration for useful labour in desirable repairs or improvements on roads, ahars, tanks, and other public works.

It appears to us that one of the most palpable and decided lessons of the recent distress is the urgent necessity for a Poor Law in Bengal, some enactment which would bind the zemindars and inhabitants of each locality to support their own poor, or a general assessment, which would enable the Government to arrange systematic relief of the really helpless and dependent.

10. The prospects of the people hereabouts for the coming year, judging from the crops which have been lately gathered, and those which are still growing, are exceedingly good; but if prices are kept up, or rise, in consequence of a large export for the supply of those districts which have again had bad crops, and are still very badly off, the poorer classes in this neighbourhood will, of course, again feel the pinch, the more so as there can be no stocks to draw upon.

11. There is, in our opinion, a ready and most efficient remedy at hand for "such a cause of failure" as that which brought about the calamity under which the district has been suffering so greatly. The grand and efficient remedy would undoubtedly be to adopt some such scheme as that projected by Colonel Dickens for utilising the waters of the Soane, and some of those smaller streams which carry off the drainage of the Kymore Hills through Shahabad. The execution of such works would transform Shahabad into a garden of plenty, and render it one of the most fruitful districts in India. Considerable and surprising results may be accomplished in the meantime, however, by a small outlay on weirs and sluices in the nullahs and ahars (or reservoirs) which exist in the district. By an outlay of about 1,000 rupees on a small work of this description at Belgaon, we have ourselves secured water enough for some 3,000 or 4,000 beegahs of rice, which, without it, was never certain, and it is calculated that the water thus retained has secured to the cultivators of this village a crop worth this year not less than 35,000 rupees, and, last year, over 40,000 rupees,

rupees, and the water may now be, and is, by the cultivators, regarded as a permanent certainty. We propose constructing similar weirs in other of our villages, and one considerably larger on the Bunus, at Surbarsa, in a bund raised some years ago on that river for filling a watercourse which runs thence to Jugdispore, and supplies several villages on its way.

In our experience, whenever water for irrigation has been rendered in any degree certain, in that same degree has the value of, and demand for, the land increased. To any one really aware of the value of water to the cultivator in this district, it is saddening to see the continual waste of such a splendid supply as is possessed by Shahabad, containing, as it does, a population fully alive to the value of irrigation.

ANSWER TO QUESTION No 4.

PRICES FROM JUGDISPORE BAZAR.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.	1866.
	December.	December.	December.	December.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
	Seers.	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*
Janera—per Rupee	32	34	40	24	19½	5½	15	15	17	–	–	–	–	21	24	21	21½
Saerah „	40	32	44	27	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	30	30	27
Shattee „	40	32	44	27	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	30	30	27
Tengoon „	35	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bhadooee ooreed „	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Paddy „	38	45	43	26	21	–	–	–	–	–	18	18	18	18	–	28	32
Peas „	29	50	53	22½	11½	12	12½	19½	17	15½	13	12¼	11½	11½	14	14¼	19
Mussoor „	26	39	44	22	11½	11	13	13	17½	15½	13½	13	13	12½	12¼	12¼	16
Barley „	30	39	42	21	12½	12½	12½	–	–	17½	14¼	13½	13	13½	18	15¼	23½
Wheat „	26	24½	24	17½	11½	12½	10½	10½	14½	14	11	11	10¼	10¼	11½	12¼	13
Gram „	27	35	34	22	11½	11	12½	11¾	12	15½	13½	12¼	11½	11½	12½	13½	15½
Kessaree „	46	65	66	49	16	16	16	–	20	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rahur „	30	35	31	29	14	14	14	15	14	17	14	15	15	13	13	13	15
Goor „	16	15	19½	19½	17	16½	17	16½	13	11½	10½	10½	11	9½	9½	9	13
Rice (woosnah) „	25	27	29	17½	13	13	12½	11½	13	10¼	10½	9¾	9	8¼	8¼	15	20

From *W. Thomson*, Esq., to *A. T. Maclean*, Esq., C. S., Collector;
dated 28th October 1865.

Sir,

YOUR No. 625 of 23rd instant. The available stock of food in this district is at present exceedingly small.

There was, as you are doubtless aware, a very great failure of both rice and grain crops last season, and the bazars in this neighbourhood for several months past have been almost entirely supplied through imports by the railway.

Compared with the ordinary condition of things, I suppose that the quantity of rice and such grains as form the staple food of the masses does not exceed one-tenth, and is probably not equal to much, if any, more than three or four months' consumption.

Without importations prices would, within a month, rise enormously, and two months there would be a large amount of absolute starvation. With the exception of a few partial showers there has been hardly any rain in the district since the middle of August, and none at all hereabout since the 25th September. The consequence of this unseasonable weather is that about one-half of the rice crop has already perished; that unless there be a general rain within the next six or seven days, another fourth, or a still larger proportion will be lost, and a further serious consequence, which will result if rain does not fall within 15 or 20 days, will be a second failure of the rubbee or cold weather grain crops, gram, peas, barley, oats, wheat, &c., which, with rice, form the staple food of the masses. The result would, I fear, be

be such an increase of the distress already prevailing through the short crops of last season as is most saddening to contemplate. I annex a list showing the present and ordinary prices of the staple grains, and will be happy to send a similar memorandum weekly, as also to afford any further information that I can which you may require.

	Now Selling.	Ordinary Price at this Season.
Rice	11 seers per rupee	25 seers.
Gram	10½ „	25 „
Wheat	12 „	23 „
Barley	12 „	27 „
Janera	15 „	40 „
Attah	10 „	20 „
Dhal	10 „	25 „

From *G. Anderson*, Kamtaul Factory, in the District of Tirhoot, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., &c. &c. &c.; dated 20th December 1866.

Sir,

In reply to the questions proposed in your Circular letter of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to state—

1. My factory is about 12 miles north of Durbungah. With some trifling exception the rice crop in all the villages held by me was a fair one—perhaps 10 to 12 annas.

In round numbers these villages may be in extent 9,000 beegahs, and in rental (inclusive of seyerat, *i. e.*, rent of hât, julkar, &c.) 22,000 rupees.

2. Rice is the chief produce of this part of the country; a small proportion of land being sown in autumn or spring crops, which consequently affect the supply of food but to a limited extent.

The spring crops consist of barley and oil seeds; the autumn crops of grains, called *murwah, samma, goomree.* Rice is mostly planted out in July and August after plentiful fall of rain; requires frequent and opportune showers to ripen it, and is cut in December.

3. During the first five years there has scarcely, I think, been a full 16 anna crop. It has averaged 10 to 12 annas. In 1864 it was, undoubtedly, very short.

4. The following is the range of prices for the above period:—

	Price at Commencement.	At Close of Year.
Year ending in December 1862	25 seers	20 seers.
„ „ 1863	15 „	10 „
„ „ 1864	20 „	15 „
„ „ 1865	25 „	10 „
„ „ 1866	13 „ in June	10 „
	In August, September, and partly October	6 „

when the market got easier, in consequence of the coming in of the autumn crops, which were unusally fine.

5. In the autumn of 1865, owing to the reduced stock of old rice and the anticipated shortness of the new crop, dearness and scarcity became painfully perceptible. Rice selling, &c., hard to be got, at 10 seers per rupee.

6. Government were aware of the expected scarcity about the latter end of October, but it was believed that Tirhoot having the prospect of a fair crop in the larger part of the district, the distress would be partial.

7. Very few deaths and very few desertions.

8. Rent paid in kind is generally, although not always, determined by the actual produce, and of course a failure of crop falls upon both proprietor and tenant.

The usual kists of payment in this part of the country are—

12 annas up to January.
4 annas up to September.

My own rents are not collected very stringently, and I am generally pleased if I get 16 annas from "hâl-beekya or old balances and current year's rents taken together." I find that I collected much the same amount in 1866 as in 1865, viz., about 20,000 rupees, besides expenses of collection, wages of putwaries, &c., which were also realised.

9. A good deal of grain is exported from Tirhoot yearly. Importation, I should say, none. During last cold weather, undoubtedly, much was drawn out of the district, which eventually made matters worse than ever.

10. All

10. All Tirhoot suffered more or less from the prevailing scarcity, but as actual famine was confined to the northern part of the district, and, but for the exportation above alluded to, it would not have pressed so hard even there. The difficulty latterly with which Government, and all who endeavoured to relieve the distressed and starving, had to contend with, was not so much the want of funds, which might have been got, but the want of grain to purchase.

It was generally believed that the ryots or cultivators would, with more or less difficulty, get through the year of want, and no doubt, except in part of the northern district, they have done so. The great sufferers have been the beggars and unemployed work-people, and to relieve these classes the efforts of Government were directed with a success, no doubt, far below what it desired. But where was the grain to come from? An almost universal want was throughout the country, and every 100 maunds taken out of any particular locality for any remote part only made things worse for the inhabitants of the place.

11. I am most happy to think that the present year's crop is generally, if not a full one, a 14-anna one, and prices are opening at the old rates, 25 seers per rupee, and no appearance of exportation, which promises well for us, and indicates no want elsewhere.

12. With our sloping country and hill streams, I should think a system of irrigation very practicable. Inundation does very little for Tirhoot, and we are altogether dependent upon the rainfall, which is, I think, perceptibly less than it used to be. Even this year it is only because that the rain has fallen opportunely we have got a good crop, there has actually been very little in excess of last year's fall.

From *Lewis Cosserat*, Esq., Manager of Burhoga Factory, in the District of Chuprah, to *F. M. Halliday*, Collector of Sarun, Chaprah (No. 8); dated 26th December 1866.

Sir,

I NOW have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum, No. 258, of the 7th December, and to reply, as far as I am able, to the questions given in Mr. Cockerill's circular.

1. I hold the 16 annas of 36 villages in farm to the Burhoga concern, and hold shares in 19 other estates. Of these 55 villages, 45 are in pergunnah Barrai, 4 in Muchul, and 6 in Dinegshai, all in zillah Sarun.

The area of land under cultivation in the above villages amounts per rent-roll of 1,273 to about 12,000 beegahs. Of the above area, about one-fourth is under indigo cultivation, all neezabad, one-fourth is *bonâ fide* paddy land, in which only dhan crops are grown, and the remaining two-fourths are high lands.

2. The paddy is a single crop, sown or planted at the commencement of the rainy season, and reaped between the latter end of October and December, according to the description of paddy sown.

3. The bhadooee followed by various cold-weather crops sown in the same land. The bhadooee consists principally of Indian corn or "mukky" sown in the best lands, whilst the second quality of land is generally laid down in small grains, such as samma, murwah, kodoo, janera, and an early sort of paddy.

Ooreed, janera, cotton, rahur dhal, and various other grains, are sown with the mukky, except when the succeeding crop is to be poppy, and in such cases mukky alone is put in. The bhadooee crop is sown at the commencement of the rainy season. The light grains, as samma, &c. &c., are taken off the fields in September, and Indian corn early in October. Cotton and rahur are harvested in April to May; when cotton and rahur are sown the fields are only tilled once in the year, but when these have not been sown, the lands are generally laid down in rubbee or poppy. The rubbee crop consists in the neighbourhood of wheat, barley, peas, gram, &c. &c., more or less mixed with linseed and mustard, but the best lands are, generally speaking, sown in poppy. Rubbee is sown late in October or in November, and harvested in April. Poppy is sown late, as the weather becomes colder.

Besides these stock crops, a large portion of land is laid down in sweet potatoes, and where the soil is suitable, some considerable portion is kept in sugar cane, hemp, or other crops as a change.

4. I am unable to obtain any accurate statements on this head, but, as a rule, an average amount of rain falling in due season ensures an average crop; for instance, if the rains have set in at the proper time, and there is not too much of it in August, the bhadooee crop will be good. With heavy rain about the end of August and throughout September, the dhan crops will also be good; if rain falls heavily in the end of September, an abundance of moisture will also be secured for the rubbee, but this crop depends, in a great measure, on timely showers, in the cold weather, for full returns. Again, with regard to dhan, whilst heavy rain in September will swamp the crops in the bottoms of churs, it will be the cause of a plentiful yield from the higher lands, which would otherwise dry up and not produce grain at all.

I append a memorandum of the rain-falls from the year 1859-60 to 1865-66, with an account, as far as memory serves me, of the different seasons as regarded the crops.

Years.	Rain per Guage from 1st November of each year to 31st March.	Rain per Guage, from 1st April to 31st August.	Rain per Guage from 1st September to 31st October.	Total.	
1859–60 -	- -	26·925	8·550	35·475	Rubbee was good from having a fair quantity of rain in September and October 1860, and fair rain in the cold weather to secure the crop. Dhan and bhadooee of 1860–61 both above average.
1860–61 -	1·825	32·500	10·500	44·825	
1861–62 -	1·200	32·000	9·200	42·400	Rubbee and bhadooee both good. A partial failure of dhan in the high-lying lands.
1862–63 -	None -	34·750	8·500	43·250	Rubbee poor; too much rain for bhadooee. Dhan the same as in the previous year.
1863–64 -	·800	22·800	6·100	29·700	All crops much below average, and dhan nearly a total failure.
1864–65 -	3·150	33·900	5·500	42·550	Rubbee very bad, owing to want of moisture at sowing time. Dhan good in the low lands, and a failure in the high-laying fields; too much rain for the bhadooee.
1865–66 -	2·100	29·400	16·100	47·650	The rubbee in this neighbourhood was totally destroyed by hail. The bhadooee crop was first-rate, and the dhan crops, as a rule, were the finest I have seen within these years. The want of seed or badness of its quality is against a good rubbee crop for 1866–67.

4. I am unable to reply to the first part of this question, but for 1865–66 the rates have been as follows:—

Per Calcutta Bazaar Weight.	Mukky.	Rice.	Peas.	Barley.	Wheat.	Grain.	Rahur.	Oureed.
November 1865 to January 1866, three months - -	15	12	9	11	10	10	12	12
February to April, three months - - - - -	11m.	9	10	10	.9m.	9m.	10	10
May to October, four months - - - - - -	11	8	8m.	8m.	8m.	9	9	9
November, one month - - - - - - -	60	18	9	12	8	9	10	10
December, one month - - - - - - -	60	21	12	18	12	12	12	15

5. From 1863–64 want has been on the increase, owing to the enhanced rates caused by the very insufficient rains of that year and consequent failure of crops, but there was no reason to apprehend actual famine, which was, in my opinion, not so much caused by the want of district grown crops (except locally where they were destroyed by hail in 1865–66), as by the absence of imports of dhan and rice from the north, and the drain of its own supplies to that quarter.

Such, I believe, was the general impression; but locally, in consequence of a very severe hail-storm,* which received the standing crops over several miles of country in the northern portion of Sarun, it became evident to me that the people in this neighbourhood could not strain over the few months without material assistance. The Commissioner of Patna and the Collector of Sarun were here on the 16th February, when I represented the state of affairs to both of them, and expressed my fears for the future. Funds were at once placed at my disposal, which enabled me to give work to the labouring classes on the public roads, and from the 25th February to nearly the close of the official year, relief was, in this way, afforded to upwards of 400 people per day.

I also recommended that a remission of the season's advances on the poppy crops might be made, and offered to remit four-sixteenths of the year's rents due to me from the villages where the crops had been totally destroyed by hail, provided the advances on the poppy were given up; my suggestion was not carried out, but I ceased to collect rents for the year, and took other active measures to relieve the distress. I advanced cash to any of my ryots who were inclined to grow indigo for me in their own fields. I also advanced loans to landowners, whose estates were in lease to the concern, to enable them to help themselves and their people, and in many instances supplied dhan seed to such as were unable to purchase any for themselves.

Beyond my first communication to the Commissioner of Patna and the Collector of the district, I did not officially bring the subject to notice.

About

* On 8th February 1866.

About May of 1866 it seemed to be generally known and tacitly understood that there must be famine in the land, and that assistance from private sources would not alone be sufficient to alleviate the distress which had then become general.

In June I was requested to take charge of a relief depôt formed at Burhoga, and from the 27th of that month I commenced giving out grain gratuitously; work on the public roads commenced from the 18th July, and both systems of relief continued in force to the end of December.

6. It is impossible to ascertain how far the villages have been depopulated, but old men, women, and children have died off in numbers; still out of 3,159 heads of families, according to rent-rolls of the 55 villages in my farm, only five holdings have become vacant through death or desertion. Doubtless many of the members of these 3,159 families and others of the labouring class died during the famine, but they were not so many as might have been expected. Latterly, as the weather became colder, many died from fever, ague, dysentery, and cholera; but at the break-up of the rains mortality is generally increased, and in 1866 it was no doubt increased in consequence of the previously impoverished state of the people.

7. Payment of rent in kind is unknown, excepting for small portions of paddy land which the ryots refuse to cultivate on other terms, in consequence of such land being particularly liable to suffer from inundation, &c. The instalments payable by my ryots are usually made as follows:—six-sixteenths on reaping the bhadooee crop, six-sixteenths on harvesting the dhan, and four-sixteenths when the rubbee is cut.

In 1273 fuslee my collections were below this usual rate still from the villages untouched by the hail. I collected twelve-sixteenths, and from the others I did not collect more than ten-sixteenths. I am, however, happy to state that, in consequence of the measures which were taken, my rents, with some few exceptions, will this year be paid in full.

8. In ordinary years the exportation of Indian corn to the north is considerable, but nothing equal to the importation of paddy and rice from that quarter. In 1865-66 this trade was completely upset; the Indian corn was exported as usual, but owing to the failure of the dhan crops to the north and in the Terai, there was no import trade in return. Late in the year large quantities of grain (wherever stored) were also exported, and to this double drain, without the usual returns, much of the distress which prevailed may be ascribed.

9. The assistance afforded was, in my opinion, commensurate with the extent of the calamity, and the principles of the relief were good enough, but in my opinion the aid was not given sufficiently early. The extent to which distress prevailed was never, I believe, suspected until the relief depôts were established; and when these were suddenly opened in the mofussil, the influx of the famine-stricken was so great that it became impossible for private individuals to carry out the wishes of Government with perfect success; there was no time to organize a systematical mode of proceeding, or to arrange for efficiently sheltering the numbers who came from a distance in a famished state.

10. The crops for the present year are abundant, but if there is again a strain on the resources of this district to meet the requirements of others, I fear that prices will soon be increased. At present there is little or no grain coming from the north.

11. In my opinion such a system of irrigation as that which pertains in the north-west is not necessary for this district, at least not in this part of it; perhaps an increased number of sluice-gates on the Gunduck embankments might be beneficial, and the sinking of wells may be encouraged with much benefit.

From *B. S. Hickey*, Esq., Manager, Bellsund Factory, Tirhoot, to *A. C. Mangles*, Esq., Collector of Tirhoot; dated —— 1867.

Sir,

I NOW beg to enclose the answers to the questions forwarded in your circular, bearing date 1st December 1866, as also memoranda 435 and 436. I would have sent in the return before, but delayed so as to have the most correct information I could procure.

Answer to Circular from *B. S. Hickey*, Esq., Manager of Bellsund Factory, Tirhoot.

1. Bellsund factory leases 80 villages, some in part only; the cultivated lands in the above villages amount to 40,000 beegahs, and uncultivated 15,000 beegahs; there are 300 beegahs of recoverable land in pergunnahs Bubra, Turrianee, Mahala, Bharwara, and Teeluckchamur.

Dhan (rice)	20,000	beegahs.
Rubbee (barley, &c.)	8,000	„
Bhadooee (mukky, &c.)	8,200	„

2. Mukky, marwah, sattee, sammah, and chenna are sown in Jeyt and Assar, and reaped in Assin; dhan, koortee, ooreed, allooah, and goor are sown in Assar and Seawan, and reaped

reaped in Aughan and Poos; wheat, rahurree, boot, mussoor, karawo, sursoo and teesee are sown in Kartick and Aughan, and reaped in Cheit and Bysack.

Dhan	crop	half.
Rubbee	„	quarter.
Bhadooee	„	quarter

3. The average of crops for the last five years, say 10 annas.

Rates of Grain per Rupee.	Marwah, &c., Mukky.	Samma, Kodoo, &c., Coronee.	Ooreed.	Dhan.	Koorthee.	Jow and Khessaree.	Sursoo, Tesee, Boot, and Mussoor.	Allooah and Soothnee.	Wheat and Rahurree.
	M. s. c.	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*	*M. s. c.*
December 1861	1 0 0	1 20 0	0 25 0	1 15 0	0 30 0	1 10 0	0 20 0	2 20 0	0 30 0
„ 1862	1 0 0	1 20 0	0 25 0	1 15 0	0 30 0	1 10 0	0 20 0	2 20 0	0 25 0
„ 1863	0 30 0	1 0 0	0 20 0	1 5 0	0 25 0	1 0 0	0 17 8	2 0 0	0 22 8
„ 1864	0 27 8	0 35 0	0 17 8	1 0 0	0 22 8	0 35 0	0 17 8	2 0 0	0 20 0
„ 1865	0 20 0	0 30 0	0 15 0	0 35 0	0 20 0	0 30 0	0 15 0	1 30 0	0 20 0
„ 1866	0 15 0	0 20 0	0 12 0	0 15 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	1 0 0	0 5 0
Variation of prices from 1st December 1865 to 30th November 1866.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
From 1st December to 28th February	0 25 0	0 25 0	0 10 0	0 25 0	0 12 8	0 12 0	0 12 8	0 35 0	0 7 8
From 31st March to 31st May	0 20 0	0 20 0	0 10 0	0 20 0	0 10 0	0 10 8	0 10 0	- -	0 7 0
From 1st June to 6th October	0 10 0	0 10 0	7 8 0	0 10 0	0 7 8	0 7 8	0 7 8	- -	0 7 0
November	0 15 0	0 20 0	0 12 8	0 17 8	0 12 8	0 12 8	0 12 8	- -	0 12 8

Vide Memorandum No. 61, forwarded, in original, to the Commissioners of Revenue, Patna.
(signed) *A. C. Mangles*,
Collector.
Dated 26 June 1866.

5. Distress was first felt in December 1865, and famine occurred in June, July, and August. Wrote to the district Government officers about the distress on the 28th May 1866, and received money to buy grain for distribution accordingly. Also wrote to the owners of the concern on the 25th June, who sanctioned an increase of wages to the servants, and the distribution of some thousands of rupees amongst the poorer Assamees to enable them to purchase seed to sow, their lands then being empty.

6. Owing to the famine, about 20 per cent. of Assamees have been lost to the villages; one-fourth died and three-fourths absconded.

7. In this concern there are about 300 beegahs in which the ryots pay rents in kind; on account of the scarcity, rents were not collected.

In Assin 4 annas (usual kist), in Aughan 8, in Cheit 2, and in Bhadro 2 annas; only 10 annas rents have been collected, owing to the famine, and the money lent to ryots to buy seed to sow their lands has not been realised.

8. In ordinary years there is always a plentiful supply of food in this part of the district, but owing to the high prices of grain in the southern districts, when the dhan crop was cut last season, most of the out-turn was sent south, leaving this district without grain.

9. I think the measures adopted by the Government officers, as also the principles which regulated the relief operations, were taken at the right time, and fully carried out.

10. Prices will be high this season, and distress felt principally in the northern parts of this district, where grain is scarce at present.

11. I don't think the country could be irrigated much more than at present. In fact, in the rains it is flooded.

From *G. Drummond*, Esq., Proprietor of Mouzah Umbanurbirpore, Pergunnah Arrah, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., on special deputation to inquire into the circumstances attending the recent Famine (No. 10); dated 14th December 1866.

Sir,

In reference to the circular issued by you, dated 27th November 1866, I have the honour to reply to the best of my ability, but owing to absence from the district for nearly three years, and having only returned to it two months since, when the distress had ceased, I fear any information I can give will not be of much avail.

1st. I am proprietor of Mouzah Umbanurbirpore, pergunnah Arrah; it has a total area of

of 2,100 local beegahs, all in cultivation, less 150 beegahs or so, taken up in villages, trees, bunds, roads, &c.

2nd. The crops sown are dhan, Indian corn, janera, &c., and the usual rubbee or cold weather crop, as wheat, barley, peas, &c.; about three-fourths of the land is sown annually in dhan.

3rd. During past five years the average produce has been, in 1862 a full crop; 1863 a full crop; 1864 a 10-anna crop; 1865 an 8-anna crop; 1866 a full crop.

4th. *See* annexed Tabular Statements, numbers 1 and 2.

5th. Absence from the district precludes my answering this.

6th. From the most reliable information I can procure (and I believe in it), nine deaths (9) occurred from the effects of the scarcity. They were people who were alone and without relations or connections in the village, and they became very weak, and had no one to look after them or go to Arrah, four miles distant, for food for them, where it was being distributed by the authorities. They were not cultivators, four of them were decrepit and lived by begging, and the remainder by labouring for others; they were, with one exception, what is called by the natives "lawarris." There was no desertion of homesteads.

7th. None of the rent is payable in kind; it is all money payment; the scarcity caused greater delay than usual in getting in the rents, but eventually they were all realised or nearly so.

8th. There are neither exports nor imports.

9th. Not being at the time in the district I cannot speak personally, but from what I used to hear from my village servants when they came to me occasionally at Dinapore, I was led to believe, as ample measures as could be under the circumstances were taken for the relief of the distressed.

10th. From the more than average out-turn of the bhadooee and dhan crops lately reaped, and good promises of the rubbee crop, the prospects of the food supply for the coming year are very favourable, but things have so changed of late years I could not venture an opinion as to prices likely to rule.

11th. Irrigation would be a certain remedy against the effects of a drought, and I believe it would be quite feasible by digging canals, and to feed which there would be no want of water from the Soane and other rivers running through the district. I have never been in a district where the difference between an irrigated and an unirrigated field is so palpable as in this; the flourishing poppy cultivation is a proof of what can be done by irrigation. It is, I believe, superior to that of Tirhoot, where irrigation is not necessary for its culture, and I have heard that it pays the cultivator better than in Tirhoot, notwithstanding the extra expense of wells and watering which the Shahabad ryot is put to; without irrigation there would not be a beegah of poppy cultivation in all Shahabad, and it is but reasonable to suppose that other crops would benefit in proportion were there the means of irrigation at command. I have often been struck in observing the eagerness with which the Shahabad ryot grasps its every drop of water he can procure to throw on his field; he labours in the proper season night and day at it.

STATEMENT No. 1.

SELLING PRICES of FOOD at Mouzah, Umbanurbirpore, Pergunnah Arrah, at the close of each Year, from December 1861 to December 1865, in Seers of 80 Sicca Weight per Rupee.

ARTICLES of FOOD.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
Rice (cheapest sort)	25	30	25	20	15
Wheat	24	24	24	20	16
Barley	40	48	48	32	20
Boot, gram	32	40	40	28	20
Rahur dall	32	40	40	23	20
Khessaree dall	46	72	60	32	20
Peas	40	56	44	32	20
Indian corn	40	44	40	28	24
Janera	32	36	32	24	20
Marwah	32	36	32	24	20
Kodoo	48	56	48	36	28
Budjra	32	32	32	24	20

STATEMENT No. 2.

VARIATION of PRICES of FOOD at Mouzah, Umbanurbirpore, Pergunnah Arrah, in each Month, from December 1865 to November 1866, in Seers of 80 Sicca Weight per Rupee.

ARTICLES of FOOD.	December 1865.	January 1866.	February 1866.	March 1866.	April 1866.	May 1866.	June 1866.	July 1866.	August 1866.	September 1866.	October 1866.	November 1866.
	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.	Seers per Re.
Rice (cheapest sort)	15	15	15	15	15	14	12	12	10	10	16	20
Wheat	16	16	16	16	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Barley	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	16	14	14	20
Boot, gram	20	20	20	20	18	16	16	16	16	12	12	20
Rahur dall	20	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	14	12	16
Khessaree dall	20	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	12	12	16
Peas	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	16	12	12	20
Indian corn	24	24	24	24	20	20	16	16	16	16	20	24
Janera	20	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	20
Marwah	20	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	20
Kodoo	28	24	24	24	20	20	20	18	16	16	24	28
Budjra	20	20	20	20	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	20

REMARKS

These are the rates at which the grain was sold by the ryots in the village to bunnehas and others for re-sale, and are somewhat under the bazar rate. The difference may be between two and three seers per rupee.
The same remark applies to Statement No. 1.

From *J. Christian*, Esq., Lessee of Villages in Pergunnah Uturkund, &c., in the District of Bhaugulpore, to the Collector of Monghyr; dated 28th December 1866.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter, No. 921, of the 17th ultimo, annexing a circular from F. R. Cockerell, Esq., on deputation to inquire into the circumstances of the late famine, and in reply beg to state that from my not being on the spot I am not able to give the required information so definitely and satisfactorily as I could have wished.

1st. I am lessee of villages in pergunnahs Uturkund, Kubkhund, and Nisenkpore—Koodha, in Bhaugulpore Zillah; the lands in these villages comprise—

Cultivated	20,000 Beegahs.
Uucultivated	5,000 „

The pole by which the beegah is measured is 9 feet 9 inches, or 6½ cubits.

2nd. The principal products are paddy, marwah, janera, moong, and wheat.

3rd. Proportion of produce—

In 1862 and 1863	¾	Unit being considered as a whole or average produce.
„ 1864	⅝	
„ 1865	½	
„ 1866	¾	

5th. The pressure from scarcity of food began to be felt from August 1865. I began to take steps to meet the calamity in October 1865, by making arrangements for getting in a quantity of paddy. I did not communicate with any Government officer as to my apprehensions.

6th. I have no reliable data to give the proportion of depopulation caused, but I venture to say that about two or three per centum by death and desertion.

7th. The

7th. The custom of payment of rent in kind does not prevail to any extent. Instalments vary in different villages, but generally I may say they are thus—

One-fourth in September against the marwah crop.
One-fourth in December and January against paddy crop.
One-fourth in March and April against rubbee crop.

I had only to postpone the instalments in December 1865 owing to the drought.

8th. About one-third of the paddy is usually exported, the other crops hardly.

In the past season 1865-66 about one-half the crop was exported.

9th. The district officer did not take means at a sufficiently early time, and, in my opinion, they were not commensurate to the relief needed; the centres of distribution not having been ramified.

10th. Prospects very favourable and prices very satisfactory.

11th. No means to avert famine arising by drought. Irrigation not practicable. No permanent collection of water would be available in a season of drought.

From *P. R. R. Duff*, Esq., Rajpore Factory, Bhaugulpore, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., on Special Deputation to inquire into the Circumstances attending the recent Famine; dated 22nd December 1866.

Sir,

I HAVE received your communication, dated 27th November, and in reply regret to state that circumstances will not permit of my returning at present to my factory which, if I could do, would enable me to give answers to all the questions put by you, and enter into all the minor details required in connection with the late famine.

I beg, however, to subjoin answers to some of the questions, and trust they may prove of service in forwarding your views.

1. There are no farms, putnees or zemindarees, attached to the factory of Rajpore, which is in the Naridigar pergunnah. All facts stated by me must be considered to refer only to the two pergunnahs of Naridigur and Mulnee Gopal.

2. The chief crops yielding food for the people in these districts are as follows :—

(A.) *Paddy.*—Both aughunee and bhadooee. The aughunee paddy is sown (broadcast) in the low lands and jheels chiefly in the month of February and beginning of March, and is also transplanted in the months of June and July, and sometimes as late as the commencement of August. As soon as a sufficient fall of rain has supplied the necessary moisture, the young plants having previously been sown thickly in the vicinity of the villages, are plucked up and put into the fields, which are well ploughed, whilst the rain is still lodging in them. This latter operation causes the whole upper surface of the land to become so soft that there is no difficulty in burying the root of the young paddy deep in the soil. The paddy seed having been plucked up will still bear to be kept three or four days out of ground if placed in water.

The paddy sown in February and March, as well as what is transplanted in June, July, and August, is all gathered in about the same time, that is, commencing from about the 20th November and continuing up to the first week in January.

(B.) The bhadooee paddy is sown broadcast in March and April, and cut in August and beginning of September. This crop, however, is not much of a stand-by, but coming in at a time when food is generally dearest, it usually affects the market prices of the previous year's grain.

(C.) *Toree* or mustard is sown broadcast in October, and taken off the ground in January and beginning of February.

(D.) (Koorthee) a crop sown in September, and gathered in at the end of December and commencement of January.

(E.) Wheat sown at the end of October and beginning of November, and cut in the end of March and commencement of April.

(F.) *Marwah* sown at the same time as bhadooee paddy, and cut also with it.

(G.) Janera sown in August, and gathered in at the end of December and beginning of January. Of these various crops I am of opinion that nine-sixteenths of the cultivated land are taken up by paddy (aughunee and bhadooee) and the remaining seven-sixteenths by the other crops above mentioned, and by other crops too small to be herein named. Marwah has a good share of land set aside for its cultivation, the others about equal, though this year koorthee has been extensively sown, more so than other years.

 3 and 4. To

3 and 4. To these questions I am unable to reply, not having had the time to inquire into such minute details as are required by you, especially as I cannot return to my factory within the time mentioned in your letter, where I could gain this information.

5. Searcity of food was first felt in these parts in the month of May, and gradually increased each month as every kind of grain became dearer, till coarse rice finally sold for only 7 and 8 seers (16 gunda weight) per rupee. At these rates even it at last became difficult to obtain rice, for those who had any store held back, hoping that prices would rise still higher.

The only measures taken by planters in this district during the time of famine were, I believe, to increase to some extent the pay of the coolies employed in their factories. None of them could give grain, being in the habit of keeping only a sufficient supply for their own use.

6. No villages have been depopulated owing to the famine, either by death or desertion of homesteads, and if any cases of death did occur, I am of opinion that the persons who died were strangers from other western districts, as Tirhoot and Chumparun.

7. Having no zemindarees, and, consequently, no tenants, all the information I can afford regarding the payment of rents is what I have become acquainted with from observation and hearsay. Each zemindar has usually his own mode of collecting his rents; some take a small portion at the commencement of the year and the balance after the aughunee is gathered in. Others take the rents in three or four instalments, except in the instances of very poor ryots, in which cases they are obliged to collect the rent at seasons when the cultivators can best afford to pay; in fact, I may say there is no settled system in vogue by which zemindars are guided. To the best of my belief I do not think that in any instances have landholders this year on account of the famine postponed the payments of rent, or made any difference from the method employed in ordinary years.

In some villages the payment of rent in grain does exist. This is a thing very profitable to the landholder; but does not appertain, generally speaking, to any great extent. For instance, in proof that this is profitable to the zemindar, take the case where a man cultivates a beegah of paddy land, the average yield of which is 30 maunds; he would thus have to give one-half the crop or 15 maunds to the landholder. Instead of cash payments grain is often taken by the zemindars from their ryots, and credit given them for the same, calculating the price of the grain at such a rate as to make the same something above the highest market prices then prevailing, and thereby making it worth the zemindar's while.

8. There is no importation of grain worth mentioning, but a good deal of all kinds of grain is exported down south towards the River Gunduck and other streams. In ordinary years a great quantity of paddy and rice is taken by carts westward. Carts from other districts go north into the Nepal boundary, and bring down grain. Such, however, will not be the case this year, as from all accounts the crops up in the Terai this season have turned out complete failures for want of rain. The grain brought down from Nepal is carried to the homes of the cart owners, and either used by them or disposed of at higher rates near their homes. It remains to be seen if the export trade will this year be in any way affected by the recent famine, it being still too early in the season to say anything on the subject at present. I may remark, however, that I have noticed up to date almost the general numbers of carts passing my factory in quest of grain, though the natives are of opinion that such will not in the end prove the case this year, as the paddy crops up here are said to be inferior to those further south.

9. As regards this question, I think that in proportion to the extent of the famine in these parts the relief afforded by the district officers was sufficient for the occasion. I say this, because deaths from starvation were not so numerous as to make people form a different idea.

I was myself supplied with 300 rupees, sent from Bhaugulpore for affording relief to the poor, and finally returned nearly half that sum, when the bhadooee crops were cut, as it was then no longer considered necessary to continue the relief. I kept a list of the persons who received food, and 95 per cent. were strangers from other districts. This is another reason why I assert that the famine was not so severe here as in other parts of the country, and also that the measures taken to meet the scarcity may be said to have been adequate to the severities of the same. They were deficient however. I think in regard to the food not being given in an uncooked state for the reason that the prejudices of the natives, in many instances, prevented them from partaking of the food which they would willingly have done if given in a raw state, though many of them might have been said to be in want of it. Another circumstance, which I also consider a defect in the arrangements regarding the flour and rice sent up to the subdivision of the district to be sold to the poor, was, that only very small quantities were sold at a time (a seer or one anna's worth at a time). This arrangement was a good one for people who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the thannahs where the food was sold, but those whose homes were 10, 15, and 20 miles off could not afford to come such a distance and return with so small a quantity, particularly if they had several members in their families to whom one seer of flour or rice was little better than nothing.

10. My opinion about the prospects of the supply of grain this year is that this district will have quite enough for its own consumption. Rice, the staple food, is at present selling cheap, 30 seers per rupee, and the rubbee crops promise to turn out well.

11. Being

11. Being unacquainted with the mode of irrigation as practised in the North-Western Provinces, I cannot pass any opinion as regards the same plans being applied to this district, but would suggest that if Government is really anxious to improve this part of the country by making water for irrigation available at the necessary seasons, some one capable of forming and carrying out a plan for the same be sent up to examine and report on the subject. The way in which water, when urgently required, is obtained, is by damming the small streams and flooding the fields on the banks of the rivers, and in some cases the water thus obtained is carried long distances by means of trenches cut deep enough to convey the water to the required spots, where, if the fields are still high, it is thrown up by several plans common over the whole country.

In all this, however, there is no system carried out, as the inhabitants of each village try and secure the greatest share of water for themselves; and cases in court frequently occur owing to a breach of the peace having been committed in disputes as to the quantity or right of first taking the water. It is not an uncommon occurrence for the inhabitants of one village to make a dam lower down the same river than one previously made by their neighbours, and during the night to cut a passage for the confined water and draw off all for their own use, either by stealth or force.

Trusting the above information may in part, if not wholly, prove acceptable.

From *James Henessey*, Esq., Farmer of Sooltangunge, Monghyr, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Special Commissioner deputed to inquire into the recent Famine; dated 2nd January 1867.

Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge receipt of your circular, and have much pleasure in giving you the following replies to your questions:—

1. I am a leaseholder of a great number of villages in Pergunnahs Mulkee and Bulhea, in the Monghyr District, and the approximate total area is 25,000 beegahs; there has been no actual famine in these two pergunnahs through the failure of the crops, but prices rose to famine rates through the demand for grains from the other districts.

2. The rainy-weather crops are Indian corn, chenna, sammah, marwah, and small janera, sown in June and July and gathered in August and September. Koorthee and kullye are sown in August and reaped in December, and the cold-weather crops are wheat, barley, grain, oats, peas and dhal sown in November, and reaped in March and April. The high lands are sown in both crops, and the low lands are only sown in the cold weather.

3. The only year I can remember the cold-weather crops were not abundant was in 1865, when we had very heavy showers of rain in February and March; rotted the crops 4 annas and 5 annas. I cannot give exactly the price of grain from December 1861, but from June 1865 prices began to rise steadily. Barley, which used to sell at 35 seers per rupee, was selling at 12 and 14 seers. Some relief was caused by the Indian corn, which was reaped in September, but that was temporary. Prices again rose steadily from November 1865, and came to their worst in June and July 1866, when rice sold 7 seers per rupee, grain 9 seers, wheat 7, and barley 10, and until we had a heavy shower of rain in November, which saved this year's paddy crop, although we had an abundant rainy-weather crop, prices were still high, but now the market is easy. I did not communicate with the district officers, as I did not see the necessity of it, but when asked to help the committee formed to distribute food to the poor I did so.

6. I am not aware of any of my villages being depopulated. There may have been a few deaths, but those were very rare.

7. I have no payment in kind amongst my tenants, but wherever it is taken in other villages the grain is taken away at once by the zemindars, and not left with the ryots. My rents are collected quarterly, and I continued the system through the season, and I had no cause to remit or postpone the rents, as the crops were an abundant one, and the ryots were the only people who benefited by the high prices. It was the laboring class that suffered.

8. There is a great deal of exportation of grain from these two pergunnahs to the Tirhoot district, where, I believe, rice is mostly sown. From March there are not less than 500 carts that come daily, but from June of this year, when there were all signs of famine on account of the high prices, there was a panic through the villages, and the villagers refused to sell.

9. I think the measures adopted by the district officers were undertaken in very good time, and that no complaint can be made against them in any respect, as they did all that was possible for them to do.

10. Prospects are very good for the present season. Rice is selling at 25 seers per rupee, and Indian corn at 30 seers; the cold-weather crops are looking very well.

11. All I can suggest to prevent inundations is to throw up bunds along the banks of the Ganges so as the cultivators may have crops, while at present in more than half the lands they are only able to sow one crop.

REPLIES to Questions circulated by *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Special Commissioner deputed to inquire into the late Distress in Behar.

2. I can only speak with reference to the Rajmehal District, including a portion of the Sonthal country, called the Damin-i-koh. The principal food crops grown are rice and Indian corn, with a great deal of wheat and kullye on the banks of the Ganges, and a little gram, budjra, and edible grass seeds, such as the marwah, goondle, and kodoo in the Damin. The Pahariahs, who live on the summits of the hills, grow Indian corn, a bean called the gangra or borbotte, and a little rahur. Many of them, however, hold lands in the plains, and grow rice.

Rice is the principal crop. It is sown in June, transplanted from the nurseries into the fields in July and August and reaped in December. It is the main crop in the east of the Damin-i-koh, and also in the Damin, wherever the soil is suitable. Indian corn is grown on the high lands of the Damin. It is sown in June and reaped in September. After the gathering of the Indian corn, a crop of gram or rape seed is sown in the same field. There is also grown the early summer rice, called the bhadooee in the Rajmehal District, and Ouse in Lower Bengal. It is sown and reaped at about the same time as the Indian corn. It is grown very largely on the banks of the Ganges, but hardly at all in the Damin, owing to the ravages of a fly called the gandhee, which sucks the milk from the rice just when it is getting into ear.

3. Regarding the average produce I can only speak of the three following seasons: November 1864, November 1865, and November 1866. In November 1864 the rice crop was an average one. In November 1865 it failed fully to the extent of one-half in the Damin, but in the country away from the hills and towards the Ganges the crop was about a-12 anna one. The Indian corn crop in the Damin in 1865 was also a very meagre one, being principally destroyed by a caterpillar which ate the heart of the young plant. The Indian corn on the hills sown by the Pahariahs was almost a total failure, owing to this crop being sown and reaped later than that in the plains. The rubbee crops also were a failure, and this forced the Sonthals to pay the claims of their mahajuns and the Government rent by selling their paddy which in other years they paid by the sale of their rubbee.

The rice crop of 1866 just reaped has been supposed by every one to be a 16-anna one. In my opinion it fell short of a full crop, owing to the want of rain in July. I don't consider the crop to have been more than an average one, the high lands of the Damin having suffered. The Indian corn crop gathered in September 1866 was an average one, and the rubbee, especially the gram, promises well. The rubbee on the banks of the Ganges is, I believe, very good.

4. In December 1864 rice sold at 1 maund for a rupee. In December 1865 it was from 18 to 20 seers, and in December 1866 it was about 25 seers.

In December 1865 the market opened, as I have said, at from 18 to 20 seers of rice for a rupee. The rate at which the mahajuns took delivery for advances previously made was 35 seers of paddy for a rupee, equivalent to 22 seers of rice. On the 16th February rice was selling in the market at Mooradai station at 15⅓ seers for a rupee, for export to Calcutta. On the 21st of March rice sold at Rajmehal at 11½ seers for a rupee. On the 24th of March at 11 seers, and on the 26th at 10 seers, the price at Mooradai on the 26th being 13⅓ seers. Rice remained at this price, fluctuating a little for a long time owing to the rubbee crops coming into the market. In the month of July, however, rice suddenly went up to eight, seven, and for a few days six seers for a rupee; paddy to my knowledge having been sold at 11 seers for a rupee, equivalent to seven seers of rice. I had stored paddy in anticipation of the scarcity, and I was besieged by bepaires begging with clasped hands that I should sell to them, but I had to turn them back, saying that my rice was for the people in my neighbourhood. In the month of August, however, the rivers being full, paddy came in from the eastern districts, and was got up into the interior by means of such hill streams as the Goomanee, &c. This influx of food caused the price of rice to go down to eight or nine seers for a rupee. The market was further eased in September by the reaping of the bhadooee rice and the maize. New bhadooee rice sold at 12 seers for a rupee, and the maize relieved the entire body of the Sonthals. New aughunee rice came into the market at 25 seers for a rupee, I believe, for about this time I left the Rajmehal district.

5. The pressure from the scarcity commenced to be felt in the month of September or October 1865, when the price of rice suddenly went up to 12 seers for a rupee. The reaping of the harvest in November 1865 caused prices to fall, but there existed a great deal of distress, principally among the non-agricultural classes. From my being a dealer in country produce, I was at a very early period aware of the heavy distress which would overtake the people.

In the month of January 1866 I commenced buying rice to the full extent of my means, for the purpose of storing it. I bought in some cases at 25 seers of paddy for a rupee, equivalent to 16 seers of rice, which was considered at the time very dear.

In the month of March a Sonthal chief informed me that the distress in the western districts had become very severe, and that people with their wives and children had abandoned their homes and were marching towards the east. On the 20th of March 1866 there appeared a letter from me in the "Englishman," signed "C.," expressing my apprehensions of the impending famine. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor takes a passing notice of this letter in his Minute on the famine. I also expressed my apprehensions, in conversation,

to

to the Assistant Commissioner of the Rajmehal district, and he determined to lay in a sufficient stock of rice for the supply of the prisoners in the gaol, which I supplied in the month of April at rupees 3-10 a maund.

8. A large quantity of food stuffs is exported by means of the railway from the Rajmehal district. But last year, in the month of July, food was imported into Rajmehal from stations lower down, such as Ahmoodpore and Balpore, and the knowledge that food could be brought into the district by an easy and rapid means of communication served to allay the apprehensions of the people. When the rivers were full, rice, as I have before stated, was imported from the eastern districts, and helped to relieve the market.

9. In the month of June the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs called for reports on the scarcity on his division, and I was allowed an opportunity of expressing my opinions. This was the time when distress was commencing to be felt among the Sonthals, for their stock of food had got low, and their maize had not yet ripened. Early and energetic measures were taken by the district officers. Government attah was sold cheap; advances of money were made to the villagers to carry on their cultivation; relief centres were opened in several places, superintended either by the district officers or their assistants, and the construction of roads for the relief of the people was undertaken under the personal supervision of the Assistant Commissioners. The Bahawa and Burhait road, for instance, gave employment to numbers of people. These measures were continued until the maize was reaped; the distress had abated, and further relief rendered unnecessary. If the Indian corn crop had failed, as was apprehended at one time, much larger measures of relief would have had to be adopted for the succour of the people, but with the Indian corn crop secured there was no further occasion for continuing relief operations.

The measures adopted were, in my opinion, quite sufficient for the relief of the distressed, especially as the Sonthals are hampered by no prejudices of caste, and will eat any sort of food and cooked by any body. Though going about a good deal among the people, and acquainted with their habits and language, only one instance of death from starvation came to my knowledge. This was a poor fellow who appeared in my farm one day and asked for work. He performed some light work and received his wages. Next day he was found under a mowah tree dying. The men told me he died from over-eating himself after a long starvation. I forget now where he came from, but I believe he was some poor wanderer from the western districts. Sometimes little children were seen wandering about. One day I discovered two poor wretches, a boy and a girl, picking up grains of rice lying about my granaries. I took charge of them and fed them until there was again plenty in the land, and then they went away, without taking leave, to their friends.

Though prices of food were high, the Sonthals managed to eke out a living by taking to roots, berries, and leaves, which formed last year a very large portion of their diet. It was only the Sonthals and the Pahariahs who required relief. The Bengalees living on the fertile plains to the east of the Damin were not pinched by the scarcity, as they had housed better crops, and their more prosperous condition enabled them to tide over the distress.

10. Regarding the prospects of the people this year, I think we may anticipate another year of high prices. But although prices will be high, there can be no overwhelming distress, for there is food in the country, which was not the case last year. That rice will again sell in the Rajmehal district, and generally all over Bengal, at 12 seers for a rupee I have not much doubt. The rice crops reaped in the end of 1866 have, in the general opinion, been abundant. I am inclined to think, especially as I grow rice and make advances upon it, that in the Rajmehal district the crop has been only an average one. It must also be borne in mind that the stocks of food in the country have been utterly exhausted. Before the harvest that was reaped in the end of 1865, stocks must have been very low, or the price of rice would not have gone up to 12 seers for a rupee, as it did in September or October 1865, when a heavy fall of rain would have saved the crops, and when there was yet time for rain to fall. The harvest of 1865 was only half a one, and when the new rice came in this year, I do not think there was all throughout the province one month's supply of food for the people, though they had lived all along on half rations.

In ordinary years there is at least six months' stock of food in the country when the harvest is reaped. Mahajuns will replenish their stores from the plenty of this year; well-to-do people, who had a narrow escape from the famine, have been so thoroughly alarmed, that they talk of keeping a supply of food that will last them for two years before selling any; ryots have run deep into debt with the mahajuns, and however strongly they may wish to keep a stock of food for themselves and their families to last until the next harvest, they must pay in grain to their mahajuns. There are, moreover, public works in progress, and the large army of labourers employed, who would otherwise stint themselves in food in a year of scarcity, will be enabled to live in plenty. The chord line of the East Indian Railway, for instance, when the works are in full progress, will put it into the power of a great many to consume more food than they would otherwise have done. In one month more, when all the produce has left the hands of the growers and gone into the granaries of the mahajuns, prices will commence going up, until, in my opinion, rice is at 12 seers for a rupee. I do not forget that the rubbee crops all over promise very well, but the price of food will be high notwithstanding, for the reasons I have stated. There is, however, rice in the

Note—The weight mentioned is 80 tolahs to a seer.

the country, and high prices will tempt mahajuns to produce their stores. There will again be scarcity, but not the distress of last year, although prices will be high from May, the prospects of another abundant harvest will cause them to fall in September and October, but should the prospects of the next season be bad, there will be a recurrence of the distress of 1866. It will require two years of plenty before prices will resume their old level. Another cause of the high prices that threaten to rule this year, which must not be lost sight of, is the likelihood of Government entering the market as a large purchaser for Orissa.

11. The scarcity of 1866 was caused by the failure of the crops in 1865 from the want of rain, and aggravated by the want of stocks in the country from previous bad seasons. The remedy, so far as the Sonthal Pergunnahs are concerned, lies, in my opinion, in the undertaking of works of irrigation. The geographical features of the Damin-i-koh present especial facilities for the construction of such works. The country is undulating, intersected by high ridges of hills, the rainfall from which is drained off by a number of nullahs, which help to swell the volume of the Ganges. The rainfall, which is abundant, can be stored by means of dams thrown across these nullahs, the banks of which would have to be raised at the same time, and precautions taken that the bursting of these dams did not injure the surrounding country. With an inexhaustible store of water thus collected, a very large proportion of the crops would be saved in case of a failure of the rains. With the means of irrigation, the Sonthals would soon take to the growing of valuable crops, the sugar-cane, for instance, for which a large part of the soil in the Damin is admirably suited, also vegetables, such as the potatoe. And as the Damin is a Government zemindaree, it would benefit the Government not only indirectly as the State, but also directly as the landlord. I would also urge the supplying of another great want in the Sonthal Pergunnahs' roads. A line of railway runs through the country, but it cannot be used for goods for six months out of the twelve. Cross roads connecting the principal marts in the Sonthal Pergunnahs with the railway stations are sadly wanted.

During the scarcity the Commissioner ordered the construction of a road from Burhait to the railway station of Bahawa, but as the funds were soon spent in relieving the distress, this beginning of a road will be allowed to lapse into jungle. My place of business, Dighee, is only two miles from Bahawa Station, but from the month of June up to November, I have no communication with it for my goods. During the intensity of the scarcity I knew a trader to get up rice to Bahawa, carried it on coolies' heads, a distance of two miles, and then sell it at a profit.

F. F. Chretien.

From *Baboo Gopaul Chunder Sing*, Zemindar, Pergunnah Sultanabad, in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, to *G. C. M. Smith*, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Pakour; dated 28th January 1867.

Sir,

I BEG to submit herewith the replies to the questions framed by Mr. Cockerell, the Special Commissioner, and shall be glad to see him at Pakour if he stops there to-morrow.

1. I am the proprietor of the Pergunnah Sultanabad, in the Pakour district. My people have suffered (comparatively more or less) by the late famine. The approximate total area of the cultivated lands of the estate is mentioned below.

They are situated on the south of the Pergunnah Umber, within the Pakour district, east of Damin, north of Nankar, Molotee, and the Pergunnah Koomar-protab, and west of Dhah Rajshaee.

The total area of the cultivated lands is 54,160 beegahs.

2. The following table shows the different food-supplying crops, and the names of the months when they are sown and gathered, and the area of land applied to them respectively:—

Names of the Articles of Food.	When Sown.	When Reaped.	Area in Beegahs.
Paddy	Bysack	Aughun and Pous	36,225
Maize	Jeyt	Bhadoor	7,850
Joar	ditto	Pous	2,500
Kharee	Asar	Kartick	2,500
Kodoo	ditto	Asin	1,200
Goondoolee	ditto	ditto	1,000
Marwah	ditto	ditto	7,000
Urhur	ditto	Maug and Chait	550
Gram	Asin	Chait	1,110
Khessaree	Kartick	Falgoon	300
Koormee	Assar	Pous	525
		TOTAL	54,160

3. The following is a table showing the variations of the several food supplying crops in my estate from November 1861 to November 1865.

The average produce estimated at the standard varying from full to one-sixteenth.

Average Production for 1861.	Average Production for 1862.	Average Production for 1863.	Average Production for 1864.	Average Production for 1865.	Remarks.
$\frac{16}{16}$ or 1	$\frac{16}{16}$ or 1	$\frac{14}{16}$ or $\frac{7}{8}$	$\frac{16}{16}$ or 1	$\frac{4}{16}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$	The quantity in maunds mentioned below the respective parts was the total produce.
4,40,000	4,40,000	3,85,000	4,40,000	1,10,000	

4. The following table is intended to show the selling price of rice, &c., at the close of each year from December 1861 to December 1865:—

(A.)

Names of Articles.	1861–62.	1862–63.	1863–64.	1864–65.	1865–66.
Rice - - per Re.	1 Md.	25 Srs.	30 Srs.	20 Srs.	$15\frac{3}{4}$ Srs.
Maize - - „	3 „	$2\frac{1}{8}$ Mds.	$2\frac{1}{4}$ Mds.	35 „	$23\frac{1}{2}$ „
Joar- - - „	$1\frac{1}{2}$ „	$1\frac{1}{4}$ „	1 „	20 „	16 „
Kharee - - „	2 „	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „	1 Md.	20 „
Kodoo - - „	3 „	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	2 „	1 „	20 „
Goondoolee - „	2 „	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „	1 „	20 „
Marwah - - „	2 „	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „	$1\frac{1}{2}$ „	$1\frac{1}{8}$ „	$19\frac{1}{2}$ „
Urhur - - „	1 „	30 Srs.	25 Srs.	20 Srs.	17 „
Gram - - „	30 „	25 Mds.	20 Mds.	17 „	16 „
Khessaree - - „	$3\frac{1}{8}$ „	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	2 „	$1\frac{1}{4}$ Mds.	$20\frac{1}{2}$ „
Koormee - - „	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	$2\frac{1}{8}$ „	2 „	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	22 „

The following table shows the variation of the selling prices of the articles of food in each month from December 1865 to November 1866:—

(B.)

Names of Month.	Rice per Rupee.	Maize per Rupee.	Joar per Rupee.	Kharee per Rupee.	Koodoo per Rupee.	Goondoolee per Rupee.	Marwah per Rupee.	Urhur per Rupee.	Gram per Rupee.	Khessaree per Rupee.	Koormee per Rupee.
1865.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.	Seers.
December - - - - -	23	30	28	30	30	30	30	20	17	30	30
1866.											
January - - - - -	22	30	25	30	30	30	30	20	17	30	30
February - - - - -	20	25	22	25	25	25	25	20	17	28	30
March - - - - -	18	20	20	25	25	25	20	$22\frac{1}{2}$	20	25	30
April - - - - -	17	$17\frac{1}{2}$	15	20	20	20	18	$22\frac{1}{2}$	20	20	25
May - - - - -	15	$17\frac{1}{2}$	14	17	17	17	17	16	18	20	20
June - - - - -	11	12	10	15	15	15	16	16	15	20	15
July - - - - -	13	12	10	15	15	15	15	16	15	20	15
August - - - - -	12	15	10	14	14	14	14	14	15	18	14
September - - - - -	12	34	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	17	15
October - - - - -	15	35	14	15	15	15	17	12	12	12	20
November - - - - -	16	35	15	20	20	20	20	13	14	12	20

5. (A.) The pressure from scarcity of food first felt by my subjects in the month of Kartic 1272, B.S., and I was aware of it at the same time.

(B.) The distress expected to have been felt comparatively less in Assin and Kartick than from Bysack to Bhadro, and such was really the state of the people as was anticipated by me.

The measures I first took to meet the calamity are these :—

(C.) 1st. I made a fair present to the Sonthals on my estate of my conservative forests, worth 17,596 rupees, besides giving them permission to gather ghooting and lime stone for lime and to manufacture charcoal; and to cut and gather the straw for sale to the railway officials and contractors. I had them employed also to the wood merchants, for whom they cut firewood from my estate for sale to the silk manufacturers, by whom they were handsomely paid.

2nd. Considering that a similar measure ought to be taken to enable them to defray the expense of cultivation, I myself made them advances of rice and money, and also made the mahajuns agree to lend them on my guarantee certain amount. As for the people, comprising of old, sick, and incapable of maintaining themselves by means of labour, I kept my charity open for their accommodation. As for the labourers, I got them employed by myself and the respectable inhabitants of the neighbourhood to go on with the agricultural pursuit which I and others purposely increased last year. This is all I did for the different classes of my people, and thought it quite enough.

(D.) In the month of February I stated in my letters to the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and likewise related orally to the Assistant Commissioner of Pakour, the deplorable state of my people, as well as the measures taken by me to mitigate their distress. But there having been no prayer for relief from the Government, consequently the result was no other than the thanks for my assistance towards my people.

6. Not a village within my estate has been depopulated either by death or desertion, consequently no loss was sustained by me.

7. (A.) The custom of payment of rent in kind is not prevalent amongst my tenants. The rents paid by my ryots in ordinary years by instalments, which are as follow :—

Instalments.	Months.	Portions of the Full.		
		Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
1st	Bysack		—	
2nd	Jeyt		—	
3rd	Asar	—	—	6
4th	Srabun	—	—	6
5th	Bhadoor	—	—	6
6th	Asin	—	—	6
7th	Kartick	—	—	6
8th	1st Aghrun to 5th Pous	—	8	—
9th	From 5th Pous to 30th	—	4	—
10th	Maug	—	1	6
	TOTAL *Rs.*	1	—	—

(B.)—I did not remit any portion of my rents, but found it necessary to postpone the realisation of one-third of them due to me by the indigent people.

8. (*a*) The exportation from the villages within my estate in the Pakour District of the several kinds of produce used for food has taken place in ordinary years as follows :—

Rice 50,000 maunds.
Maize 5,000 ditto.
Joar 500 ditto.

(*b*) The only importation of muskullye is 2,000 maunds.
(*c*) The exportation has been affected in half by the recent dearth.
(*d*) No injury done thereby to the importation.

9. As no relief was needed by my people from the Government officers of the district, in consequence of the successful measures taken by me, I need not say anything upon the principles of relief operations adopted by them for arresting the distress of other people, but I can simply say that, had not the measures taken by them been commensurate with their distress, they would have, methinks, left their homes for any of the relief asylums in Calcutta or elsewhere.

10. The prospects of the people as regards to the supply and the probable price of food appear, I think, to be comparatively better.

11. That this severe distress has no doubt arisen from the partial failure of food-supplying crops caused by drought. I therefore recommend the means of irrigation to be introduced here in the same way as in the North-West Provinces. I hope to be able to suggest the best schemes of irrigation works; but I should refrain from my doing so, till I take a close survey of every creek and corner throughout the district.

If the best means of irrigation be introduced with success, the country, I think, is not likely to be visited by such direful calamity as the late famine.

From *J. Smith*, Esq., Manager, Shahpore Factory, within the District of Tirhoot, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Commissioner deputed to inquire into the recent Famine, Tirhoot; dated 25th January 1867.

Sir,

I DULY received your Circular some three weeks ago, and have now the honour to answer it as far as lies in my power.

1. I hold in farm 204 villages, besides two villages which are milkiut. The total amount of land in cultivation in these villages is 41,000 beegahs; they are all situated in Pergunnah Biswarra, Chuckla Gurjowl.

2. The crops grown are marwah, mukky, sammah, kodo, koynee, ooreed, janera; all sown in June and reaped in October, and give an average return of about 10 maunds a beegah. Kanree (dhal) sown in June and reaped in March, averages about eight maunds per beegah. Dhan sown from March to end of June, cut in December, averages about 10 maunds per beegah. Sootanee sown in March and dug up from beginning of November up to February, averages about 70 maunds per beegah. Allooh or sweet potatoes sown in June and dug up from beginning of January up to April, average produce about 50 maunds per beegah, besides there is a very little tobacco sown, as also opium, as of the latter there is over 2,000 beegahs sown. With the rauree (dhal) cotton is generally sown. In the cold weather a large portion of the lands that have had the crops reaped are again sown in wheat and barley.

3. For several years now the produce of almost all the above crops have been falling off from the want of good rains generally, but in 1866 there was not even a four anna crop, and of paddy there was not even a one anna crop.

4. The prices in 1866 were as follows to the rupee: dhan 15 seers, rice 8 seers, mukky marwah, and janera 10 seers, kodo, summah, and koynee 15 seers, ooreed and rauree (dhal) 8 seers, barley and wheat 10 seers, sootanee and allooh one maund. In former years about two and-a-half times the above quantities was the selling rates.

5. Signs of the famine shewed itself in December and January, and by March we were aware that there would be a famine; the only measures taken by myself to meet the calamity was to lay in a store of 4,000 rupees of gram, which I gave out at the rate of one-half a seer to any that did any kind of work, besides paying them their full hire in money every day; those that were actually begging, women and children, got either pice or a little grain, as far as it was in my power to give them out of my private means. I do not see that the Government officers could have done more than they did; that is, done in this direction. When they became aware of the distress they called for subscriptions, and distributed rice to the poor in both Mozufferpore and Hudyepore, and offered to supply the planters with rice to distribute to the poor round about their factories.

6. The deaths in all my villages from starvation amounted to about 500. None of my ryots deserted their homesteads.

7. All my rents are paid in money, in 10 instalments. On account of the famine I was unable to collect 8,000 rupees of my rents.

8. All kinds of grain are both exported and imported; over a lac and a quarter maunds of rice is imported from the boundary about Nepal, but during the dearth little or no rice was imported, as none could be procured.

9. It would undoubtedly have been better had the measures adopted for relief of the poor by Government officers been commenced earlier, but the measures they took for the relief of the poor were good, and I do not see that they could have adopted any better measures.

10. The prospects this year in regard to all the crops are very good. The dhan was better this season than it has been for many years, and the other crops were equally good. The rubbee crop also promises to be a very fine one.

11. I see no remedy for improving the chances of securing crops by irrigation, as even where there are rivers the people seldom or never take advantage of it to secure their crops.

From *T. M. Gibbon*, Esq., Manager, Turcoleah Factory, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., on Special Duty to inquire into the recent Famine; dated 17th January 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th December with its accompanying memorandum. I am afraid I can give you but little information regarding the cause and origin of the famine this district has lately experienced, that you have not already received from more trustworthy sources; but such little information as it is in my power to give you I now beg to lay before you.

It was not until the end of October or beginning of November that it was first foreseen the price of grain would be very high, but no one anticipated the distress that afterwards prevailed.

To the middle of November I recommended Government should exercise some pressure on the zemindars, and induce them to come forward in a liberal spirit and assist their ryots with seed to enable them to sow their rubbee crops; had this been done, much of the distress that afterwards prevailed throughout the district might have been alleviated, although not prevented, or even later still had the zemindars come forward in a liberal spirit when called upon to do so by Mr. Beames, and assisted towards a general relief fund; had they been a little more lenient with their ryots in collecting their rents, had they assisted them with cash where necessary, or seed when not procurable, the distress would still have been great, but there would have been no famine.

I did the best I could to alleviate the distress in the "dehaut" under my charge, by giving grain and cash as loans to my ryots, stopping the collection of my rents till the greater part of the pressure was over, and feeding as many of the poor as would come for food, and I believe many ticcadars did the same, but in no instance have I heard of a zemindar having done so; the Bettiah Rajah alone excepted, and he not at all in proportion to the extent of his zemindaree. The famine, in my opinion, was caused not so much by the poorness of the crops in this district itself, as by the total failure of the food-producing crops (principally rice) of the surrounding districts, and it is only by treating Chumparun, Tirhoot, Chuprah, and the Terai as one, and investigating the effect, the markets of each had upon the others at different seasons of the year, that you will be able to form any correct idea as to the cause and origin of the famine.

Chumparun, properly speaking, is not a rice-producing district, its inhabitants being chiefly dependent on their bhadooee, rubbee, and poppy crops for their support; it is only to the north and east of the district, that is to say, Toppales, Semrown, Bubass, Dooho Sooho, Sattee, Gopalla, parts of Bulsura, and northern part of Meghsee and Bublar that aughunee rice is grown in any quantity; and here I am sorry to say the famine was felt most severely; the greater portion of the crop having dried up for want of rain at the latter end of September or beginning of October. Had any proper measures been taken to control the hill streams that run through this part of the district, there is not a village that might not have been irrigated, and consequently saved. The bhadooee crops were on an average good, in fact as good as the district has seen for many years; the supply of grain from it, with the surplus of other years already stored away in the district, would have been sufficient to meet its requirements had the mahajuns not been tempted by the high prices ruling in the surrounding districts in the early part of the season to export the greater portion of it, and trust to the cold weather crops to meet the necessities of this district.

The cold weather crops, consisting of wheat, barley, oats, oil-seeds, &c., although promising at first, yielded but indifferently, the grain being small with no substance. This I attribute mainly to the inferior quality of the seed sown, and the difficulty the ryots had in procuring seed of any kind till very late in the season, and partly owing to the quantity of rain that fell in the months of February and March when the crops were ripening. Many of the ryots who had not succeeded in procuring seed to sow their lands with rubbee, attempted to make up for the shortness of the crop by sowing chenna, but this too was a failure, owing to the west wind setting in stronger than usual on the heavy rain and drying up the plant.

With the exception of Indian corn, chenna, sugar, and a little rice from the northern part of the district Chumparun exports none of its food-supplying crops, but consumes them all itself. Its principal exports are oil-seeds, turmeric, ginger, opium, indigo, and saltpetre, and a few hides in exchange, for which it receives salt, tobacco, cotton, cloth, iron-ware, rice from the Terai, and species in payment for the opium.

The trade in saltpetre is now at an end owing to the low prices the article now brings in the market, not sufficient to cover the heavy tax the Noonea has to pay in the first place to his zemindar, in the next to the Government. The Nooneas being entirely dependent on their labour for support, and unable to procure work of any kind, have suffered more by the famine than any other class of people. I should say fully one-third or 33⅓ per cent. of them have died out this year. I have no means of making out a correct estimate of the probable amount of exports, nor can I say what quantity of grain was stored away in the district at the commencement of the season, but most villages had sufficient stored away in their granaries to support their inhabitants. The village mahajuns declined advancing to the ryots at first, in hopes of getting higher prices; afterwards, seeing no prospect of the ryot being able to repay him owing to the drought, they declined advancing at all; the worse class of ryots seeing grain stored away at their very doors, while their families

families were starving, commenced that wholesale incendiarism which has done so much to aggravate the distress. Had the district officers had the power to deal with this offence themselves, instead of having to send the offenders up to the sessions, it might have been put a stop to at once, but the sufferer preferred putting up with his loss to undergoing the trouble and expense of prosecuting in the local courts only to see his offender get off at the sessions. I do not think 10 per cent. of the villages in Chumparun escaped, one or two "tolahs" in each having suffered from fire or burnt to the ground. Chumparun, with a soil as fertile as one could wish, with a water-supply such as no district in India can show, is, without exception, the worst cultivated, worst populated, and with the poorest inhabitants of any in Behar.

Go where you will over the district, and you will seldom come across a village, a great portion of which does not consist of "tattee" huts, and very seldom will you see a house with a tiled roof to it, and the only here and there one belonging to the village trader, Kulwar or Kandoo, Rajpoot or Brahmin, who advances to the ryot for the whole of his crop as soon as the seed is in the ground, settles account with him as soon as it is reaped, getting the grain 25 per cent. cheaper than the market rate, only to retail to him again at extortionate prices, as his necessities may require. This is chiefly attributable to the greater portion of the district being in the hands of so few zemindars, men who take no interest in the welfare of their ryots, or whose extravagance and want of care have brought them so deeply into debt that their necessities will not allow of their spending anything for the good of their estates, but compel them to screw every pice out of their ryots without making them any adequate return.

It is true the large zemindars lease out their estates to others who ought to supply the place of the zemindar, and look to the welfare of the ryots; but then again these men have never had any security from the zemindar that their farms would not any time be taken from them at the pleasure of the zemindar or as his necessities might require, or even if they succeeded in holding it for the term of years originally agreed upon, that they would get it back again at the end of the lease. With this uncertainty standing over them, it is not worth the ticcadar's while spending money on the improvement of his ticcadarie. Go where you will over Chumparun, you will not find a decent road made or kept up at the expense of the zemindar, the road between Bettiah and Gobindgong excepted. Not a canal dug, not a bund made of any importance; whatever has been done, has been done by the Government or the planter, and until Government bring some pressure to bear on the zemindars, and in a manner compel them to look a little to the interests of the ryots as well as to their own by digging canals for irrigation purposes where necessary, and bunds where liable to inundation, until the ticcadars have some security that they will not be deprived of their farms as soon as they have expended time and trouble in cultivating them, Champarun will always remain what it is, a badly populated, poverty-stricken district. I do not know if this is the proper place to point out a grievance all zemindars, ticcadars, and planters are suffering from, viz., the expense we all have to undergo in procuring redress, having to retain men to protect our interest in the Civil Court of Chuprah and Criminal Court of Mozufferpore, that is to say, each ticcadar or planter is obliged to retain the services of three lawyers, besides the expense of sending our witnesses backwards and forwards a distance of 50 miles for each suit, encouraging the evil-disposed to institute false suits with impunity, and preventing, in many instances, men from claiming their rights.

Replies to the Questions.

1. I am manager of the Turcoleah concern, the property of Messrs. Henry Hill and Company.

The factory holds the lease of sundry villages in Tuppales, Mudroah, Dowltah, Jaffrabad, Soogong, Sonewul, Hurnath, and Claha Suckedah, Rhudda, covering an area of 121,000 standard acres, or 98,525 dehati beegahs.

Out of this 85,000 acres are in farm to ryots.
12,000 „ roads, rivers, villages.
24,000 „ lying waste.

2. Kodoo sown from March to middle of May, reaped from August to September.
Indian corn sown in May reaped in September.
Sowan and Marwah sown from March to May, reaped in August and September.
Ooreed sown in May (Assar).

Wheat, species of vetch, Betroans „ Barie „ Koortie „ Moong „ } Reaped in October and November.

Janera sown in March to May.
Dhan, bhadooee, sown March, all May, part of June, cut in latter end of August to middle of October.
Dhan, aughunee, sown March to middle of June, cut November and December.
Cotton, two crops, sown March to May, plucked one crop in September and one in Bysack (April).

Chenna sown sometimes two crops, sometimes three in the year.

Rahur generally sown with kodoo from March to May, reaped in March and February.

Barley sown October to December, cut in March and April.
Wheat - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Peas of all kinds ditto - ditto - ditto.
Oats - - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Mussoorie dhal - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Keron - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Gram - - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Poppy - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Sirsoo - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Linseed - - ditto - ditto - ditto.
Tarie, an oil-seed ditto - ditto - ditto.

3.—For 1269 *F. S.* Bhadooee 14 annas Rubbee 12 annas.
„ 1270 „ „ 12 „ „ 14 „
„ 1271 „ „ 14 „ „ 10 „
„ 1272 „ „ 12 „ „ 10 „
„ 1273 „ „ 12 „ „ 10 „

4.—

	In 1269 *F. S.*		In 1270 *F. S.*		In 1271 *F. S.*		In 1272 *F. S.*		In 1273 *F. S.*	
	Beg.	*End.*	*Beg.*	*End.*	*Beg.*	*End.*	*Beg.*	*End.*	*Beg.*	*End.*
Kodoo - - -	65	52	65	52	65	52	50	30	35	20
Indian corn - -	44	35	50	38	41	30	35	24	24	12
Ooreed - - -	20	14	20	17	20	14	17	10	14	5
Wheat - - -	27	20	27	20	27	24	24	16	16	8
Dhan - - -	50	30	44	27	46	28	35	24	24	12
Chenna - - -	40	26	40	30	28	26	28	24	20	10
Barley - - -	40	30	40	33	40	30	36	24	20	10
Wheat - - -	26	20	30	20	24	16	20	14	14	8
Peas - - -	40	30	40	30	36	28	30	20	14	10
Rahur - - -	33	26	34	25	30	24	26	20	16	10
Mussoorie - -	20	14	30	20	30	24	33	20	20	12
Linseed - - -	20	14	24	16	24	16	16	14	17	12
Sirsoo - - -	18	10	20	14	17	12	20	14	20	15
Poppy-seed - -	20	12	20	14	20	16	16	14	16	14
Castor oil-seed -	16	10	20	14	20	14	16	13	18	13
Oats - - -	40	30	40	30	40	30	35	27	25	17

6. The only reliable information I can give you is as regards the men who cultivate lands for me. Regarding the labourers I cannot give you any true estimate.

At the end of 1865 or commencement of 1866, 11,957 families, estimated at 68,644 souls, men, women, and children, cultivated lands in my ticcadaree, out of which 4,270 souls died partly from cholera, partly from famine, and partly from other diseases attacking them in their weak state, fever and ague in particular; more than one-third I should say died from disease.

Out of the above 4,270, I estimate 900 men, 1,350 women, the rest children; about 600 to 700 families left the estate to seek a living elsewhere, and about the same number settled on the estate from other parts of the district. The factory is better off this year than it was last by 479 of jummabundie.

7. To a very small extent above 2,500 or 3,000 beegahs of land are paid for in kind. The high price of grain more than made up for the shortness of the crop. Forty per cent. is paid for by indigo, 25 per cent. is collected cash in the month of October. To the north of the district, or wherever rice is grown to any extent, usually 50 per cent. is collected in October, especially by native ticcadars; the balance of another 8 annas, or 50 per cent., after subtracting indigo account in the month of February, and the balance any time between February and October, usually when the opium payments are made. I am not yet able to say to what extent my rents are uncollected, the yearly accounts not being closed, but I estimate the uncollected balances to amount to about 10 per cent.

8. My own dehaut in ordinary years produces only sufficient for the support of its inhabitants, Indian corn and chenna being the only grains exported. In the beginning of 1866, owing to the price of grain being so much higher in the surrounding district, nearly the whole of the bhadooee crop was exported. The quantity exported or imported could only be found out by having the village mahajuns up one by one and asking them, and even if we had the time to question them, it is doubtful whether they would answer the question truly.

9. As

9. As far as I am able to judge, the local authorities afforded as much relief as it was in their power to afford, and it was only owing to the want of co-operation on the part of the native population the relief was not more effectual.

One would naturally suppose, where a whole district was starving, the people would run for employment, yet strange to say there is not one planter in Chumparun who did not suffer loss for want of men to do the work, not because the men were not there, but simply because they preferred starving at home to working, excepting they were paid at rates that no one could afford to pay. As it was, every planter raised the price of his labourers' wages to double the amount of ordinary years.

10. It is impossible to say what the price or supply of grain will be in future years.

The yield has been a good one for 1274 *F.*, and grain is now cheap, but whether the rubbee and opium crops will turn out well or not depends on the weather. At present they are both backward and require rain.

11. I think there is no district better adapted for works of irrigation, and in which it would pay better, than our own. To the south of the Little Gunduck the soil retains its moisture, and it is only in exceptional years that irrigation would be at all necessary; the crops generally grown not requiring much water.

To the north and east the principal crop grown is rice, the soil a hard *clagy* or commonly called "banghur" land, low and dry, requiring irrigation.

I am not enough of an engineer to estimate the cost of making the Little Gunduck applicable for irrigation purposes; but that it can be done and would pay, I am convinced. Were it done, the whole of Chumparun might be irrigated from it.

It has a flow of water all the year round; has its source in our own territory. Should it turn out on inquiry that this scheme would not be a profitable one, I do not know why the number of hill streams running through the north and rice-producing part of the district might not be turned to some account. You cannot go two miles across country but you come across a stream that runs the whole year round; you have only to bund it up for it to overflow its banks. But to make any use of these streams, it will be necessary for our Government to come to some understanding with that of Nepal, as they all have their sources in the hills, and run through Nepalese territory before they come to ours.

From *A. M'Rae*, Esq., Manager, Dooneah Factory, to *F. R. Cockerell*, Esq., Special Commissioner; dated 17 February 1867.

1. THE estates of which this factory is a leaseholder are owned by a number of small zemindars, and are too numerous to mention. They are scattered over an area of about 16 square miles. The uncultivated portion is about one-sixteenth.

2. In half of the cultivated lands rice is grown, planted in the rains, and cut in November. The principal crop grown in the remainder is Indian corn, sown and cut during the rainy season; and out of the same lands a cold-weather grain crop is generally taken, sown in October and cut in March.

3. A return of 20 maunds a beegah is considered a full crop. The average for the past five years has been about 12 maunds.

4. From 30 to 50 seers used to be the selling price of the different kinds of produce. In the middle of 1866, prices averaged from 8 to 12 seers.

5. In March the pressure first began to be felt, owing to the grain crops having been destroyed by a severe hailstorm, after which I was forced to feed the workmen employed by the factory, in addition to their usual pay.

6. Very few died from starvation in the villages in my farms, and the only desertions were by the Nooneea caste, who work at saltpetre. There being no demand for that article, the people of that caste have nearly disappeared.

7. I receive no rent in kinds. The rents are usually paid in four instalments, and did not fall much behind.

8. I can give no information as to the export and import trade.

9. In my opinion the District Government officers did their utmost towards relieving the people who were starving.

10. The prospects are favourable for the present year, as regards this portion of the district.

11. The only mode of irrigation possible is from wells and tanks.

From *G. J. Burnell*, Esq., Myanugger Factory, to *J. B. Worgan*, Esq., Officiating Collector, Purneah; dated 12 February 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1133, dated the 1st February, annexing a copy of Mr. Cockerell's letter to you, dated 17th December last, with his memorandum of questions. In compliance with your request, I have much pleasure in answering the questions *seriatim* to the best of my ability, and trust it will afford all the information required of me.

1. Distress was felt in my neighbourhood for about 112 square miles round my factory of Myanuggur.

2. The first symptom of distress was felt in May, and the severest distress in July; when the bhadooee crop commenced to be reaped, distress ceased.

3. In ordinary years the cultivators depend on their own supplies of grain, which has generally been sufficient for them. The market has always supplied enough for the labouring class at moderate rates.

4. The deficiency of grain was caused more than half the loss of the crops, but strictly in paddy, the cause was owing to a high and early inundation in 1865, and a drought at the end of the year.

5. In ordinary years the district supplies enough for its own population, and there is a good deal of export also; but in 1865–66, owing to distress in other districts, the mahajuns exported more largely, tempted by the high prices.

6. To the best of my belief, the average price of rice during the years 1862–63–64 ruled from 20 to 30 seers, and from September to December 1865 it became dearer, and went up to 16 and 17 seers. In 1866 the prices varied, and rice in that year sold as high as 8 seers, of 80 sicca weight, and is now selling at 19 seers for the rupee.

7. I received 300 rupees for relief, for which I have already accounted.

8. The distress experienced was mostly amongst the poorer classes, labourers, and small cultivators, the cause of which has already been answered in 4.

9. This question is answered in 5 and 6, and in my opinion there was very little stock in the hands of the mahajuns, excepting a few individuals.

10. I first wrote to Mr. Worgan, officiating collector, on the 29th June, in answer to a letter from him, and then reported the state of the country. On the 8th August a meeting was called by Mr. Worgan, to which, though I was unable to attend, I responded.

11. The zemindars about me, to my knowledge, did nothing to alleviate distress, but, on the contrary, rents were exacted with vigour.

12. There was no epidemic disease in my neighbourhood.

13. No deaths took place, to my knowledge, from actual starvation.

14. Answered in 7.

15 and 16. No roads about me. Roads are sadly needed; there is only one river, the "Panar." Irrigation is unknown.

STATEMENT of *Jehangeer Bukshu Khan* and *Nubee Bukshu Khan*, Zemindars of Khaira, Pergunnah Sherghotty, Gya, in Reply to the Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

WE submit our answers to your several questions mooted in the circular dated 27th November 1866.

1. We are proprietors of 88 villages in Pergunnah Sherghotty, &c. The total area of the said villages is 20,770 beegahs, both cultivated and uncultivated; the amount of cultivated land is, however, less than the uncultivated.

2. There grow three crops within the estate, viz., bhadooee, khariff, and rubbee. Their seasons are—

Bhadooee crop—Ashar, Assin, and Kartick.
Khariff crop—Ashar, Augran, and Pouse.
Rubbee—Ashin and Kartick, Phalgoon and Chait.

The extent of the cultivated area which is applied to the produce of the said crops is about 8 annas to the cultivation of khariff (paddy), a little less than 4 annas in bhadooee, and a little

a little more than four in rubbee. In some places the same land produces both bhadooee and rubbee crops after one is off. A portion of the estate is hilly and produces no crop.

The gross amount of produce of different crops from November 1861 to November 1866 was 5,609 maunds. The price of common rice from December 1861 to December 1865 was 12 seers a rupee, and that from December 1865 to December 1866 was 30 seers. The high prices were owing to scanty rains and hail-storms. The rain-falls of the last three years were short and irregular, which caused heavy damages to crops. At the end of 1273 prices of all edible grains rose so high that pressure for them was felt by all classes of people. The circumstances of the pressure came to the notice of the district authorities, and they took measures for gratuitous distribution of grains, &c. The late famine was a general one, and both the rich and poor have suffered according to their respective conditions. The last bhadooee has, however, entirely removed the sufferings and reduced considerably the prices of grains. During the famine months cholera raged and carried away many. Within our estate about 200 persons died of the disease. When rain-fall of a year is regular and sufficient, ryots, for sufficient produce of crops, pay their rents without any difficulty. Owing to deficient produce, the rents of 1273, and of years previous to it, remained uncollected from some of the ticcadars; and it is hoped that they will be realised if rain-fall during the next two or three years be according to the requirements of harvest seasons. In 1274 we helped our ryots with seeds for khariff crop; but they have not as yet repaid us the advance we made. As a rule, a cultivator divides the produce of his land into three shares, each being according to his demands; the first portion is retained for seeds of the ensusing year; second, for consumption at home; and third, if any, for sale, according to best terms he may obtain. The pressure was felt in Ashar, when officers of Government commenced relief measures. When the rain-fall of a year is sufficient, there remains then no reason to apprehend a pressure. There are ahars (reservoirs) for irrigation, but they are of no use when there is scanty rain. If some means can be devised for irrigating lands in the event of scarcity of rain, the cultivation of crops will undoubtedly be promoted.

STATEMENT of *Akwali Dewan*, of Moharanee Indrogeet Coomari, Zemindar of Ticcari, Gya, in reply to the Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

IN reply to your circular, I beg to subjoin my answers as follows:—

1. The zemindaree of the Moharanee is divided in 60 divisions, situated in the districts of Gya, Patna, Purneah, &c. The entire area amounts to 5,40,980 beegahs. The cultivated area is 4,40,980 beegahs, and waste 1,00,000.

The following is a detail of the products of the estates:—

Crops.	Months when they Grow.	Months when they are Reaped.
Bhadooee - - -	Ashar - - - - -	Ashin and Kartick.
Khariff - - -	Ashar - - - - -	Augran and Pous.
Rubbee - - -	Ashin and Kartick - -	Chait and Bysack.

The produce of the estate during five years previous to the famine was—

	Bhadooee.	Khariff.	Rubbee.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
November 1851 to October 1862 (1269) - - -	16,000	1,90,000	7,10,000
November 1862 to October 1863 (1270) - - -	14,000	1,75,000	65,000
November 1863 to October 1864 (1271) - - -	15,000	2,00,000	75,000
November 1864 to October 1865 (1272) - - -	12,000	1,50,000	6,50,000
November 1865 to October 1866 (1273) - - -	10,000	1,25,000	50,000

The rates of different food-supplying crops for five years mentioned in the circular were as shown below:—

	Rice.	Urhur.	Khessaree.	Mussoor.	Ooreed.	Moong.	Boot.	Wheat.	Kerow.	Jow.	Mukky.	Marwah.	Gum.
December 1861 - -	21	17¼	17¼	17½	15½	11¼	21	23	21½	24½	25	–	–
December 1862 - -	34	18	39	36	13	11	37	25	42	38	40	–	–
December 1863 - -	28	18	50	38¾	15	12	35	26½	42½	37½	37¾	–	–
December 1864 - -	19½	19½	24	20	16½	–	27	30½	27	–	25	–	–
December 1865 - -	10	7½	8¾	7½	11	5	–	11	–	–	19	–	–
Kartick *F. S.* 1274 -	13	7½	9	9	10	7	12	–	13	–	19	69	10
Augran - - -	21	10	14½	9	10	13	15	–	8	–	23	31¼	10

The famine was first felt in Ashar 1272, and it was then apprehended that it will last till October 1866 (Ashin 1274). Gratuitous distribution of grains was made within the estate at the cost of the Moharanee. Relief was also given by employing able-bodied paupers in the building department, and each received wages sufficient for his daily food. Contributions were also sent to the district and to Calcutta for the relief of the poor.

In 1273 the district officers distributed also grains gratuitously among famished people. The consequent effect of their relief measures was that a large number of poor was relieved.

Within the Ranee's estate there were about 3,000 deaths and 500 desertions from homes.

The condition between the landholder and tenant for payment of bhowli rent is that the produce of land, whatever it is, should be equally divided between them. The yields from bhowli lands for the last few years were deficient.

The usual periods for realization of rent are Kartick, Pous, and Chait. Rents are generally collected after the three harvest seasons.

The realization of a portion greater than 8 out of 16 annas rent of the last year was postponed for the distressed condition of ryots, and remissions of rents at the rate of 4 per cent. were made according to the condition of the people.

The yearly export and import traffic of different sorts of grains within the estate amounted to 1,00,000 maunds. The traffic from November 1865 to November 1866 diminished in consequence of the famine to a considerable extent.

Distribution of grains was made by district officers from funds granted by Government and raised by subscriptions. The relief was not, however, sufficient, because the famine was not local, but it spread over the whole country, and relief was given only at some particular places.

The prospects of the current year are good. If canals be excavated on the south-west of the River Soane for irrigation, the villages of the Pergunnahs Bursa, Karoaro, Behara, Muhoorora, &c., will be much benefited.

STATEMENT of *Mohunto Shuroopram Doss*, chilla *Mohunto Komat Prokash Doss*, Gudinishin, Chuckla Nya, Pergunnah Bisura, Zillah Tirhoot, in Reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

I BEG to submit my replies to the questions circulated by you.

I hold villages Magholee, Bajdehee, and Chuckla Nubee, Pergunnah Bisara, &c. There are three different kinds of crops that grow usually within the two sircars of Hazeepore and Tirhoot, viz., bhadooee, khariff, and rubbee.

The products are,

1. Marwah, mukky, kodoo, sammah, shote, ooreed, and janera.

2. Dhan and ooreed.

3. Barley, wheat, gram, mutter, kerraw, khessaree, kurknees, urhur, mustard, and linseed.

In Hazeepore the bhadooee crop is cultivated to a very extraordinary, and in Tirhoot to a limited, extent.

In Tirhoot khariff is cultivated to an unusual extent, and rubbee to a limited extent.

Bhadooee is cultivated usually in Ashar and harvested in Ashin.

Khariff is sown from Phalgoon to Jeyt. It is transplanted from Ashar to Bhadoor and harvested in Augrun and Pouse. Rubbee is sown in Ashin and Kartick, and reaped in Chait

Chait and Bysack. The amount of land applied to the produce of the different crops is about 5,000 beegahs.

In a favourable year the entire produce of the said area is sufficient for the people of the estate, and for others who may happen to pass through it. The average produce of bhadooee and khariff is shown below:

November 1861—November 1866 - - 16 to 8 *As.*
December 1863—November 1864 - - } The average produce of these two
December 1864—November 1866 - - } years was from 6 to 2 *As.*

Rates of rice for four years, from December 1861 to November 1866, were—

December 1861 to November 1862 - 20 Srs. } These rates were just after the crop
„ 1862 to „ 1864 - 18 „ } was off the land, they increased gra-
„ 1864 to „ 1865 - 16 „ } dually during the several months of
„ 1865 to „ 1866 - 15 „ } the years.

The highest rate of rice in 1866 was $5_{\frac{1}{2}}$ seers a rupee. The rate of other grains was ruled by that of rice. From October 1866 the prices of all grains have been reduced. The merchants and police officers will be able to furnish rates of all articles in detail. I have, however, no data to supply them. Owing to early cessation of rain at the end of 1272, the yield of bhadooee for 1273 was deficient. The lands sown with khariff were for want of water dried up, and for the same cause the plants of rubbee crop did not thrive well. The crop suffered again by a hailstorm.

The above circumstances led me to apprehend at the beginning that a famine was at hand. After the failure of crops imports of articles from different places increased. I spoke to the district authorities, when I saw them, of the distressed condition of the people. I subscribed a sum for their relief, and helped my own people with grains and money. The district officers took great interest in the cause of the poor, which relieved many. From deaths and desertions of home there was a loss of about eight out of 16 anna population in the estate. Of the amount about two-thirds died, and one-third deserted their abodes. At the end of 1273 a large extent of land was left uncultivated, and great difficulties will have to be incurred to bring it again under cultivation. The bhowli system prevails within the estate to a limited extent. The produce of the bhowli land is partitioned at the rate of nine and seven anna between the landlord and tenant respectively. The yields of bhowli lands for 1272 and 1273 were very deficient. In an ordinary year the rent of the estate is collected in four kists. The realisation of about four out of 16 annas rent of 1272 was postponed on a condition that it will be realised after the harvest seasons of 1273. But during the year again only eight anna rent was realised. The exports and imports of articles previous to the famine were in an ordinary scale. I have, however, no materials to furnish any details of trades, but it is said that during the famine months imports increased.

When people in consequence of the calamity began to abandon their homes, Government officers raised a subscription among landholders, planters, merchants, and others to give them relief, which was, however, timely. Those poor who did not leave their homes received alms from landholders and others. Relief was given according to the means available; if it was not sufficient it was only for money and for grains which at a time of famine are too dear.

I entertain no hopes that prices of grains for the current year will be reduced to the scales as they were previous to the famine. The present rate favourable indeed is fluctuating, for it is daily rising. To scarcity of rains must be attributed the sudden appearance of the late famine. There are two sircars called Hazeepore and Tirhoot. In some villages of Hazeepore there are wells for irrigation. They supply sufficient water for the purpose of cultivation, and in others there exist no means for it. There are, however, no "Sali" (paddy) lands in some villages to which irrigation can in any way benefit. When there is in a year an ordinary quantity of rain within the Tirhoot sircar the produce of all crops will be abundant. But in a season of drought irrigation is essentially needed, and if no water could in time be supplied the crops fail.

Any means of irrigation from the Rivers Gunduck (Big and Little), Ganges and Bagmatty, will benefit the agricultural operations in Tirhoot. If Government undertake the work I will assist accordingly. There is an extensive cultivation of indigo in Tirhoot, and lands suited for rubbee and dhan are applied to its growth.

STATEMENT of *Ramprosaud Doss*, Zemindar of Ezadishuffukatpore, Zillah Monghyr, in Reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

MY answers to your several questions are,

1. I hold several mouzahs lying on the north and south of the Ganges. They are situated in Pergunnah Sami. The villages are Ezadishuffukatpore, Susna, Daoodpore, &c.

2. The crops of the estate are bhadooee of Ashin, khariff of Pous, and rubbee of Chait. There are only one or two villages in the estate where there is any means of irrigation, and

and the remaining villages depend generally on rain. The last four years average produce of different crops from a beegah was from five to three maunds. The average produce of last bhadooee amounted to from 10 to eight maunds a beegah.

From December 1861 to December 1865, the rates of rice varied in each month from 20 to 16 seers. From December 1865 to November 1866, the rates at different periods changed from 10 to eight seers. The deficient produce of all crops in 1273 caused the high price of grains. The indication of a famine was first felt in March 1866. I realised about eight out of 16 anna rent from the ryots of my estate, and advanced them money, &c. I reported the circumstances of the famine to officers, and spent a large sum in feeding the poor. The estimated number of deaths from starvation within the estate is 100 or 150, and desertions from homes 100. About 12 anna rent of the estate is realised in kind and four anna in money. The term of bhowli (rent paid in kind) is that the entire produce of a beegah, whatever it may be, should be equally divided between landlord and tenant. The system prevails in the villages lying on the south, and nugdi (*i. e.*, rent paid in money), in those on the north of the Ganges. The usual period when rent paid in money is realised, is just after the harvest of a crop. There is trade, both import and export, within the villages comprising the estate. It is, however, carried on to a limited extent. The relief given by Government officials was according to the requirements of the time. The average produce of last khariff per beegah amounts to from seven to eight maunds. I believe that the average produce of rubbee, too, will come to seven or eight maunds a beegah. The prospects of the current year are good, and the cost of living of the poor will not henceforth exceed daily an anna. In the villages lying on the south of the Ganges there are rivers which are used for the purpose of irrigation. Crops of the villages not intersected by any streams depend on rain. Canals, as in Western Provinces, to carry water in villages for irrigation will be for the infinite good of the country.

STATEMENT of *Deocoomar Sing*, Zemindar of Pergunnah Cheeran, Zillah Sarun, in Reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

MY replies to the questions mooted in your circular, dated 27th November 1866, regarding the recent famine in Behar Districts, are as follows:

2. The zemindaree, of which I am the proprietor, extends over three pergunnahs, Magor, Goa, and Cheeran. About 12 annas land of Magor is low and four annas high. The lands of other two pergunnahs may be equally divided into three classes, namely, 1st, high land; 2nd, table land; and 3rd, low land. The table land is best suited for the paddy crop.

In order to estimate the produce of the lands I divide them as stated below:

(1.) Low land producing coarse rice, each beegah yielding 8 maunds.
(2.) Ditto - - ditto - - ditto.
(3.) Table land producing fine rice, each beegah yielding 15 maunds.
(4.) Ditto - - ditto - - ditto 15 maunds.
(5.) Ditto - - ditto - - ditto 12 maunds.
(6.) High land requiring irrigation, each beegah yielding 4 maunds.
(7.) Very high land requiring irrigation, each beegah yielding 2 maunds.

Some years previous to the famine the produce of different crops on the whole was deficient. The crops growing on high lands were dried up. The prospects of rubbee for the current year are up to date very good, but Heaven knows only its ultimate out-turn. The produce of rubbee for the last year was not comparatively bad. The out-turn of paddy for the present year is good.

After the hail storm in Phalgoon, 1272, the pressure was first felt, but it was not then apprehended that it will assume the aspect of a regular famine. For the last two or three years scarcity of grain was being felt.

After the failure of bhadooee and aughunee crops of 1273 for want of sufficient rain, I and my people apprehended the near approach of a famine. As it was too general, no means could have been contrived to avert it. I made no report regarding it to public authorities, as they were aware of its advent. The officers adopted some measures in consultation with the principal men of the district for relief of the poor. Their charities relieved many. I subscribed 200 rupees, and distributed charities in several places within my estate; I know of no death from starvation within it, and there is no instance of a village within it having been desolated. The wants of the people were a little supplied from the produce of the low lands of the estate, which yielded an average crop. Suspensions of rent from four to eight annas, according to circumstances of the people, were made. There is no export trade within the estate. The produce of the estate is not sufficient for the consumption of the people. Rice is generally imported into it from Chumparun, Tirhoot, Dacca, Goruckpore, and Oude. The measures of relief which Government officers took did immense good to the people. The famine spread all over Hindoostan, and if no such measures were taken many people would have died and many villages would have been desolated. The present selling prices of articles are moderate. The river Ganges and Gunduck pass through the estate. A canal, as in Cawnpore, will not

not irrigate all the lands. The river Ganges passes through Cheeran. There was within it a canal, but it has now been silted up. If it be re-excavated, and a gate fixed on its front for egress and ingress of water, according to the requirements of the adjoining lands, I think the estate will be greatly benefited. The river Gunduck passes through Pergunnah Magor. There was within it a canal which has now also been silted up; if it be reconstructed it will benefit the lands of Magor and Goa.

STATEMENT of *Ram Dhun Singh*, Zemindar of Rampoor, Zillah Patna, dated the 24th December 1866, in reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

IN reply, I beg to submit the following answers to the questions mooted in your circular:—

I hold 70 mouzahs in Pergunnah Mussoora and four others in Saber Moneir. Their total area is 48,000 to 49,000 beegahs, and all these villages suffered from the famine. The crops of the villages are bhadooee, khariff, and rubbee. They depend chiefly on rain, and their seasons of cultivation and harvest are—

Crops.	Period of Cultivation.	Period of Harvest.
Bhadooee—mukky, marwah, shati, &c.	Jeyt and Ashar - -	Bhadoor and Ashin.
Khariff - - - - - -	Jeyt to Bhadoor - -	Aughun and Pous.
Rubbee—gram, mussoor, wheat, barley, &c.	Ashin and Kartick - -	Phalgoon and Chait.

About 33,000 or 34,000 beegahs of land is applied to the cultivation of food-supplying crops, and about 15,000 or 16,000 beegahs is applied to the cultivation of other crops.

The several villages of the estate are farmed, and rent thereof is paid in money. I have therefore no data of each year's produce. I know so far that produce during the period from 1861 to 1866 averaged from 16 to four maunds a beegah. The rate of rice previous to 1864 was 24 to 16 seers for a rupee, and the rates of other articles varied with an insignificant difference of a seer or so. In the beginning of 1865-66 the rate of rice was 16 seers, and it was subsequently nine seers, and that of other articles varied from 25 to 10 seers. The rate of rice in Kartick last was 20 seers, but it is daily rising. I have, however, no data to furnish any detail of rates, and I think the dealers will only be able to do so. In Srabun, 1272, the prices of all edible grains rose within my estate, and at the time I apprehended the approach of a famine. I relieved my ryots by advancing money to enable them to proceed with their agricultural operations. I took steps to construct wells and bunds where I thought water would promote the purpose of irrigation. I gave alms, I did not report the advent of the famine to district authorities, as they knew all about it. They established some charitable centres here and there to feed poor. The measures adopted by them were according to the requirements of the time. I may state from what I have come to know that there has been no death or desertion of homes within my estate. There were a few beggars from other districts, and they only died from starvation. Bhowli rent is paid in grain, the produce of land being equally divided between tenant and landlord. During the two years, for want of sufficient rain, a large extent of land remained fallow. There was water in some lands, but early cessation of rain soon dried it up. All these unforeseen circumstances tended to the short produce of different crops. I relinquished my bhowli share in the produce. The entire amount of rent on account of the year of famine was not, however, realised, and on the whole there was a loss of about 12 or 16 annas both in bhowli and money rent. During the period of pressure there was but nominal export of grains. I have, however, no data of import and export. The interest taken by district officers in favour of the poor benefited them. The produce of the current year exceeds in quantity to that of the last. No hope can yet be placed on rubbee, but if its out-turn be favourable the rate of dhan will be reduced. Khariff has not yet been gathered and stored; its rate is consequently fluctuating; I can say therefore nothing with certainty as to its future rate.

Irrigation from Soane and Poonpoon will enormously benefit the country.

STATEMENT of *Baboo Paluck Singh*, Zemindar, Mouzah Thackorah, &c., Zillah Chumparun, in reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

I AM the proprietor and leaseholder of the estates noted in the margin, situated within those portions of the Chumparun district in which the inhabitants have suffered by the recent famine. The approximate cultivated area of the estates affected by the scarcity amounts to 3,644 beegahs and 18 cottahs.

Pergunnahs.	*Estates.*
Moheshi	Kholoa, Tuppa Sudeha.
Ditto	Rampoor Moornath, &c. &c.

The products of the villages comprising the estates mentioned above are,—

1. Bhadooee (*i. e.*, shati)—(1) dhan, (2) soroo (*i. e.*, dhan), (3) kodoo, (4) mukky, (5) marwah, (6) sammah, and (7) moong.

2. Aughunee.—Dhan.

3. Rubbee.—Urhur, jow, gram, mussoor, khessaree, kerow, mutter, moong, chenna, boot, &c.

The above crops are sown and gathered as shown below :—

Crops.	When Sown.	When Gathered.
Bhadooee	Jeyt and Ashar	Bhadoor and Ashin.
Aughunee	Ditto - ditto	Aughun and Pous.
Rubbee	Ashin and Kartick	Phalgoon and Bysack.

About 3,644 *b.* 18 *c.* 15 *c.* lands of the villages are applied to the production of the said crops.

The average produce of the various crops in the villages above referred to during the period from November 1861 to November 1866 was as stated below :—

	Average Produce of all kinds of Crops.
1st year	16 anna full crop.
2nd „	12 „ deficient by 4.
3rd „	8 „ ditto by 8.
4th „	4 „ ditto by 12.
5th „	16 „ full crop.

The subjoined table exhibits the selling prices of different kinds of produce from December 1861 to November 1866 :—

Names of Articles.	1270. Dec. 1861. Nov. 1862.	1271. Dec. 1862. Nov. 1863.	1272. Dec. 1863. Nov. 1864.	1273. Dec. 1864. Nov. 1865.	1274. Dec. 1865. Nov. 1866.
	Seers.	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*
Mukky	30	22	15	12	30
Shati	30	22	15	12	30
Kodoo	40	30	20	15	40
Murwa	40	30	20	15	40
Dhan (aughunee)	25	19	15	12½	25
Rice	20	18	15	7	21
Jow	25	19	15	12	25
Gram	19	16	12	8	19

The pressure from Aughun to Chait was slight, but it was extremely severe from Bysack to Bhadoor last. The failure of different crops for want of rain during 1273 was the chief cause of the distress. The yields of bhadooee and rubbee were, therefore, deficient, and the crop aughunee was, for want of a shower of rain, entirely destroyed. In Ashin 1273, it was apprehended that there will be a pressure throughout the year, but it was not, however, then anticipated that it will be followed by a regular famine. Under the apprehension of a general scarcity I stored up a certain amount of grain for use in case

case of emergency. I advanced them freely to ryots of the estates. I gave also tuccavi to those who were in need of money for agricultural purposes. To alleviate the general distress I gave gratuitous relief to the poor. In the beginning of 1273, I asked the manager of my estate to inform the Collector of the general pressure. The authorities took certain measures, which relieved a little the common distress of the people. There have been some deaths from starvation within the estate. No land, however, was left uncultivated, as there was no desertion of homes, for the ryots of the estate received sufficient advances of grain and money to proceed with their agricultural operations.

Rent within the estates is realised in cash. Bhowli system prevails to a very limited extent, as one in 16. The prevailing kists of estates are as noted in the margin. Out of the entire rent of 1273 only six annas was realised, and the remaining 10 annas left uncollected, and will, it is hoped, be realised in the course of 1274. Interest due on account of the balance has been entirely relinquished, and the principal sum will also be realised with great leniency. Exportations of grains within the estate are limited, for my local agents are enjoined to see that ryots do not dispose of them to an extraordinary extent. During the famine months, edible grains to a very large extent were imported here from Sarun. From what I have seen within my own estate and in that of others, I am certain that due steps were taken by authorities to relieve the general distress, and many landholders contributed for the relief. The advance of money by Collector to ryots to purchase seeds was a great boon to them, and they are, therefore, very grateful to Government. The distress has ceased, the out-turns of last bhadooee and aughunee were very good, and the ensuing rubbee promises well. The crops have reduced comparatively the prices of all articles. Irrigation from the rivers Narainee and Sukurnaha will confer a permanent benefit on the ryots. In places where it is needed within my estate I intend constructing "Ahars" and "Pyns," as in Patna and Behar.

	As.
Bhadooee - -	4
Aughunee - -	8
Rubbee - -	4

STATEMENT of *Sheoprosono Singh*, Zemindar, Pergunnah Besara, &c., Tirhoot, in reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

I SUBMIT the following replies to your several queries, dated 27th November 1866, regarding the recent famine:—

There are two sircars, Hazeepore and Tirhoot, the former containing 17, and the latter nine, mouzahs. I hold several villages within these two sircars as malik and ticcadar. The severity of the late famine was greatly felt by the people of the Tirhoot sircar The people of Hazeepore did also feel it, but not to that extent as those of Tirhoot, for Hazeepore is on the bank of a river, and near to a town. Although I did as my means allowed, yet I do not think that the relief given was sufficient, because the intensity of the famine was very great. The cultivated area of the sircars amounts to 10,000. There are three crops during a year in the estate. They are bhadooee, khariff, and rubbee.

The products of the villages comprising the two sircars are as follows:—

Hazeepore and Tirhoot.

Bhadooe.—Marwah, mukky, kodoo, wheat, shati, ooreed, and budjra.
Khariff.—Dhan and ooreed.
Rubbee.—Barley, gram, mutter, keerow, kokoneer, potato, urhur, &c. &c.

In Tirhoot, sircar dhan is the chief crop, and next to it is bhadooee.

Bhadooee is sown usually in Ashar and reaped in Ashin.

Khariff is sown in Phalgoon and Chait, transplanted in Ashar and Bhadoor, and reaped in Aughrun.

Rubbee is sown in Ashin to Aughrun, and reaped in Chait and Bysack.

The above 10,000 beegahs of land is applied to the cultivation of the said crops. The average produce from the area in an ordinary year is sufficient for the consumption of the people of the estate.

The average produce of the different crops from November 1861 to December 1866 was as stated below:—

November 1861 to November 1862—Bhadooee crop - - 16 anna full crop.
" " " " —Khariff " - - 16 "
" " " " —Rubbee " - - 12 "

December 1863 to November 1864
December 1864 to November 1865 } All crops taken together, from 8 to 4 annas.
December 1865 to November 1866

Price of rice from November 1861 to November 1862 was 25 seers a rupee - - } This rate was just after the harvest, but there was, afterwards, gradual variation during the year.

December 1862 to November 1864, 20 seers
December 1864 to November 1865, 18 " } - - Ditto - ditto.
December 1865 to September 1866, 15 "

During the last year prices of grains changed in every month, and the last rate of rice was only six seers for the rupee.

The prices of all other edible articles varied according to the rate of rice. From October 1866 the price of dhan has been lowered. I have no data to give the rates that prevailed in each month during the year.

At the end of 1272 the want for rain was greatly felt in all parts. The effect of the scarcity was a deficient produce of bhadooee for the year 1273. The drought also dried up the lands sown with khariff, which for want of water were not irrigated, and for the same reason too the rubbee plants did not thrive, and subsequently the hail and rain of Phalgoon greatly injured them. Subsequent to the hailstorm of the month I adopted necessary measures to give relief to those who were in need of it. When I saw the district officers I told them of the distressed condition of the people of my estate. I gave gratuitous relief, and subscribed a sum to alleviate the general distress.

There has happened a very heavy loss of population of the estate from deaths and desertions of home. The estimated loss in Tirhoot sircar is eight out of 16 anna; viz.:

¾ from death.
¼ from desertions.

The estimated loss of population in Hazeepore sircar is six anna, in equal proportions, from deaths and desertions. The immediate effect of the loss was that a large extent of arable land was left uncultivated. It will, however, be brought under cultivation with some difficulties.

Bhowli system is not very common in the estate. Where it prevails, out of the entire produce of a beegah, the landholder gets nine and tenant seven anna; and in case when there is no produce both parties suffer loss equally. During the two years 1272 and 1273 the yields of bhowli lands were *nil*. There are four instalments for recovery of rents. It is regulated according to harvest seasons.

The realisation about four out of 16 anna rent of the year 1272 was postponed, on condition that it will be recovered during the ensuing year. During 1273 about eight anna rent was only realised after the bhadooee and khariff harvests, and the remaining eight anna held under suspension, on this understanding, that if the yields of the following years' crops be good, steps will then be taken to recover it. Before the famine there were no extraordinary importations to, or exportations from, the estate. Imports of articles into the villages during the famine months were, however, great, and export comparatively less. I have, however, no data to furnish any details on these points. The relief measures adopted by the officers of Government were sufficient. Famished, who did not abandon their homes, were fed by landholders. Notwithstanding the dearness of articles, Government landholders and myself did utmost to afford relief to paupers. There is yet no prospect that the rates of edible articles for the current year will be as moderate as they were during the years previous to the famine. Although the last bhadooee and khariff crops have turned very good, yet I do not think they will remove the general distress. The reasons are—

1. The present rate of rice cut, only a month ago, varies in different places from 17 to 20 seers a rupee.

2. After the ensuing rubbee harvest the price, which is already a high one, will still rise.

3. Price of rice is daily rising.

4. A few years ago the rates of all articles were fixed by Government through police officers, in consultation with bazar chowdhories, but the power of so fixing them has since been withdrawn. Dealers, therefore, sell their goods according to their own rates. It lies with Government to revert to the old method of fixing rates or not.

The sudden appearance of the famine must be attributed to scanty rain, which caused the failure of the crops of 1273. In some places of Hazeepore irrigation from well water is carried on to a certain extent, but there is only a small quantity of land for "shati" cultivation. In Tirhoot the production of dhan depends chiefly on rain. In a year of drought irrigation is greatly needed, and therefore any system of irrigation may, with great advantage, be introduced as it may seem best. The rivers Ganges, Gunduck, Little Gunduck, Bagmatty, and Luckundye may be embanked for the purpose.

STATEMENT of *Rajah Rughoonundun Singh Bahadoor*, Zemindar of Pergunnah Bussohara, &c., Zillah Tirhoot, in reply to the Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

I BEG to submit my answers to the several questions regarding the late famine received with a memorandum from the joint magistrate of the district:—

1. The people of the several villages situated within the pergunnahs Bussohara, Looton, Munhad, Koomeera, and Purharpoor-Mowas suffered from the late famine, but it was severely felt by those of the three pergunnahs last mentioned. The estimated area affected by the famine amounts to from 30,000 to 40,000 beegahs. The said villages lie on the north and west of Tirhoot. The people of the said three pergunnahs Munhad, Koomeera, and Purharpoor-Mowas still suffer much distress on account of the famine.

2. The

2. The crops of the villages are bhadooee, dhan, and rubbee. Out of the entire estimated area two-thirds is applied to the cultivation of dhan, and one-third to that of bhoota. The above area, with a trifling exception, is well cultivated, and a year's ordinary produce is more than sufficient for the consumption of the whole people.

3. *Bhadooee* is sown from Jeyt to Srabun, dhan from Jeyt to Bhadoor, and *rubbee* from Ashin to Aughran. The average produce of all crops from 1862 to 1865 was full 16 annas. For want of sufficient rain, the produce of 1273 *F. S.* was deficient. It is estimated that the year's produce, on an average, was only 6 annas.

4. Selling prices of all articles supplying food during the period mentioned were as shown below:—

	1. Rice.		2. Dhan.		3. Marwah.		4. Mukky.		5. Shutto.		6. Jow.		7. Wheat.		8. Urhur.		9. Boot.		10. Kerow.		11. Khessor.		12. Mussoor.	
	S.	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*	*S.*	*c.*
December 1861 (1269) -	40	–	70	–	70	–	70	–	80	–	60	–	40	–	40	–	40	–	50	–	70	–	50	–
Ditto 1862 (1270) -	35	–	60	–	60	–	60	–	70	–	50	–	30	–	40	–	40	–	50	–	60	–	45	–
Ditto 1863 (1271) -	30	–	50	–	50	–	50	–	60	–	40	–	30	–	30	–	40	–	40	–	50	–	40	–
Ditto 1864 (1272) -	30	–	45	–	45	–	45	–	60	–	40	–	25	–	30	–	30	–	40	–	50	–	35	–
Ditto 1865 (1273) -	—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—	
Augran - -	15	–	30	–	20	–	25	–	30	–	20	–	15	–	20	–	15	–	15	–	20	–	15	–
Pous - - -	15	–	25	–	20	–	20	–	25	–	15	–	12½	–	15	–	15	–	15	–	20	–	15	–
Magh - - -	10	–	23¾	–	20	–	20	–	23¾	–	15	–	12½	–	15	–	15	–	15	–	17½	–	15	–
Falgoon - -	13¾	–	23¾	–	20	–	20	–	23¾	–	15	–	12½	–	15	–	15	–	15	–	17½	–	15	–
Chait - - -	12½	–	22½	–	15	–	15	–	23¾	–	15	–	10	–	12½	–	12½	–	15	–	20	–	12½	–
Bysack - - -	11¼	–	20	–	15	–	15	–	20	–	15	–	10	–	12½	–	12½	–	12½	–	15	–	12½	–
Jeyt - - -	7½	–	12½	–	12½	–	15	–	12¾	–	10	–	10	–	10	–	10	–	10	–	12½	–	10	–
Ashar - - -	8	–	10	–	12	–	14	–	12	–	12	–	10	–	12	–	12	–	11	–	14	–	9	–
Srabun - -	8	–	10	–	12	–	14	–	12	–	12	–	10	–	2	–	12	–	11	–	14	–	9	–
Bhadoor - -	8	–	10	–	12	–	14	–	12	–	12	–	10	–	12	–	12	–	11	–	14	–	9	–

5. People felt the severity of the famine for want of grain. The estate of which I am the proprietor is very extensive and thickly populated; it was not, therefore, in my power to afford them that amount of relief which their distressed circumstances demanded. Still, I took measures, according to my means, to relieve their general sufferings. I helped them with money, seeds, &c. The general distressed condition of the people was brought to the notice of the Collector and Commissioner in June 1866, when I saw them at Mozufferpore.

6. The loss of rents on account of deaths and desertions of homes caused by the famine has been estimated at 8 out of 16 annas, besides the remissions allowed in consequence of the poverty of the people still living.

7. Bhawoli system prevails within the estate to a very limited extent; people do not generally prefer it to nugdi, for there is within the zemindaree a very large extent of arable lands whose produce enables their cultivators to pay with great facility the assessed rent. The rent of the estate is generally realised by two instalments, viz., 12 annas during the dhan, and 4 annas during the rubbee harvests. After due inquiries made by me and my son, I remitted for ever the rent of ryots reduced by the recent famine.

8. In an ordinary year, the import trade within the villages comprising the estate is carried on to a limited extent, and during the last year "beparies" did not carry it largely.

9. It appears to me that the steps taken by the officers of Government were sufficient to relieve those who left their homes and sought relief in charitable centres established by them. It was once proposed by the officers of Government to feed the kishtukarans (cultivators), but as they refused to eat cooked rice, it was not thought expedient to distribute dry rice, for such a step would have induced persons, not actually famine-stricken, to seek the relief.

10. Price of rice has now been considerably reduced, but I think it will vary, for a large amount of land lies this year uncultivated, and there was drought too in some pergunnahs. If the yield of rubbee crop for the year be full 16 annas, it is hoped that the pressure, in comparison with last year, will be less.

11. There are certain streams within the estate which, if embanked, will benefit cultivation. There are two rivers, Jheener and Adhsura, within the pergunnahs Munhad and Koomreas, which are in extent about 14 miles; I shall be prepared to pay the costs of embanking them, as such a measure will greatly promote cultivation of crops. The expenses of such an undertaking will be, I think, very great, but I shall be glad to bear them for the welfare of the people living within them.

STATEMENT of *Choudhuri Roodroprosaud*, Zemindar Russoolgunge, Sherpoor, &c., Zillah Tirhoot, in Reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

IN reply to the questions circulated by you, I beg to report as follows:—

My zemindaree consists of several villages of pergunnah Russoolgunge, Sherpoor, Shahenpoor, Chalepoor, Hareemow, &c., which I hold with others. During 1272 and 1273 the people dwelling within the villages felt greatly the severity of the late famine; but I think it was not so intense in those villages as it was in Nepal. The estimated area of the affected villages is from 7,000 to 8,000 beegahs.

2. There are three crops, *bhadooee*, *khariff*, and *rubbee*.

Bhadooee consists of *marwah*, *mukky*, *sammah*, *kodoo*, *shati*. It is sown in Ashar and reaped in Ashin. Khariff consists of dhan only; it is cultivated generally from Ashar to Srabun, and cut in Augran. Rubbee consists of jow (barley), gram, chenna, mutter, kerow, khessaree, mussoor, &c.; it is usually cultivated in Ashin and Kartick, and reaped in Chait and Bysack. The chief crop of the villages is khariff, and next to it is bhadooee, and then rubbee. The area mentioned above is applied to the production of these crops. In an ordinary year, the produce of the villages is sufficient for the consumption of the people living within them.

3. The average produce of dhan (the principal crop of the villages) was for the periods mentioned in the circular shown below:—

Period.	*Average Produce.*
November 1861 to November 1862 - -	16 annas full crop.
„ 1863 to „ 1864 - -	12 annas by 4 annas less.
December 1864 to December 1866 - -	Ranging from 4 ans., 6 ans., and 8 ans.

4. From the end of 1861 to the end of 1862 the rate of rice was 25 seers for a rupee.
From 1863 to 1864, it was 20 seers for a rupee.
In 1865 to 1866, it was 15 seers for a rupee.
In 1866 the rate varied, and at the end of the year it was 6 seers for a rupee.

The prices of other edible articles were ruled by that of the rice.

5. For scarcity of rain the symptoms of a famine were first felt in Bhadoor 1272, and the dealers from that time began to withhold their grains. Steps were then taken to procure grains for the people. About the same time I met with district authorities who told me to hold out hopes to poor, and carry on cultivation by means of irrigation; but as there was no water, I was unable to adopt any means for it.

6. An estimated area of 5,000 beegahs land has been left uncultivated, owing to deaths and desertions from homes caused by the famine. Of the entire area the uncultivation of about 12 annas is attributable to deaths, and above 4 annas to desertions.

7. There are few bhowli lands within the estate. The rents are usually collected in three kists, during the three harvest seasons:—

During the	1st	crop bhadooee - - - - - -	4 annas.
„	2nd	„ dhan - - - - - -	10 „
„	3rd	„ rubbee - - - - - -	2 „

8. Suspensions and remissions of rents were allowed in the villages affected by the famine according to the degrees of distress that prevailed in them, varying from 6 to 10 out of 16 annas.

9. Timely relief, it seems, was given by Government officers, but it did not, however, alleviate the general distress, for Providence ordained otherwise.

10. The present rates of dhan and other articles are good in comparison to those of the last year.

There is no system of irrigation in this district. If canals be constructed for the purpose, the cultivation of lands will extend, and the system will confer a permanent boon to the people.

STATEMENT of *Sreenath Ghose*, made on behalf of the Farmer of Ruhinee, Deoghur, in Reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

1. I HOLD the talooks Ruhinee, Comor, Diha, &c. in lease. There are both cultivated and waste lands within the estate.

2. The products of the talooks are *paddy*, *janera*, *marwah*, *gondle*, *kodoo*, *barley*, *gram*, *moong*, *biri*, *koorthee*, *wheat*, *urhur*, *mustard*, *linseed*, *soorgoosa*, *svotni*, and *shati*. The season for harvesting paddy, &c., is Kartick; that of janera, marwah, &c., Bhadoor; and that of rubbee, Phalgoon. The average produce of paddy per beegah is from 10 to 30 maunds,

30 maunds, but it depends chiefly upon the quality of the soil and the mode of cultivation. The produce of other crops averages from two to five maunds a beegah.

The produce of different crops from 1861 to 1864 averaged from 12 to 14 annas out of 16, *i. e.*, there were deficiencies on the whole in produce from 4 to 2 annas. For want of rain in Ashar 1272 (1865), the crops of the season were damaged, and yields from paddy, marwah, janera, gondle, &c., were on an average from 12 to 11 annas, and that from other crops were only 8 annas. The average produce of 1866 has been 14 annas, there being still a deficiency of 2 annas. I annex a table of rates at which food supplying articles were sold at the end of each year from 1861 to 1864, and will also show the rates from the end of 1865 to that of 1866.

The symptoms of a famine were felt in Jait last, during which the prices of all articles gradually rose. From the beginning of the pressure I and others of the villages took steps to feed the poor. Information of the appearance of a famine was given to Government officers, who adopted suitable measures to give relief to famine-stricken persons. No ryot of the estate died from starvation, or deserted their abodes. I helped them with tuccavi, and merchants of the estate, too, lent them money to enable them to pass anyhow the distressed period. The crops muhooa, moong, janera, and mukky relieved the distress of many, and the new line of railroad gave sufficient employment to a large number of paupers, who were hardly pressed for high prices of articles. About 20 or 25 persons, quite strangers, who came from other districts, died either from want of food, or from eating too much after long fastings.

The rent of the estate is realised in money. There are four instalments for its collection. They are Srabun, Ashin, Augran, and Magh. Each kist is for four out of 16 annas rent. For the convenience of payers rent is generally realised from December. There was at the end of 1272 a heavy balance, which is, however, in the course of realisation. The realisation of the rents of *several* tenants, who were in a very distressed condition, was postponed. I gave tuccavi to many defaulters as a relief to them. There is a mart at Ruhinee, and grains are exported from, and imported into it. During the pressure the import and export trades were carried on the usual scale.

On the appearance of the famine, Government officers raised a sum to give relief to poor. Grains were gratuitously distributed in Deoghur and Nullah by the officers of Government, whose measures of relief in favour of the poor were, I think, sufficient. There are same bunds within the estate for irrigation. If some new bunds be also constructed, and the old ones repaired, there will undoubtedly be no scarcity in future for water, and consequently no deficiency in produce.

Table of Prices—Bazur, Ruhinee, and Hatia.

PERIOD.		Rice.	Dhan.	Ghangra.	Ooreed.	Koorthee.	Janera.	Ruhari.	Boot.	Sursoo.	Soorgojea.	Goor.
		Seers.	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*	*Seers.*
Augran - - - -	1268	37½	52½	24	23	30	60	26	26	13½	18½	11
„ - - - -	1269	40	57½	26	26	30	50	26	30	17½	25	20
„ - - - -	1270	37½	52½	24	24	30	50	35	31¼	13	28¾	20
„ - - - -	1271	27½	40	30	30	32	50	33	30	16	30	17

The seer is pucca, and the rate is per rupee.

STATEMENT of *Shah Abdool Hossen*, Zemindar of Sheekpoora, Mukdoompore, &c., Zillah Monghyr, in Reply to Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

I AM a sharer, with others, of the Melkeyet Sheekpoora, Mukdoompore, &c., in Pergunnah Balda. The cultivated area is 9,000, and waste 700 beegahs.

The food supplying crops of the villages are bhadooee, khariff, and rubbee.

Bhadooee is cultivated usually from the middle of Jeyt to that of Ashar, and reaped in Ashin.

Khariff is sown in Jeyt to Bhadoor, and reaped in Augran and Pous.

Rubbee is sown from Ashin to Kartick, and reaped in Chait.

There is no river within the estate; the hill streams which pass through it supply water for irrigation. It is with great difficulty that the lands of Burhora and Burtora, two villages of the estate, are irrigated.

The average produce of different crops per beegah amounts to, as shown below:—

	Mds.
Bhadooee - - - - - - - -	4
Khariff - - - - - - - -	6
Rubbee - - - - - - - -	3

The price of rice during the five years mentioned in your Circular was—

	S.	c.
At the end of 1861 - - - - - -	30	–
At „ „ 1862 - - - - - -	25	–
At „ „ 1863 and 1864 - - - -	20	–
At „ „ 1865 - - - - - -	25	–
At „ „ 1866 - - - - - -	10	8

The rate of bhadooee and rubbee was—

At the end of 1861 - - - - - -	40	–
At „ „ 1862 - - - - - -	35	–
At „ „ 1863 and 1864 - - - -	30	–
At „ „ 1865 - - - - - -	25	20
At „ „ 1866 - - - - - -	10	12

The first indication of a famine was felt in March 1866. I fed the poor of my estate, and advanced money to ryots thereof. When the distress became very severe, beyond my means to alleviate, I reported it to the Collector. I received 200 maunds attah for sale among the needy at a moderate rate; I disposed of it from 23rd June to 2nd August at the rate of 15 seers a rupee. Poor got some relief, and a subscription was raised in the district to feed them; I contributed a sum for the purpose as my means allowed. I fed poor who were infirm with *kheecheeree*, and I made the able-bodied to work for their feeding. There have been about 200 or 300 deaths from cholera, and many persons abandoned their homes. Where "bhowli" prevails the produce of the land is divided equally between the tenant and landlord. I realise my rent in money; the rate is *Rs.* 2. 3. 5. per beegah. The highest rate is for poppy lands. The rent is usually collected within four kists, *viz.*, Ashin, Augran, Chait, and Jeyt. The entire rent of the last year was not realised. The "bhowli" system prevails within the estate according to the wishes of ryots. Several articles are imported into Sheekpore, but I have no means to state their amount. From Sheekpore dhan is exported to Hazareebaugh, and annual exports amount to 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ lac maunds. The measures to give redress to the poor, which Government officers took, it seems to me were good. The relief given, however, was not sufficient in all places for want of funds. The crops of 1274 are all good, and it is hoped that a poor man's daily food will not now cost more than 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna. The want of rain in proper seasons was the cause of the late short produce of crops, and if, therefore, some canals be excavated for the purpose of irrigation, the country will be greatly improved. I would suggest the construction of a few sluice gates in Mouzah Bawee for egress and ingress of water, according to the requirements of cultivation, from the river Shokree Chut.

STATEMENT of *Baboo Shiboprokash Misser*, Zemindar of Toolsipore, &c., Zillah Monghyr, in Reply to the Memorandum of Questions regarding the Famine.

THE following circumstances caused the late famine:—

1. Non-existence of a law or rule empowering Government officers to interfere with rates of edible grains, and the consequence is that dealers sell them according to their own rates.

2. Up-country merchants buy grains for export on the spot as soon as they are off the land, and when stocks become exhausted they sell them at enhanced rates.

3. Successive failures of crops on account of scarcity and irregular rains. The deficient produce of several seasons even would have been sufficient if the dealers were rather liberal in disposing of their stocks.

4. The chief cause, however, of the distress was, that the best lands of the district are in possession of planters for cultivation of indigo. During the last five years indigo concerns have increased.

I am the proprietor of villages Sungholi, Mirzapore, Rum, &c., in pergunnah Melki. With a trifling exception, the entire area of the villages is under cultivation.

The products of the said villages are *wheat, oats, kuriee, urhur, gram, mussoor, mukky, jowar, marwah, kodo, kulti, kube, sammah*, and *chenna*.

Rubbee is sown in Ashin and Kartick, and reaped in Chait; and *bhadooee* in Jeyt and Ashar, and Bhadoor and Ashin.

On an average of five years the produce of each crop per beegah was four maunds.

Rates of articles varied in each of the years required in the Circular from 20, 15, and 10 seers a rupee. At the end of 1273 the rate was six seers a rupee, with changes in some months during the year.

The severe distress was felt in 1866. During its intensity I fed daily about 400 men with chatoo and other edible grains, and I subscribed 100 rupees for the general relief of the district. No one of my estate has abandoned his home, and I assisted those who took shelter within it from Tirhoot and other districts. The entire rent of 1866 was not realised within the year, but after the last bhadooee crop I had no difficulty to collect it.

Dhan

Dhan (paddy) does not grow within my estate, but it is imported into it from Tirhoot. The other surplus products of the estate go to western districts by railway, &c., and the amount that remains at home for consumption is not much. I think that Government officers did all in their power to relieve the poor. The ensuing rubbee promises well. The lands of the estate are not best fitted for any sort of irrigation; there is no canal to supply water. The lands are generally low and liable to inundations.

From *H. L. Harrison*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq , Secretary to the Government of India (No. 1483) ; dated 10th April 1867.

To Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, No. 1241, dated 27th March 1867.
From ditto, No. 3254, dated 30th ditto.

With reference to the correspondence cited on the margin, I am directed to forward herewith, for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a Minute* recorded by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor on Mr. F. R. Cockerell's Report on the Famine in the Behar and Bhaugulpore Divisions. A copy of the following correspondence, referred to at the end of paragraph 10 of the Minute, is also forwarded for the information of his Excellency in Council :—

* Dated Belvedere, 8th April 1867.

Opium Proceedings - - -	March	1865, No. 4.
Ditto - ditto - - - -	April	„ No. 1.
Ditto - ditto - - - -	February	1866, Nos. 1, 2.
Ditto - ditto - - - -	March	„ Nos. 25–30.
Revenue Proceedings - - -	March	„ Nos. 62–69.
Ditto - ditto - - - -	May	„ Nos. 2–4.
Opium Proceedings - - -	November	„ Nos. 31–33.
Ditto - ditto - - - -	March	1867, Nos. 36–38.

MINUTE.

Mr. Cockerell's Report on the Famine in the Behar and Bhaugulpore Divisions.

This Report has already been forwarded to the Government of India, and copies of it have been furnished to the Board, in order that the Commissioners and other officers whose proceedings are in question, may have an opportunity of offering explanations. In the meanwhile I have to submit the following observations, in continuation of my Minute of the 5th January 1867 :—

2. In paras. 4 and 7 of that Minute, I mentioned the steps which were taken by me on receiving the first intimation of scarcity in the Behar and Bhaugulpore Divisions, and in paras. 5, 9, 10, and 11, I showed that in October 1865 the Board were called upon to submit a general report on the state of the country and on the measures of relief necessary ; that in November they submitted such a report, and that on the 11th December I issued orders approving what the Board had done, and pointing out the steps which should be taken to relieve the helpless and provide employment for the able-bodied poor. It was shown in para. 18 that in January the Commissioner of Patna was specially asked whether it was necessary to provide employment for the labouring population in any of the districts of that division, and that he replied in the negative ; and in para. 23 that the Commissioner of Patna reported, in February and March, that the prospects of the coming harvest were favourable, and that when the crops had been destroyed in parts of Sarun and Champarun prompt steps had been taken to supply work on the roads and to assist the ryots. In para. 23 the action taken by the Government on the Bhaugulpore Division was described. And in para. 40 it was explained that no official reports of the necessity for further relief in the districts of Sarun and Champarun had been received up to the 28th May, when funds were first placed at the disposal of the relief committees, and that the Commissioner of Patna, writing to me on the 20th April, had indicated no such necessity.

3. It is very much to be regretted that, notwithstanding the authority given by the Board and by Government in November and December, the local officers in some of the districts of those divisions, especially in Tirhoot and Champarun,

though warned of the approach of serious scarcity both by the state of things around them and by repeated calls for information on the subject, and though evidently alive to a sense of their duty and anxious to perform it, did not earlier perceive and report the necessity for more extended and energetic action, and that the relief operations, when once seriously undertaken, were inadequate to meet the emergency.

4. The fact is now shown to be, that though early steps were taken to relieve such distress as seemed to exist, both by gratuitous alms and by giving employment to the able-bodied poor, the *extent* to which distress prevailed was nowhere, and apparently by no one, suspected until general relief operations were commenced in June and July at the instance of the Commissioners, and that in some districts where relief depôts were then suddenly opened the influx of starving people was so great, that it became impossible for the district officers or for private individuals (on whose agency the district officers were obliged chiefly to rely for assistance) to carry out the wishes of Government with perfect success. It was believed until late in May that private charity, aided by a free expenditure of money on public works, would suffice to meet the emergency, and this would no doubt have been so if all or most of the zemindars and other wealthy inhabitants of the suffering districts had done their duty. But unfortunately the zemindars as a body "ignored their obligations," and, with a few notable exceptions, did nothing to help the poorer classes in their distress. The consequence was that the poor in general, being unable to obtain the means of subsistence at their homes, crowded to the relief centres and other places where food was distributed to such an extent, that the local supply of food was unequal to meet the demand. It would be irrational to blame the local officers for this result. Happily in these provinces there had been no experience of famine or even of serious scarcity within the memory of the living, and the signs of its approach failed to impress even those on the spot with the magnitude of the evil that was about to befall them. Moreover, in the permanently settled districts there are no public establishments by means of which the district officer can organise on a sudden a system of general relief, and if the zemindaree agency fails, he is comparatively helpless. In some of the districts, but especially in Tirhoot and Champarun, this agency, ineffectual at the best, is weakened by a double kind of absenteeism; for not only do the zemindars as a rule let their estates in farm and divest themselves, as Mr. Cockerell observes, of all interest in the welfare of the ryots, but the farmers are for the most part either needy men who seek only to make as much money as they can out of their temporary connection with the property, or wealthy indigo planters who reside in England enjoying the profits of their factories, which (including zemindaree farms) are left to the care and management of local agents, with limited means of their own and limited powers of expenditure on behalf of their employers, and with no motive but that of common humanity to bind them to the people.

5. To show, however, how closely the attention of the Commissioner and the local officers was given to the subject, in all the districts of the Patna Division, how earnestly they endeavoured to meet the crisis, and how little ground there was for the notion that the operations of Government need be limited by any pecuniary considerations, I quote at length a letter which the Commissioner wrote me on the 19th August in reply to one I addressed him on the 13th idem:—

I can assure you that I have kept the Board, and through it the Government, fully informed of the state of distress in my division.

I receive a full weekly report from every district, pass orders on them at once, and as a rule send them on to the Board the day they are received. To the best of my belief, the district officers are thoroughly acquainted with the state of distress in their districts, and have done and do all in their power for its relief. *They are all aware that they have only to apply to me to get a grant in aid of local subscriptions for gratuitous relief, and that grants for works for the employment of the able-bodied will be freely made.* I have already, on application, received from the Board large sums for the committees of Sarun and Chumparun, and would have done the same for Tirhoot; but it was unnecessary, as we have the Durbungah money to fall back on.

As regards grants for public works, I have obtained 20,000 rupees for Sarun, 5,000 rupees for Shahabad, 9,000 rupees for Gya, 2,000 rupees for Patna, and I began by sanctioning

tioning the immediate expenditure in every district of the division of 5,000 rupees from the Ferry Funds. The distress, I regret to say, continues to be great, especially in Tirhoot, Chumparun, and Sarun.

Rice is increasing in price, being at 5 ½ and 6 ½ seers at Mozufferpore and Mooteeharee, and we are longing anxiously for the cutting of the bhadooee, which is splendid everywhere. I have good accounts of the rice crop from Sarun, but there has been a flood of the Gunduck in Champarun, and the low rice lands in Tirhoot have been flooded; so that I fear the distress in those districts will be long continued. I cannot pretend to say that I think that our relief measures in those northern districts fully relieve the distress, for I have both from Tirhoot and Sarun had reports of numerous deaths from starvation, occurring in villages close to centres of relief, where relief is and has been freely given for the last two months. I fear that there are many who prefer to die rather than to take relief in the shape it is offered, and yet I know of no other in which it could be given. This is the matter which gives me the greatest anxiety, and I am making special inquiry into it. This side of the river is far better off than the other.

Drummond of Gya is a very inquiring, painstaking, and humane man. According to Chapman, his committee have acted "nobly," and he reports no extreme distress; and with a very moderate amount of gratuitous assistance, considers that the grant for works he has received will suffice. The district of Shahabad is also in a fair state, and relief of all kinds is provided as far as needed. Patna I believe to be better off even than the two last-named districts. The story of 20 deaths being reported in one day is entirely false. Still a good many deaths have been reported, and there is no doubt, as the Collector has reported, much distress in the south of the district. The deaths above referred to are deaths of people who are not known, beggars and travellers. Howard says there have been deaths in the villages. I have questioned men having property in the worst parts, but they know of no deaths, though they said they had heard of them; still these may have been, if not from starvation, from illness caused by insufficient food. Six deaths in the town, and the villages included in the town thannahs, were reported by the police as having occurred during the first 10 days of this month. They attributed them all to starvation. They were probably from all causes, exposure, illness, age, as well as want of sufficient food. In like manner 39 were reported from the district, of which three were ascribed to cholera. These deaths were mainly to the south of the district, where the people cannot afford to give charity. We have hitherto, as you are aware, had no relief committee at the Sudder Station; recently a small one has been established at Behar. The relief hitherto afforded has been ample work on roads, &c., to the south of the district, and at a few other places. Expenditure on these accounts has been going on at the rate of 3,000 rupees a month for upwards of two months; but rain has now been hanging off so long, and prices are rising so, that I have thought we should do well to have a general relief committee, and I have asked Drummond to call one for to-morrow. I should mention that the police have received stringent orders from Drummond to send in all people who are found starving to the head-quarters of subdivisions, and that funds have been supplied from private charity for their support. I trust you will be satisfied, from what I have written, that I and all under me are fully alive to what is required of us just now, and are doing our best to fulfil it.

6. The attention paid by the Commissioner and the district officers in the Bhaugulpore Division to the condition of the people and the signs of approaching scarcity, and their praiseworthy and generally successful exertions in relieving distress by every means within their power, are abundantly shown in Mr. Cockerell's Report.

7. It will be seen that the European and native residents of both these divisions who were consulted by Mr. Cockerell, bear testimony to the extreme difficulties with which the officers of the Government had to contend, the great exertions they made to overcome them, and the very considerable measure of success which, on a fair consideration of all circumstances, they achieved. Evidence of this will be found in the Appendix to Mr. Cockerell's Report; and Mr. Dalrymple, the Commissioner of Patna, writing to me on the 11th October, mentioned that numbers of natives had stated to him that the relief afforded by the Government "was immensely appreciated by the people at large, who are loud in their expressions of gratitude." This, I have every reason to believe, represents the general feeling on the subject throughout Behar.

8. A full and fair judgment on the proceedings of the local officers cannot, however, be formed until they have had an opportunity of offering their explanations, and I shall therefore confine myself in this paper to the notice of those parts of Mr. Cockerell's Report, in which the action of the Government is impugned, and in which he suggests remedies for the future.

9. With reference to paragraph 47, it may be observed that the change of officers in charge of the district of Chumparun was owing to Mr. M'Donell's return to the office in which Mr. Halliday had acted for him. On Mr.

M'Donell succeeding to an acting judgeship, Mr. Halliday again acted for him, and was eventually appointed permanently to the district of Sarun, when a vacancy occurred on Mr. Grey going to England on sick leave. Changes of this sort, in a climate like that of India, are, unfortunately, unavoidable.

10. With regard to what is stated by Mr. Cockerell, in paragraphs 52–56, as to the refusal of Government to sanction the remission of advances made for the cultivation of the poppy in certain villages where the crops were destroyed by a hail-storm, it may be observed that immediately on receipt of the Commissioner's recommendation, dated 22nd February, that these advances should be remitted, the Opium Agent was, on the 27th February, desired to report on the loss sustained, and on the amount of relief to be given in the way of remission. The Commissioner was at the same time told that this had been done, and that the Government would be ready to afford the sufferers every indulgence. On receipt of the agent's report (forwarded by the Board on the 20th March) which showed that prompt inquiry had been made by the local officers of the department, but that it would be impossible to ascertain the exact amount to be remitted, or to effect an adjustment of account, until the opium weightments were made, the Commissioner and the agent were informed, through the Board, on the 26th March, that *remission of the advances would, of course, be allowed as usual at the proper time, on proof of the destruction of crop and the inability of the ryots to make good their debts by the delivery of opium.* It does not seem that anything more was required or could properly have been done. It was a question, not of payment, but of remitting advances; and a distinct promise that these advances would be remitted was equivalent to actual remission. A general remission of all advances in certain villages, without reference to future adjustment, would have been simply a premium on fraud. In due time, when the accounts were settled, the whole of the balances due from these ryots, amounting to nearly 98,000 rupees, were formally remitted; but it had been distinctly declared from the first that repayment of the advances would not be demanded, and therefore Mr. Cockerell's conjecture that the ryots were prevented from obtaining remission of rent from the landlord or credit from the Mahajuns, by reason of delay in adjusting the accounts, is hardly borne out by the facts. I am assured by the agent that the ryots were not called upon to repay a farthing, and were told that remission of their advances would be granted on adjustment of accounts. If, therefore, it be the case that the zemindars refused remission of rents, on the plea that the Government would not forego its claim to the opium advances, it can only be said that the excuse was utterly without foundation. The correspondence on this subject is appended.

11. I have next to notice what is said in paragraph 120, as to my refusal to sanction the outlay of 30,000 rupees out of the revenues of the the Damun-i-koh, in the Sonthal Pergunnahs. The correspondence on this subject will be found at pages 82 to 86 of the Appendix to my former Minute. When the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division made the proposal contained in his letter No. 93, dated the 14th March 1866, Collectors had already been authorised, with the sanction of the Commissioner, to expend on Government estates "a moderate sum in proportion to the rental for the relief of the helpless poor on the estate, and in providing useful employment, on subsistence wages, for those who are able and willing to work, but cannot otherwise obtain it." The Commissioner therefore had express authority for the outlay of what he might consider a moderate sum on these objects in the Damun-i-koh, and might have begun road-making at any moment he thought it was required by the condition of the people on the estate. Mr. Money therefore asked, not for permission to begin work (which he already had), but for permission to spend a definite sum of 30,000 rupees, out of a revenue of 55,000 rupees, on certain specified works, over and above whatever might be available for public works from the ordinary local funds, or specially granted for that purpose from Imperial funds. He supported his proposal by stating that there was a good deal of distress among the Paharias (the aboriginal inhabitants who occupy the hills) as well as among the Sonthals (an immigrant race, who have cleared and reside in the valley,) though the failure of the crops of the latter had not been so bad as in other parts of the country. The price of rice in the Damun-i-koh was then considerably lower than in the adjoining pergunnahs; and as the hill sirdars receive

receive an allowance of some 15,000 rupees a-year from the Government, it seemed to me that, in a limited area, so large an outlay as 30,000 rupees was not required for relief, and that it would not be right to take advantage of a time of distress to expend on public works, out of the revenue of the estate, in addition to the grants sanctioned by the Government of India, more than was absolutely necessary for the relief of such distress. The expenditure from the revenue of the Damun-i-koh on specified works was therefore limited to 10,000 rupees. This did not in any way interfere with the discretion of the Commissioner to commence relief works, or the gratuitous distribution of food to the destitute, whenever or wherever he might think it necessary. Long before the limit of 10,000 rupees was reached, the Commissioner was told that he might have as much money as he wanted for famine works, and special grants from Imperial funds, amounting in all to 9,000 rupees, were allotted at his request to the Sonthal Pergunnahs; but the whole of this could not be expended, and there still remains a balance in hand. Mr. Cockerell is therefore not justified in supposing that the timeliness or extent of the aid given to the people in distress was in any way affected by the refusal of the Government to sanction an expenditure of more than 10,000 rupees *from the revenue of the Damun-i-koh.*

12. In paragraph 155, Mr. Cockerell alludes to irrigation as a means of obviating the effects of drought in future. The Government of India are aware that I have for some years past pressed the undertaking of the Soane Irrigation Works on a comprehensive plan, whereby (with the help of other subsidiary streams) water might be supplied in abundance to the whole of the champaign country between the Vindhya Hills and the Ganges from Chunar to Monghyr; and the suggestions more recently made for utilising the water of the Gunduck and other Himalayan rivers for the irrigation of North Behar, and of the streams of the Eastern Vindhya Hills for the irrigation of Bhaugulpore and the low lands along the eastern foot of these hills, are now before the Governor General in Council. The importance of the subject is fully appreciated by the Government of India, and it is to be hoped that the agency of skilled engineering officers will be available next season for a careful examination of the whole country in this direction, both to the north and south, with a view to the early construction of irrigation works where they are most required. The Soane works, over a limited area, have been made over to the East India Irrigation Company, who, it is understood, are prepared to commence operations in October, and are actually now engaged in making surveys, and collecting information, with a view to the submission of detailed plans for approval, in terms of their contract.

13. The importance of the road between Gya and Patna, alluded to in paragraph 160 is fully recognized, and it is now finished, except for about 20 miles where it crosses the floods of the Poonpoon, and has to be carried over an almost continuous viaduct. Nothing but want of funds has prevented the completion of this road long ago. All that can be spared out of the annual budget grant has been allotted to this road, and the work is making steady progress.

14. The want of a good road, practicable at all seasons to connect the present railway with the interior of Monghyr, will, in a great measure, be supplied by the chord line of railway now under construction. The road from Bhaugulpore to Sooree (referred to in paragraph 161) is metalled and bridged from Bhaugulpore to Bowsee, and bridged as far as Nonee. The bridges on the same road between Nonee and Sooree will be built as soon as funds can be provided for the work, and the smaller roads in the Sonthal Pergunnahs will be taken up by the civil officers as local funds are available. It is this want of money which alone impedes the completion of the several lines of road referred to in paragraph 162. Both the road from Luckeeserai to Sheikpoora, and that from Buktearpore to Behar, which were projected as feeders to the East Indian Railway, cross the low lands of the Poonpoon Valley, and would be very expensive to make, so as to be available for traffic at all seasons; and the cessation of the Income Tax has deprived the Government of means of undertaking them. The necessity for a road from Luckeeserai to Gidhoor is in a great measure removed by the construction of the chord line.

15. It will not be forgotten that until a very recent period the annual grant of Imperial funds allotted for public works in Bengal, especially for roads, was extremely insignificant, and that it is now quite insufficient for the rapid construction of lines even of Imperial character and importance. For the construction of such local roads as those to which Mr. Cockerell alludes, now that the Income Tax allotment has ceased, there are absolutely no means available, the local funds of Bengal being inadequate even for the maintenance of existing roads for fair-weather traffic. The expense of road-making in Bengal, especially if the roads are to be raised above flood level, is enormous, and unless some special taxation be resorted to, the construction of such roads cannot be attempted. For keeping in order existing fair-weather roads, I am strongly inclined to think that the villages should be held responsible, the Government being empowered, if necessary, to take such works in hand and recover the cost of them by the imposition of a local rate.

16. The want of a subordinate administrative agency in these Provinces is no doubt a serious defect, the consequences of which are painfully apparent in the history of the famine of 1866. No such agency being required for the collection of the revenue, which is all paid direct into the District Treasury, it has been dispensed with altogether. The indigenous machinery of Canoongoes and Putwarees, instead of being utilised and improved, has long ago been deliberately allowed to fall into disuse, and no other system (like the Tehsildaree system of the North-Western Provinces) has been raised up in its place. Inquiries through the police are discouraged, and in my opinion wisely discouraged, as certain to lead to extortion and oppression; so that the only persons from whom information as to the state of crops and stocks in the interior of the districts can be obtained are the zemindars, the accuracy of whose returns is not to be depended on, and whose responsibilities in this respect are exceedingly ill defined, and cannot be legally enforced.

17. It would not be difficult to organise such a machinery as Mr. Cockerell proposes, and it could be worked by the district officer if proper establishments were placed at his disposal for the purpose, and if the zemindars or their agents were required by law to furnish periodically, in a simple form, such information as might be required in regard to each village; but the cost of such establishments would be considerable; the object of the Government in seeking such detailed information would be misunderstood, and the obligation to furnish it would be to the last degree unpopular.

18. On the whole, it seems to me that the impression to be derived from Mr. Cockerell's Report is that the officers of this Government, while anxiously desirous to do their duty to the people, and most zealous in the performance of it when the necessity for special action became apparent, partly from inexperience of famine, partly from undue though not ill-founded reliance on the resources of the country and in the operations of unrestricted trade and of private and local charity, partly from a reluctance to involve the Government unnecessarily in the responsibility of relief operations and interference with the supply of food, and partly from want of correct information and the means of obtaining it, did not, in some of the Behar districts, fully realise the extent of the coming calamity until it was too late to deal with it in an adequate manner. Mr. Cockerell, though in two particular instances he finds fault with the action of the Government upon grounds which I submit are quite insufficient, does not assert or imply that the delay in adopting general measures of relief in Behar, or the insufficiency of those measures, was at all owing to any want of forethought on the part of the Board of Revenue or of the Government, or to the absence either of instructions for the guidance of the local authorities, or of authority under which they might have acted.

(signed) *Cecil Beadon.*

Belvedere, 8 April 1867.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for March 1865, No. 4.

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue (No. 997); dated 8th March 1865.

I AM directed to request that the Board will be good enough to state, for the early information of the Lieutenant Governor, whether the prospects of the opium crop have been materially injured by the late rains; and, if such be the case, that they will state roughly what alteration is likely to result in regard to the year's supply.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for April 1865, No. 1.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 190); dated 22nd March 1865.

IN reply to your letter, No. 997, dated the 8th instant, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to report on the injury sustained by the present poppy crop during the late unfavourable weather.

2. In the Behar Agency the produce had, in the Return for February, been estimated at 47,031 maunds, exclusive of the Tehta subdivision, from which no report had been received. The rain and hail which fell in many districts during the early part of this month are considered by the Principal Assistant Agent in charge to have done much damage. That officer states that "the extent of loss can scarcely be estimated correctly; but, from reports from the district officers, he concludes that the out-turn will fall short of the above estimate by about 7,000 maunds."

3. The Benares Agent reports as follows: "As far as we can judge at present (15th instant), this agency is not likely to produce more than about 40,000 maunds of opium, and from 20 to 25,000 provision chests during this season." As, however, the weather was then still very cloudy, and there was a probability of more rain, Mr. Hamilton desires that this estimate may be considered liable to variation.

4. From these estimates the Board are led to conclude that the provision of the season will not exceed 50,000 chests.

(No. 1266, dated 3rd April 1865.)

COPY forwarded to the Government of India, in the Financial Department, for information.

By Order, &c.

(signed) *S. C. Bayley*,
Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for February 1866, No. 1.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 40); dated 26th January 1866.

WITH reference to my letter, No. 190, dated 22nd March last, reporting the injuries sustained by the poppy crops in both agencies from hail-storms in February and March last, I am directed to subjoin a Statement, showing the amount of balances which have in consequence accrued.

2. The agents both report that they have ascertained beyond doubt that the balances are solely attributable to the damage caused by the hail-storms, and that no frauds have been committed by the ryots either in disposing surreptitiously of their crops to others, or in any other way.

3. The Behar Agent first reported that, although the total sum appeared large, it was very far from representing the whole of the injury sustained by the cultivators, and he added that the realisation of even a small portion of the balances would entail on the ryots the sale of their bullocks and agricultural implements. In a subsequent letter, dated the 13th instant, Mr. Abercrombie states that the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Shahabad had realised the balance of *Rs.* 2,621. 7. 9. before reported as irrecoverable in the district, but it is added "this has been effected with great difficulty, the *khattadars* having been forced to borrow the money. It would be an act of grace, as well as a great boon to them, if this money could be returned."

4. With regard to the Benares balances, the sub-deputy agents are unanimous in their opinion that the amount could not be recovered from the ryots, "even partially, without reducing them to the last expedient of selling their cattle and implements of husbandry." The Agent recommends that the entire sum should be realised gradually from the cultivators by deductions from payments to be made to them in the present season.

5. The Board, however, under these circumstances, desire me to recommend the remission of the entire balances, the only other alternative proposed of deducting these dues from the advances for the present season's crop being considered by them as a harsh and unadvisable measure. The last order of a similar nature, though in a very minor degree, was issued in Government Order No. 2215 of the 30th September 1858.

STATEMENT showing, in Abstract, the Total out-standing Balances Due from the Opium Cultivators in the undermentioned Districts of the *Behar* and *Benares* Opium Agencies, whose Poppy Crops suffered from Hail-storms during February and March 1865.

DISTRICT.	Amount.			DISTRICT.	Amount.		
Behar:	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	Benares:	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
Gya - - - -	6,502	10	9	Benares - - - -	3,595	4	6
Tehtah - - - -	8,957	14	6	Azimghur - - -	227	15	11
Monghyr - - -	477	15	9	Selimpore - - -	513	12	3
Shahabad - - -	2,621	7	9	Rohilcund (abandoned) -	93	8	–
Total - - - *Rs.*	18,560	–	9	Total - - - *Rs.*	4,430	8	8

T. B. Lane,
Junior Secretary.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for February 1866, No. 2.

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 471); dated 5th February 1866.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Behar	18,560		9
Benares	4,430	8	8

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 40, dated the 26th ultimo, and in reply to state that the Lieutenant Governor authorises the Opium Agents of Behar and Benares to write off to profit and loss in the accounts of their respective offices the sums specified in the margin, being the loss sustained by injury to the poppy cultivation by hail-storms during February and March 1865.

(No. 472.)

Copy forwarded to the Accountant General, Bengal, for information. The ground of sanction is stated in the body of the letter.

(No. 473.)

Copy of this letter, and of the one to which it is a reply, forwarded to the Government of India, in the Financial Department, for information, with reference to the Memorandum from this office, No. 1266, dated the 3rd April last.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, Nos. 25, 26.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 79); dated 26th February 1866.

I AM directed to forward herewith a copy of a letter from the Behar Agent, No. 27, dated the 21st instant, detailing the injuries done to the poppy crop by recent hail-storms, and the consequent short produce expected from the Behar Agency.

2. The Board much regret that there are good reasons to fear that the Behar out-turn will be materially affected, though future Reports may show that the loss has not been so great as is feared by the Agent.

From *R. Abercrombie*, Esq., Opium Agent of Behar, to *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 27); dated 21st February 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report the occurrence of a severe hailstorm, followed by two days of almost incessant rain, during the early part of the present month. In several districts under this agency the damage done by the hail to the poppy crop has been very considerable, and will cause a large falling off in the expected out-turn of the opium. In addition to this loss, the amount of irrecoverable balances will be very heavy, as in many instances the crop will not return the sums paid as advances by produce delivered. Moreover, the hail has had an equally pernicious effect upon the other crops, so that the unfortunate cultivators have nothing to fall back upon, and many of them who were already suffering from the loss of last year's crops will be utterly ruined.

2. It is impossible at present to state with any degree of accuracy the amount of actual damage that has been sustained, but from the reports which I have hitherto received from the district officers, who are now employed in visiting the different villages where the hail has proved destructive, I much fear that the loss of produce will exceed 6,500 maunds.

3. The subdivisions which appear to have suffered most are Aleegunge and Chuprah. In *Kothee* Jhejwah, under the sub-deputy agent of Aleegunge, the poppy plant has been almost completely destroyed, and it appears doubtful whether 50 maunds of opium will be gathered where 1,100 were expected. In the other two *Kothees* of this subdivision considerable damage has been done. The estimated produce of Alleegunge was nearly 6,000 maunds, and it is now believed that not half that quantity will be produced.

4. In *Kothee* Musruck, in Chuprah, 3,000 beegahs of cultivation have been completely destroyed, and the portion of the crop which had not reached maturity has been so much injured that it is expected to yield but little produce. A part of *Kothee* Chuprah has also suffered severely.

5. Moteeharee has been more fortunate. Although the cultivation of about 900 *beegahs* has been completely destroyed, and that of 2,000 partially, this local loss is expected to be made good by an increase of produce from other lands which have been benefited by the rain that fell, especially in the *Kothees* to the north, where the fall of rain in December and January was scanty. This will, however, not assist those unfortunate ryots whose whole cultivation has been destroyed.

6. In Mozufferpore the damage sustained is estimated at 500 maunds, and in Tehta at 700.

7. In Bettiah the hailstones were small in size, and did not do much injury. The extent of country over which they fell was also limited. Moreover the rain unaccompanied by hail has proved beneficial. Shahabad has had a most providential escape, the damage done by the hail not being extensive. In Patna and Monghyr the loss also appears trivial, and in Gya no serious injury has been effected.

8. I regret to state that the sub-deputy agent of Hajeepore, who reports that considerable damage has been sustained by his plant, has not yet submitted his promised report of the extent of it. I do not, however, deem it advisable to delay this letter any longer.

9. On receipt of the usual monthly reports, about ten days hence, I shall be able to form a more correct idea of the actual damage sustained, as I hope by that time to have full reports of the effect of the storm before me. In the meantime, from the information I now possess, I do not think that the amount of damage will be found to be wrongly computed at about 7,000 maunds of produce.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, No. 27.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 105); dated 13th March 1866.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 79, dated 26th ultimo, and with reference to your docket, No. 819, dated 28th idem, I am directed to forward herewith a letter from the Opium Agent of Behar, No. 36, dated 6th instant, reporting the effects of the late rains on the poppy crop of that Agency.

2. The Benares Agent has not yet replied to the Board's docket forwarding for report Government Order, No. 755, dated 23rd ultimo. A reminder has this day been addressed to him; on receipt of his reply a further report will be submitted.

From *R. Abercrombie*, Esq., Opium Agent of Behar, to *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 36); dated 6th March 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Office Memorandum, No. 84, dated 28th ultimo, with the copy of a letter from the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, calling for a report on the effects of the late rains on the poppy crop of this Agency.

2. In my letter, No. 27, of 21st ultimo, I endeavoured to convey, for the Board's information, as accurate an account as I was then able to form of the damage caused to the poppy cultivation by the severe hailstorm which occurred in the early part of last month, and was followed by two days of almost incessant rain. The loss from the hail was therein computed at nearly 7,000 maunds of opium, but I am happy to be able to state that, from the Monthly Reports since received, the prospects are somewhat improved. The backward portion of the crop has derived so much benefit from the rain which fell unaccompanied by hail that it is hoped the loss will be made good, to the extent of about 3,000 maunds, by the increase of produce expected from the backward crop. This, however, will entirely depend upon the state of the weather. If it remains as favourable for another 15 days as it has been for the past fortnight the hoped-for result may be reckoned on.

3. It must, however, be borne in mind that, though the losses caused by the hail may be to a certain extent made good by the increased produce expected from the backward crop, the unfortunate cultivators whose crops have been entirely destroyed by the hail will not be benefited, and the irrecoverable balances due by these parties will, I fear, be considerable. I propose to make this the subject of a subsequent communication when the full extent of their losses has been accurately ascertained.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, Nos. 28–29.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esquire, Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 113); dated 20th March 1866.

WITH reference to your memorandum No. 794, of the 27th ultimo, I am directed to forward a report received from the Agent of Behar, from which it will be seen that the details desired by Government cannot be furnished until the close of the season's accounts.

2. The agent is quite right to abstain from inquiries, by which only great harm would be done to the Government interests, and the Board recommend that the request made by him in his 6th paragraph be acceded to.

3. In the remarks contained in Mr. Abercrombie's 7th paragraph the Board cordially and entirely agree. They consider it most objectionable that local revenue officers should interfere with opium arrangements, and they have already pointed out to Mr. Grey and to the Commissioner the great impropriety of the steps taken by them. Mr. Grey apparently quite overlooked his position as deputy opium agent, under which character he might have most suitably addressed himself to the agent, his immediate superior in the department.

4. The enclosures of your memorandum under reply are herewith returned.

From *R. Abercrombie*, Esquire, Opium Agent of Behar, to the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 42); dated 16th March 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your official memorandum No. 95, dated 6th instant, forwarding another memorandum from the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 794 of 27th ultimo, with letters from the Commissioner of Revenue, Patna Division, the Collector of Chuprah, and an Indigo planter of that district, relative to a severe hailstorm which occurred there during the past month.

2. The memorandum of the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal directs that a detailed report of the loss sustained be submitted, with the amount of relief, in the way of the remission of opium advances, which should be afforded to the cultivators of the devastated tract.

3. On receiving from my sub-deputy agents at Chuprah and Alleegunge intimation of the hailstorm in question, I directed them to proceed to the spot at once, and by a personal inspection of every village ascertain the amount of damage done to the opium crop. I also deputed Mr. E. F. Armstrong, the first assistant at the opium factory, to Alleegunge, to aid the sub-deputy agent of that sub-division, where the effects of the storm had been most severe in the work.

4. It

4. It would be impossible to ascertain with any degree of exactness the amount of remission on advances that it will be requisite to make until the weighments of opium are concluded, and an adjustment of accounts with the cultivators has been effected. It would, moreover, be a very impolitic measure to attempt such a thing at present, being in fact equivalent to proclaiming a general remission of advances. This would double the number of claimants for such indulgence, and would open a door for the perpetration of all kinds of frauds by the cultivators, which the district officers would be powerless to prevent. For instance, a man who had lost only a portion of his crop would sell what had escaped the effects of the storm to another who had been fortunate enough to save his whole crop, and would then come forward with a claim for a total remission, whereas he would only be entitled to a partial one. Such and similar frauds would be perpetrated without number, and, as I stated above, would not be capable of detection.

5. I do not mean to say that there will be no necessity for remitting advances;—on the contrary, there are strong grounds for believing that there will be need for heavy remissions, but what I am anxious to prevent is the perpetration of frauds on the department, and the preferring of false claims.

6. I would, therefore, beg to be permitted to postpone the submission of any remission statement until the cultivators have brought in their opium, and their accounts are settled; should it then appear that any parties are entitled to the indulgence, it can be granted to them. In the meantime no refunds of advances will be demanded. This has been the invariable custom in the department, and has been found to work well. An immediate remission, or even a promise of future remission, would be of no present benefit to the cultivators, but might be the cause of serious detriment to the interests of the Government.

7. In conclusion, I beg respectfully, but most earnestly, to protest against such interference with the Opium Department, as the Commissioner of the Patna Division and the Collector of Chuprah have attempted. To recommend a remission of opium advances without the slightest reference to the agent was in itself an act wanting in that official courtesy which is usually observed by the head of one department towards that of another. I might as well have recommended to the Board a remission of the Government revenue to the landed proprietors, who are likely to be sufferers from an inability to collect their rents from the ryots whose crops have been destroyed by the storm. But a far worse feature in the case is this. The interference on the part of the revenue authorities may be fraught with most mischievous consequences, unsettling the minds of the ryots, and inducing them to evade the just claims of the Government by the perpetration of all kinds of fraud. The Commissioner has assured me that he has not authorised the communication to the opium cultivators of any hopes of a remission of advances. There cannot be a doubt, however, that they must have heard of the interest which he and the Collector of Chuprah have taken in their affairs, and it will require considerable tact and management to prevent disastrous consequences to the interests of Government resulting therefrom.

8. The letters received with your official memorandum are herewith returned as directed.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, No. 30.

From the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 1133); dated 26th March 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 113, dated the 20th instant, and in reply to say that the Lieutenant Governor entirely agrees with the Board in the opinion that the interests of Government would be injuriously affected by untimely concessions to the opium cultivators, and that the recommendation contained in the 6th paragraph of the Agent's letter, to defer the submission of the remission statements, is accordingly approved.

2. His Honor does not for a moment suppose that the Commissioner of Patna, in forwarding the letter of the Collector of Chuprah, reporting the severe hailstorm in his district, and proposing a remission of opium advances, intended any slight to the Opium Agent, or that his omission to consult the Agent before making so serious a proposal, affecting the management of the opium department, was otherwise than inadvertent.

3. Remission of advances, I am to observe, will, of course, be allowed as usual at the proper time, on proof of the destruction of crop, and the inability of the cultivators to make good their debts to the Government, either in whole or in part, by the delivery of opium; but any special action in the matter at the present time would be premature and injudicious.

4. The Board will be so good as to communicate these observations to the Opium Agent of Behar and the Commissioner of Patna.

5. The enclosure of your letter is herewith returned.

REVENUE PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, No. 62.

From *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 61 A.); dated 16th February 1866.

* No. 66 Ct., dated the 10th instant.

I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Board of Revenue, to forward herewith, for submission to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, copy of a very satisfactory Report* from the Commissioner of Patna, on the prospects of the rubbee or cold-weather crops in the several districts of his division. The Board trust that the subsequent heavy rains have not injured the crops.

2. The Board have called on the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore to furnish a similar report as regards the several districts of that division; on receipt it will be communicated to Government.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 66 Ct.); dated 10th February 1866.

I HAVE the honour to state, for the information of the Board, that I recently called on the several Collectors of my division to report on the prospects of the rubbee crop in their respective districts, with the following results:—

2. *Patna.*—The Collector of Patna reports, under date the 13th ultimo, as follows:—"The rubbee crop throughout this district will be a very fair one, and will be certainly not less than a three-fourth crop. There are villages that have got but a poor crop, and some in which no rubbee was sown owing to want of rain; but, on the whole, the district will do well. The rain that fell last week has been most beneficial, and has doubled the gram and wheat crops. The peas have not profited to the same extent, as they were mostly in flower before the rain fell. Prices will come down in consequence of this rain, if this district have not to supply Gya and Shahabad; but, if these two districts are short, grain will continue to be exported from here, and prices will remain high. There is no longer any talk of a famine."

3. *Shahabad.*—The Collector of Shahabad reports, under date the 18th ultimo, that "the late rain has proved highly beneficial to the rubbee crops, and it is expected that the crop will be exceedingly fine. He also adds that "much land has been allowed to remain fallow owing to the absence of rain; the prospect of the country, however, appears to be, on the whole, satisfactory."

4. *Gya.*—The Collector of Gya reports, under date the 15th ultimo, that "wherever the rubbee crops have come up, the prospect of a considerably increased out-turn exists, and that the rain has also enabled the people to sow 'cheena' crops, which will go some way towards alleviating the scarcity, though the growth of this crop being dependent to some extent must be confined to places where means of artificial irrigation exist. The rain was too late to admit of the sowing of any other crops." The Collector doubts whether, for the whole district, the rubbee will exceed a six-anna crop. This report of Mr. Drummond's must, however, be taken to apply only to the Sudder subdivision, for the subdivisional officers at Sherghotty and Nowadah report very favourably of the prospects of the crop.

5. *Tirhoot.*—The Collector of Tirhoot, under date the 16th ultimo, reports as follows:—

"The general prospect of the rubbee crop throughout the district is by comparison good. This late rain has done immense good; and I think we may safely anticipate, at the very least computation, a twelve-anna rubbee crop. The late cry and excitement with relation to the rice crop has been also, as I expected, far greater than occasion warranted. I have made many inquiries throughout the district, and the computed aggregate rice crop is not less than ten annas, but more generally a twelve-anna crop."

The subdivisional officer at Durghungah, however, does not report favourably of the prospects of the crop in his subdivision.

6. *Sarun.*—The Collector of Sarun reports, on the 22nd ultimo, as follows:—

"In the first place, I take all the rubbee crops of all kinds together, and in this view I find no reason to suppose that the result will be very materially below the usual average of the past few years, which has rarely reached the full 16 annas. I would put down the entire rubbee crop as a fourteen-anna crop, which is a fair average and better than that of last year, which suffered from there being no rain till February. I will now show in detail how I arrive at this conclusion.

1. *Area*

I.—*Area Sown.*

"The last crop of peas and pulses was injured by the hailstorms of February and March of this year. This led to scarcity of seed for the sowing of those crops for this year; and though the decrease has been partly met by an increased sowing of the other rubbee crops, such as wheat and barley, the dearness of grain prevented this increase of sowing from being as great as it otherwise would have been.

II.—*State of the Crops as they stand.*

"The crops of all kinds are healthy. The grain crops are somewhat 'stunted' from the want of early rain; but since the latter rain,* the harm will rather be to the 'straw' than to the grain itself.

"I accordingly put down the rubbee crop of this district as a 'fourteen-anna' crop, thus,—

Area sown.—15 annas out of 16 annas.
Produce on Area sown.—15 annas out of 16 annas.

"The crop, in short, will be about up to the average of past years.

"This report is based on what I have seen myself, as well as what I have learnt from others; and the remarks apply both to the 'head quarters' (Chuprah) Division and to that of Sewan."

7. *Chumparun.*—The Collector of Chumparun reports on the 2nd instant:—"I am happy to be able to state that the prospects are much more favourable than could have been anticipated a few weeks ago. The rain which fell at the beginning of January, as also towards the end of the month, has not only secured the crops from the destruction that threatened them, but has done so much for them that a fourteen-anna crop may now be reasonably looked for. In some parts of the country there is every chance of there being a larger yield per beegah than ordinary; but, owing to the scarcity and high price of grain, the quantity sown in this district is somewhat less than in other years. The opium, which a short time ago, looked very unhealthy, is now growing fast; and the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent expects at least an average season. The sugar-cane, ginger, and turmeric crops are very fair this year, as also the oil seeds. I trust now that there is no chance of the price of grains reaching famine pitch, or even rising any higher than it is at present; though at the same time, owing to the total failure of the rice crop, I fear the fall in prices will be but slow and very gradual. The northern part of the district all along the Terai has suffered most, and there but few rubbee crops are ever raised; and this year even less than usual. In all the fallow lands the ryots are busy sowing cheena, and if they obtain a fair crop, this will assist greatly in warding off any possibility of a famine.

"It is difficult to obtain reliable data of the prospect of the crop as compared with other years. As the Natives generally attempt to show that the failure of the crops this year is much greater than it really is, as I have above stated after careful inquiry, I am of opinion that there will be at least a fourteen-anna crop."

8. The general tenor of these reports is favourable, and it will, I am sure, afford the Board satisfaction to receive them. If we have only fair weather up to the end of this month, all will be well.

Since writing the above, there has been very continued rain at this place, which, I fear, has done the crops considerable injury. I have again called on all Collectors to report on the prospects of their districts; and, on hearing from them, will again address the Board.

Revenue Proceedings for March 1866, No. 63.

From *J. Geogheghan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 755); dated 23rd February 1866.

With reference to your letter, No. 61A, dated the 16th instant, I am directed to request that the Board will be so good as to submit a report of the effect of the late rain on the crops, and especially on the poppy cultivation, of the Behar and Benares agencies.

Revenue Proceedings for March 1866, Nos. 64–66.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to the Hon. *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 34Ct.); dated 22nd February 1866.

I have the honour to forward copy of a letter from Mr. Grey, Collector of Sarun, and of its enclosure, from Mr. Lewis Cosserat, of Burhoga Factory, reporting the destruction of No. A. T. of the 19th February 1

* "Rain fell on the last week of December, and again in the first week of January. I do not think I exaggerate in saying that this rain has raised the crop from an 'eight-anna' to 'fourteen-anna' crop compared with what it would have been if rain had not fallen till February."

of the crops of a large belt of country in this district by a most unprecedentedly severe hailstorm which occurred on the 8th instant, and suggesting measures for the relief of the cultivators, who, already suffering severely from the high prices which now prevail, have, by this calamity, been reduced to a state of complete destitution.

2. Having myself just traversed a portion of the country which this storm visited, and witnessed the desolation which it has produced, I can assure the Lieutenant Governor that Mr. Cosserat's graphic description of its effects is in no degree over-coloured, and that a case has arisen which requires the interposition of Government.

3. Mr. Grey has, in consultation with me, taken prompt steps for supplying work on the roads of that part of the country; and I believe that by this means, and by the work which planters, and others whose factories and houses have been injured and stand in need of extensive repairs, will furnish, the people will be kept from actual starvation; but to give them heart for the future, and to prevent them from absconding in numbers, further relief, in the shape of remission of their opium advances and of rent, is, in my opinion, necessary.

4. Mr. Cosserat states, that if the Government will remit the opium advances of such of his cultivators as have had their crops totally destroyed, he will remit two annas of their rents; and I have received assurances from other landlords that they will gladly do the same. I therefore beg to recommend that these opium advances be remitted in all cases where the landlord will give a remission of two annas rent.

5. I should add, that I am satisfied that planters and zemindars are doing their utmost, by suspension of demand for rent, and in many cases by advances of money, to assist their tenantry on this trying occasion.

From *J. J. Grey*, Esq., Magistrate and Collector of Sarun, to *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of Patna Division (No. A.T.); dated 19th February 1866.

I HAVE the honour to send you a letter to my address from Lewis Cosserat, Esq., of the Burhoga Indigo concern in this district, regarding a seriously destructive hailstorm which passed over a part of this district on 8th instant.

2. Mr. Cosserat's letter describes the "ravages" of the storm, and you have yourself seen the aspect of the country which it traversed; so that it is hardly necessary for me to go into any detail on these points. You are aware that the effects of the storm must be seen to be believed; such as whole fields of corn or poppy swept away or beaten down without one ear of corn or one poppy head being left standing, trees almost leafless, and their trunks and branches marked as though they had been shot down with countless bullets. All this you have seen; and you know that, whereas the crops of the district generally are promising and abundant, the strip of land traversed by this lamentable storm is everywhere, more or less, injured, and in some parts utterly laid waste.

3. As regards the district generally, there is nothing to make me change what I have already expressed* as my views, namely, that the cold-weather crops are exceptionally promising and abundant, and that the pressure caused by the high prices of food is not such as to call for direct Government measures for relief.

* Letter No. 205, dated 2nd February 1866.

4. I would add, to what Mr. Cosserat has said, that the damage done by the hail storm is only partial and local. The annexed rough plan and notes will show the strip of land which it traversed; and what is required is to do what we can to afford prompt and reasonable relief to the labouring classes of that part of the district to supply them, so far as may be, with means to obtain food from the other parts of the district where there is every reason to hope that an abundant harvest will soon be gathered.

5. My present purpose is to say, briefly, that the measures indicated in Mr. Cosserat's letter, which, as you know we consulted about at Burhoga, are those which should be adopted, namely:

1st. To supply paid labour to the labouring classes of the villages injured, giving them work as near to their homes as possible, and attending to the point, that the people of those villages which have been more or less utterly devastated should be first supplied.

2nd. To urge the proprietors or leaseholders of villages injured to remit altogether the current "kist" due when the storm occurred; or failing that, a proportion, say two annas in the rupee of the yearly rent of every ryot who has lost his whole crop, one anna for loss of half crop, and so on.

3rd. To obtain sanction to the remission of the opium advances (re-payable by the opium ryots) in proportion to the damage done to the opium crops. Thus, a man who had lost his whole crop should have his advance remitted, either wholly, or in such proportion as the Government might allow. The extent to which each man has suffered can easily be ascertained, now and up to the time of the opium ripening, by detailed inspection

inspection such as is now being effected. Certificates of remission of rent by their "maliks" should be supplied to the ryots for presentation by them to the officers of the Opium Department, as grounds for remission of their opium advances.

6. As regards the first head, the supply of labour, I am, as you know, going in to Chuprah to make detailed arrangements, after completion of which I will communicate with you further. Meanwhile, I may mention that I am supplying Messrs. Cosserat and MacDonald and Wilson, of Burhoga and Pertabpore and Sadhowa Factories (all within the range of the storm), each with 1,000 rupees, one thousand as a first instalment towards arranging for paid labour on roads in the neighbourhood of their factories, and they will notify this in the villages. I have also desired the road overseer of the Sewan Division to take his labourers from the distressed villages. In all these cases there is "work to hand," and it is only necessary to bring the proper hands to the work, and this will be seen to. I think labour can at once be supplied to 2,500 or 3,000 men for a month, but I cannot speak with precision till I have made arrangements in detail; and I should put down the opium "assames" who would want relief at about 5,000 men.

7. In conclusion, and pending the detailed report which I will hereafter send to you, I must notice one point of importance. There is little cause for ryots generally absconding or abandoning their homes through any fear of there not being at least attempts made to relieve them. I am having it notified in the villages that there is paid labour for the "hands," if the hands will only come to the labour; and the villagers (as you are well aware on other grounds, such as their coming to your camp from several villages) know that measures will be taken to alleviate their distress.

8. As regards the second head, urging the landlords to make remissions of rent, I am having a list of the landed proprietors prepared, to whom reference should be made, and I will address them in a suitable way; but I shall be very glad to know, as soon as possible, what the Government will be pleased to settle in regard to the remission of opium advances.

9. The planters have shown every desire to act in a liberal spirit. Messrs. Cosserat and MacDonald are quite willing to allow (and, indeed, I believe will of their own accord allow) a liberal remission to the ryots of their villages.

The space between the dotted lines shows roughly the track of the storm. I would estimate the strip of country which it traversed at, say, 35 miles long by from five to eight miles broad, or about 200 square miles, which have been very seriously damaged. The injury is most severe on the west of the district (where the storm entered), and where the country throughout the whole breadth of the storm is almost utterly laid waste. It was just as voilent in the centre of its track (to an extent of five or six miles wide) throughout its whole course, except perhaps, east of the Gobindgunge Ghat Road, where its force was somewhat spent.

P, B, and S are Pertabpore, Burhoga, and Sadhowa Factories. The two former had the whole force of the storm.

From *Lewis Cosserat*, Esq., to *J. J. Grey*, Esq., Collector of Sarun; dated 17th February 1866.

I REGRET having to inform you that, on the 8th instant, this portion of the district was completely laid waste by the most severe hailstorm ever experienced within the memory of its oldest men; indeed, during a residence of 30 years in this and the neighbouring districts of Tirhoot and Chumparun, I have never known such a storm, and could not have conceived it possible for so much damage to have been effected, had I not seen its utterly ruined state.

The storm came on between 11 A.M. and noon, and in less than 15 minutes the corn and poppy crops, which bore every prospect of a rich and abundant yield, were washed to a pulp; large trees (the growth of years) were uprooted in every direction, whilst the branches of such trees as jacks, mohooahs, and mangoes, just coming into blossom, were so twisted and cut by the wind and hail as to preclude any hope of a supply of fruit from them for the season; houses of all descriptions were overturned, whilst tiled roofs looked as if heavy rollers had been repeatedly passed over them; it was as if the whole country had instantaneously passed from a bright and beautiful spring into the midst of a severe and dreary winter.

The distress, which was previously great in consequence of the high price of grain, has been fearfully enhanced by this dire visitation, and in such parts of the districts as have been equally ill off actual famine must be the result, and I fear the distress that is inevitable cannot be relieved by individuals unassisted by Government.

It is not for me to point out how much assistance may best be afforded; but, from a local knowledge of the wants and requirements of the people in this their time of need, the following suggestions may be worth consideration; first, that it is desirable to afford immediate relief to such as are willing to labour for their daily bread; second, that it is desirable to enable the cultivator class of ryots to remain settled and fight against their present difficulties with some hope of staving over these hard times.

I think the first can best be afforded by liberal expenditure of money on the Ferry Fund Roads

Roads that traverse those portions of the district which have chiefly suffered in the late storm; it is true the repairs of public roads in this neighbourhood have been nearly finished for the year, but a supplementary sum might (with advantage to these) be granted for their improvement, or the amount so laid out might be anticipated in the Estimate for 1866-67. Bridges and culverts are also essentially necessary on many of the roads traversed by the storm; and, if prompt measures are taken for the erection of these, employment would immediately be found for thousands of the starving poor, especially when the building is commenced, as this description of work will require a great number of attendant coolies, women, and children, for whom no other work is obtainable on a large scale in general.

The second object is to save the ryots, and keep them on their respective estates. These are heavily indebted to Government for advances on poppy which they are not in a position to repay in due time, and probably will never be able to do so, excepting at the sacrifice of all that belongs to them. I have ascertained from reliable sources that land owners in this neighbourhood are determined to forego all claims on their tenants for the present year, and I have no doubt but that Government would second this measure as regards the poppy advances, but I am of opinion that such a measure is simply prolonging the evil day; it will be obvious to you that, if the ryots have not the means of satisfying these calls, whilst they must incur actual debts in order to exist for the present and for the next few months, they must, on reaping the next available crop, be doubly in debt, and nearly as ill off as they are just now.

My own impression is that this great difficulty should be faced in a liberal spirit, but at the same time in such a manner as will render it incumbent on the landlords to assist their tenants. I should recommend that, in every village in which the poppy crop has been utterly ruined, the advances paid out should be remitted, provided the malik of the village remits (for the year) two annas per rupee of the rent of every ryot deriving benefit from the remission. Receipts for the amount let off by the land owner might be presented by the ryot to the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of the division to ensure the due observance of the engagement on the part of the landlord.

As a leaseholder of 58 villages in this part of the country, I am heartily willing to forego the above percentage, and to file receipts in the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent's Office as soon as I know that such a measure is approved of, or can be carried out.

(No. 794).

FORWARDED to the Board of Revenue for detailed report of the loss sustained, and the amount of relief in the way of remission of opium advances which should be afforded to the cultivators of the devastated tract. The original papers to be returned with the reply.

MEMORANDUM No. 95, dated the 5th March 1866.

FORWARDED to the Opium Agent at Behar for report, who is requested to return this letter and its enclosures with his reply.

T. B. Lane,
Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.

REVENUE PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, No. 67.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division (No. 793); dated 27th February 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 34Ct., dated the 22nd instant, reporting the destruction of the crops of a large belt of country in the district of Sarun, and suggesting measures for the relief of the cultivators.

2. In reply I am desired to state that Government will be ready to afford such sufferers every indulgence, and the Board of Revenue have been requested to report the extent to which remission of opium advances should be allowed. I am, however, to point out that remission of opium advances and remission of rents have nothing in common, and should not in any way be made dependent on one another. You will be so good as to report the effect of the measures taken to supply employment to the ryots of the devastated tract.

REVENUE PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, No. 68.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 47Ct.); dated 25th February 1866.

I HAVE the honour, in continuation of my letter of the 22nd instant, No. 34Ct., to forward extract* of a letter, under date the 20th instant, from the Collector of Chumparun, from which it appears that the hail storm of the 8th instant has done great damage in a part of that district also.

2. I would, therefore, recommend that any indulgence in respect to the remission of opium advances, which the Government may think fit to make in Sarun, may be extended to the Chumparun villages also, and on the same conditions.

3. I have directed the Collector to take immediate steps for providing work on Ferry Fund-roads to the inhabitants of the villages which have suffered, and to urge the land-holders to act liberally in respect to the demands of rent.

* In the south-western portion of the district the crops are also very fine; but the crops in a few villages in the south-east corner have been damaged terribly by the hail storm on the 8th. I enclose a list of the villages which Mr. Cosserat, the Opium Agent, has kindly furnished me with. His list, of course, refers especially to the poppy; but where the poppy has been destroyed, I fear the other crops have shared the same fate.

On the whole, the district has escaped wonderfully, and the prospects of the rubbee crop are as good as when I last addressed you on the subject, previous to the heavy rain.

(No. 819.)

COPY forwarded to the Board of Revenue for report, in continuation of the endorsement from this office, No. 794, dated the 27th instant.

REVENUE PROCEEDINGS for March 1866, No. 69.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to *R. B. Chapman*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 573); dated 9th March 1866.

IN accordance to the instructions contained in your letters No. 37A, dated 16th February, and No. 144A, dated 1st March, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Board, the following report on the effect of the late rains on the crops in the several districts within my jurisdiction:—

2. *Patna.*—The Collector of Patna reported, on the 19th ultimo, that "the late rain had damaged, but to a slight degree, the khassary and moosoor crops, but it had improved the prospects of the wheat, barley, and oats"; subsequently he wrote that the fair weather and the light west winds, which had set in after the rains, were bringing on the rubbee crop very favourably, and that a good prospect was presented for the millet and mangoe.

3. *Shahabad.*—The Collector of Shahabad reported, on the 26th ultimo, that the prospect of the rubbee crop in his district was on the whole favourable, except in the Sasseeram subdivision, in which the rubbee crop was entirely destroyed by the rain, followed by a violent hail storm.

4. *Gya.*—The Collector of Gya reported that the rain and hail of February last did serious injury to the crop, especially in the southern parts of the district.

5. *Tirhoot.*—The Collector of Tirhoot reported, on the 19th ultimo, that the late rain had not been heavy in the district, and that its effect on the crop had rather been beneficial. There, indeed, raged a violent hail storm, but as it was of a very short duration, and was confined to a small extent of the country, it had had no general effect on the crop.

6. *Champarun.*—The Collector of Chumparun reported, on the 28th February, that on the whole the rubbee crop did not suffer much from the late heavy rains. All the crops around Moteeharee were benefited by the rain, except the ruhur and pea crop, which suffered slightly, both being in flower at the time. Only a few villages in the south-east corner of the district suffered seriously from the hail storm of the 8th February.

7. *Sarun.*—The Collector of Sarun reported, on the 24th ultimo, that on the 8th a violent hail storm passed over a large portion of the district, about 200 squares miles in area, all the crops of which suffered more or less from it. The rain which followed, though heavy and lasting for two days, did not inflict much injury. The Collector, in concluding his report, expressed his hope that the general district crop would not be less than "12 annas."

(No. 93A, dated the 14th March 1866.)

FORWARDED for the information of the Government of Bengal, with reference to Government Order No. 755, dated the 23rd February last.

(signed) *R. B. Chapman,*
Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

REVENUE PROCEEDINGS for May 1866, Nos. 2 and 3.

From *R. B. Chapman,* Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 128A.); dated 13th April 1866.

ADVERTING to Board's docket, No. 93A., dated the 14th ultimo, I am instructed to forward, for submission to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, copy of a letter, No. 325A., dated the 3rd instant, from the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, reporting on the state of the cold weather crops, and the effects of the late rains in the several districts of his division.

From *A. Money,* Esq., C.B., Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 325); dated 3rd April 1866.

IN answer to your letters Nos. 23A., of the 16th February, and 144A., of the 1st ultimo, I have the honour to forward the following extracts from the district officers' reports on the state of the rubbee crops, and the effects of the late rains:—

Monghyr.—"In order to ascertain as nearly as possible the true state of the cold weather crops over the whole district, I called upon all the subordinate officers for reports of the result of their observation and inquiries in the several parts of the district which each had visited. Mr. Brett reports of the country in the Gogree Thannah that the wheat crop appeared to him to be very good."

"Deputy Collector Ameer Hossein reports of the Pergunnahs Bulliah, Mulkee, Bhoosaru, and Furkyah that the cold weather crops generally had promised to be full average, but that the rain which fell heavily all through the district in the second week of February, did damage, the yield in prospect being thereby reduced from 16 annas to 12 annas. Deputy Collector Moulvee Ahmed, B.A., in charge of the Jumooie subdivision, reports the harvest in that part of the country is not a good one, the yield not being much above one-third of a full crop. Mr. Little, on the other hand, reports of the same part of the country (Shikpoorah) that the wheat and oat crops have not suffered, but that gram and other pulse had been injured to some extent by the rain in February last."

3. "During the past and current months, I have myself visited the following Pergunnahs: Kujrah, Soorujgurrah, Chandunbhooka, Gidhour, Purbutpara, Havellee, Khurruckpore, Sukeebrabady, and Monghyr. The observations and inquiries which I have made in the course of my tour lead me to the conclusion that, up to the time when the heavy fall of rain took place in February, the cold weather crops had promised remarkably well; that rain undoubtedly did injure then existing prospects; but, according to the best authorities whom I have been able to consult, the injury was not so great as might have been feared; according to the most trustworthy estimates that I have received, the injury done by the rains of February will not reduce the anticipated results of the harvest by more than a fourth; the crop may fairly be set down at a 12-anna one."

Bhaugulpore.—"As far as I can ascertain, little or no harm had been done to the crops near and about the station by the unusual rain-fall of the past month. The ryots, like cultivators of the soil in all parts of the world, always complain of the season whatever it may be, but from my own observations I should be inclined to think that the rain had done positive good. The deputy magistrate of Banka reports that in his subdivision such has been the case."

The deputy magistrate of Mudehpoorah reports as follows:—

"The prospects of the cold weather crops in this subdivision are very good. The crops have not been injured by the late rain; on the contrary, they have been improved by it, and the general opinion among the natives is, that they would have failed without it. The wheat and barley crops are, in particular, very good, especially along the banks of the Koosy River."

"On the whole, I am led to believe that, throughout the district, the returns of the cold weather crops will not be below the average of past years."

Darjeeling.—"In reply to your Memorandum No. 217 of the 20th ultimo, forwarding, for

for report, a letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, I have the honour to state that it is reported to me by the Deputy Collector of the Teraie that the out-turn of the cold weather crop will be 25 per cent. below the average, but from inquiries I have made myself, I am disposed to think that it will not be more than 15 per cent. below the average in the Teraie, and about 8 or 10 per cent. below the average on the hills; the price of Indian corn in the hill is much higher than ordinary, but this is owing not so much to the scantiness of the crop, but is attributable chiefly to the dearness of other grains, for which Indian corn is, to a certain extent, used as a substitute."

Pakour.—"I regret to have to report, in reply to your letter No. 219 of the 24th instant, just received, that the cold weather crops in this division are a complete failure."

"But a small quantity was sown, as the ryots did not calculate on such an early and sudden cessation of the rains, and only found too late, and when there was little or no moisture left in the lands, that they need not expect more rain."

"In the small strip of country to the extreme east of this division, subject to the influence of the Gangetic inundation, a small quantity of such crops as wheat, &c., was sown, where from the alluvial nature of the soil a little moisture had been retained, and the little rain we have had at times since the commencement of the year has done much good, and will render the out-turn a tolerably good one."

"In all the other portions of my division which I have visited during the last month, not a beegah of any crop is to be seen, as the small quantity originally sown with insufficient moisture was, as a rule, completely destroyed by the subsequent drought."

Rajmehal.—"The principal cold weather crops in the Damum are, sursoo, soorgoojeah, linseed, teal, gram, and rahur."

"Moosoori and khessarree are also sown. The first four crops will not nearly return the seed sown. Gram will be about one-eighth of an ordinary crop. Rahur will be about half a crop."

"Moosoori and khessaree I have scarcely seen."

"Along the banks of the Ganges the crop of wheat, gram, oats, peas, kullye, khessaree, moosoori, is nearly an average one. Linseed is poor, and sursoo bad."

Godda.—"The incessant and heavy rain that we experienced in this district from the 1st February to the 18th has caused great loss to the rubbee crops for the first two or three days; the stalk of the several crops was greatly improved by it, and in Munneeharee Pergunnah the wheat straw grew amazingly (this I noticed myself), but the constant rain has beaten it down; it has also destroyed the flower of the bhoot and rotted the root, and had the same effect upon the rahur, which was out in blossom."

I had asked on my tour the opinions of many ryots concerning the crops for my own satisfaction, and, on receipt of your letter under reply, collected the villagers resident near here in Barcope, with Zeminder's Jemadar and others, and from their statements and my own knowledge, send you the following estimate of the probable out-turn for this cold weather crop:—

Of	"Geham" or wheat - - - - - - -	10 annas.
„	Bhoot or gram - - - - - - - -	10 „
„	Dhal khessaree - - - - - - - -	4 „
„	Barley or jou - - - - - - - -	10 „
„	Dhal or mussoori - - - - - - -	8 „
„	Rabur dhal - - - - - - - -	6 „

Deoghur.—"In the margin, I have shown the grain and the out-turn. The rain not having fallen before the end of December, allowed no opportunities for sowing, and the result has been, as exhibited, wretched in the extreme."

"The mustard crop has been a total failure, and gram very nearly as bad."

"On the other hand, sugar-cane has been most excellent, both in quantity and quality; the cane is particularly rich in juice; this year there is a great demand for it, and the price put now is 12 seers of 80 sicca weight per rupee for goor. Rahur, koortee, and kooseyah janeyra have also been a little successful, and ooreed has been more favoured than the rest, but it is only comparatively."

"I know this statement is nearly accurate, for I have the information from the places where the greater quantity of these crops are produced every year."

Description.	Proportion of Expected Crop.
	Annas.
Gram - - -	2
Wheat - - -	4
Barley - - -	4
Surgoojea - - -	4
Teel - - - -	4
Rahur kullye - -	12
Ooreed - - -	8
Koortee - - -	12
Kosseya janeyra -	12
Sugar cane - -	16
Mustard - - -	-

The cold weather crops may be looked on as almost failures; the great hope and reliance just now here is the coming mohowa crop and the mangoes."

Doomka.—The following are the crops shown in this district, and gathered during the cold weather:—

1. Wheat.
2. Gram.
3. Koortee.
4. Rahur.
5. Kullye.
6. Ghangra.
7. Sursoo (oil seed).
8. Soorgoojea (oil seed).

"I estimate

"I estimate that out of a total area of 30,62,000 beegahs in the whole district (including jungle and cultivation), that not more than 200 beegahs of wheat is sown."

"There is not more than 2,000 beegahs of gram sown in the district in an ordinary season; this year not more than half this quantity was sown owing to the failure of the rains."

"*Koortee*—Is a crop sown early in the season, and suffered considerably from the failure of the rains."

"*Rahur*—Is also sown early in the season, certainly not later than August; a full crop was sown, but it did not prosper for want of rain. The late rain was too late to do it any good. It did not harm; the yield has been about 50 per cent. of an ordinary season."

"*Kullye*—Is sown in August and September, and gathered in December and January. This crop was sown to its full extent, but may be regarded as a total failure."

"*Ghangra*—Is of the same nature as kullye, and has nearly failed; not more than 25 per cent. has been gathered."

"The Paharceahs depend almost entirely on this crop, and its failure has affected them very considerably. Sursoo, a total failure."

"*Soorgoojeea.*—An out-turn of 2 annas in 16 has been secured."

"It is not out of place to mention here that the crop of mohowah is amazingly plentiful, and will be a great stand-by in time of need to the poor, who are even now living entirely on it."

"2. In conclusion, I would add that, as regards the division generally, the prospects of the spring crops are, in my opinion, rather better than most of the above reports make them. From Purneah I have been unable to procure any returns or reports."

Revenue Proceedings for May 1866, No. 4.

From *J. Beames*, Esq., Officiating Collector of Purneah, to the Commissioner of Revenue, Bhaugulpore Division (No. 1293); dated 3rd April 1866.

In reply to your No. 290, dated 7th March 1866, I have the honour to report that the prospects of the cold weather crop are reported as favourable in the following thannahs:—

	Part of the District on which situated.
Purneah, Sudder	Central.
Dhumdaha	West and south-west.
Gondevarah	South-west.
Munneeharee	South.
Kudba	South-east.
Bulrampore	East.
Kishengunge	North-east.
Bahadoorgunge	"
Arareeah	North.

They are reported to be only half-crops in the following:—

Kusbah Amour	Central.
Kaleeagunge	North-east.

And as very bad indeed from

Raneegunge	North-west.

Some modification of these reports, however, is necessary. From what I have heard from other sources, I should say that in the west, south-west, south, south-east, and centre, the crop will be a fair average one if we have rain; if not, it will be a 10-anna or 12-anna crop. In the north-west it will be bad in any case. In the north and north-east it promises fairly in the lowlands; but in Kaleeagunge, which is higher, it will be 8-anna crop. In Bulrampore, east of the Mahanuddy, the crop promises well, either with or without rain; but there will be some distress, in any case, as this part of the country has not yet recovered from the winter famine, and it is feared that the rubbee crop, which is not a large crop in these parts, will not be of much service. There will be distress there till the Bhadai crop comes, when the people will eat the rice while it is new, and thus more fever may be expected. The mangoe harvest will be very plentiful, we hope, this year; and this will afford food, to a large extent, all over the district, except Bahadoorgunge and Kishengunge, where the mangoe is rather scarce.

(No. 27 Ct., dated Camp Purneah, 7th April 1866.)

Sent in original to Board, in continuation of my Letter, No. 325A, of the 3rd instant.

(signed) *A. Money*,
Commissioner, Bhaugulpore Division.

(No. 130A, dated 17th April 1866.)

FORWARDED to the Government of Bengal, in continuation of Board's No. 121A, dated the 13th instant.

(signed) *R. B. Chapman,*
Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for November 1866, Nos. 31, 32.

From *R. L. Mangles*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Honourable *A. Eden*, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 1673); dated 5th November 1866.

I AM directed to submit herewith a letter from the Opium Agent of Benares, No. 83, dated 4th ultimo, detailing the damage done by the hailstorms of February last to the poppy crops in the Selimpore and Goruckpore Divisions of his Agency.

2. In Selimpore the losses amounted to *Rs.* 14,162. 6. 2., a moiety only of which is expected to be realised without resorting to extreme measures, leaving a sum of *Rs.* 7,080. 11. 1. as an irrecoverable balance against the cultivators.

3. In Goruckpore, where the storm was less destructive, the losses amounted to *Rs.* 4,770. 13. 6., a portion of which has been recovered, leaving a balance due by the cultivators of *Rs.* 3,580. 13. 6.

4. The destroyed crops, it appears, were inspected by the sub-deputy agents and their assistants, who satisfied themselves of their total destruction; and Mr. Carnac adds that he considers it impossible to recover any further portion of the balances without inflicting serious hardships on the ryots, who are already suffering from the destruction of their other crops, and the consequent high prices of articles of consumption.

5. Under these circumstances, the Board solicit that his Honor will be pleased to remit the balances remaining unrealised, and which amount, in the aggregate, to *Rs.* 10,661. 8. 7.

6. The return of the enclosure is requested.

From *C. F. Carnac*, Esq., Benares Opium Agent, to the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 83); dated 4th October 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Board, that the divisions marginally noted suffered more or less severely from the destructive hail storms which passed over them in February last. Benares, Azimghur, Selimpore, Goruckpore.

2. In Azimghur and Benares the loss was comparatively small, and the outstandings have been realised without hardship to the cultivators. In Selimpore and Goruckpore the storm was most destructive, the losses by the hail being respectively *Rs.* 14,161. 6. 2., and *Rs.* 4,710. 13. 6. Of these sums, a portion in Goruckpore has been recovered, the balance in that division being *Rs.* 3,580. 13. 6. In Selimpore, half is recoverable without hardship, leaving a balance of *Rs.* 7,080. 11. 1.; these sums I do not consider it possible to recover without inflicting serious hardships on the ryots, already suffering from the destruction of their other crops, and the extraordinary high prices of food in consequence.

3. The destroyed crops were all personally inspected by the sub-deputies and their assistants, who satisfied themselves as to the almost total loss thereof.

4. I request, therefore, the permission of the Board and of Government to remit the balances, as per margin, in the Selimpore and Goruckpore Sub-divisions, aggregating *Rs.* 10,661. 8. 7.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Selimpore	7,080	11	1
Goruckpore	3,580	13	6
Total *Rs.*	10,661	8	7

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for November 1866, No. 33.

From *J. Geoghegan*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 3124); dated 29th November 1866.

I AM directed to acknowlege the receipt of your letter, No. 1673, dated the 5th instant, and in reply to state that, under the explanation submitted, the Lieutenant Governor sanctions

sanctions the writing off to profit and loss of the sum of *Rs.* 10,661. 8. 7., being the irrecoverable portions of advances for opium in the Selimpore and Goruckpore Divisions of the Benares Agency, consequent on the destruction of the poppy crops by the hailstones of February last.

2. The enclosure of your letter is returned herewith.

(No. 3125.)

COPY forwarded to the Accountant General, Bengal, for information and guidance.

OPIUM PROCEEDINGS for March 1867, Nos. 36, 37.

From *R. L. Mangles*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 550); dated 26th February 1867.

REFERRING to Government Orders, No. 1133, dated the 26th March last, I am directed to submit herewith, for the favourable consideration of the Lieutenant Governor, a letter from the Behar Opium Agent, No. 18, dated 18th instant, reporting the balances due from the cultivators in respect of the advances made to them for the season 1865–66, and amounting to *Rs.* 1,07,851 8. 3.

2. From paragraph 4 of the Agent's letter it appears that "every possible inquiry has been instituted to make sure that these balances are in reality the consequence of the hail, and every means have been adopted to prevent the frauds and collusion on the part of the ryots." The Agent further states that the realisation of even a small portion of the entire balance would entail on the ryots the sale of their agricultural implements, and any other property which they may have in their possession.

3. Under these circumstances, and on the consideration that while the losses to Government have been occasioned by causes beyond the control of the cultivators, the cultivators themselves have also by the same causes suffered heavy pecuniary loss, the Board recommend the entire remission of the balances in question for the sanction of the Government.

4. In conclusion, I am to solicit that early orders may be issued on this application, and the original papers now forwarded, returned when no longer required.

From *R. Abercrombie*, Esq., Opium Agent of Behar, to the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 18); dated 18th February 1867.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Chuprah - -	19,012	–	1
Alleegunge - -	75,300	3	10
Moteeharee - -	3,518	9	4
Gyah - - -	2,143	7	8
Tehta - - -	7,877	3	4

I HAVE the honour to report, for the orders of the Board, that the balances which have accrued in this Agency during the past season amount to *Rs.* 1,07,851 8. 3.

2. These balances, which may all be deemed irrecoverable, have been entirely caused by damage done to the poppy crop by hailstorms in the month of February 1866.

3. In my letter to your address, No. 27, dated 21st February 1866, I reported that the district of Chuprah had been visited by a hailstorm of unprecedented severity, which not only destroyed completely the opium crop, but every other crop on the ground, devastating the country for miles wherever it extended. It was most severe and destructive in the Alleegunge Subdivision, where the balances are extremely heavy. In Mooteeharee the injury done was slight, comparatively speaking. Shortly afterwards the district of Gyah was similarly visited.

4. Every possible inquiry has been instituted to make sure that these balances are in reality the consequence of the hail, and every means have been adopted to prevent frauds and collusion on the part of the ryots.

5. A small portion of them might possibly be recovered by the sale of the agricultural implements and other property of the ryots, but such a harsh measure has never yet been resorted to by this department. The small sum that might thereby be recovered would never compensate for the odium that would be caused by the proceeding, nor, I may add, for the eventual injury to the interests of Government, by destroying the popularity which the poppy cultivation now enjoys with the ryots; such a result it is not desirable to promote.

6. Although these balances may appear heavy, exceeding as they do a lakh of rupees, they

they are far from representing the amount of the losses which the unfortunate cultivators have sustained by the destruction of their crop. The distress thereby caused has been considerably increased by the extreme dearness of food owing to the late famine; and had the opium ryots not received timely aid, in the shape of advances for the present season, they would in many cases have been reduced to utter destitution.

7. I would, therefore, beg to recommend that the whole of these balances be remitted.

Opium Proceedings for March 1867, No. 38.

From *S. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces (No. 1087); dated 14th March 1867.

With reference to your letter, No. 550, dated the 26th instant, I am directed to state that the Lieutenant Governor is pleased, on the Board's recommendation, to sanction the writing off to profit and loss of the sum of *Rs.* 1,07,851 8. 3., being the irrecoverable balances due from the cultivators of the Behar Agency, on account of advances made to them for opium for the season 1865-66, and which have accrued in consequence of the destruction of the poppy crops by hail.

(No. 1088.)

Copy forwarded to the Accountant General, Bengal, for information and guidance, in continuation of endorsement No. 3125, dated the 29th November 1866.

(No. 1089.)

Copy of this letter, and of the following correspondence, forwarded to the Government of India, Financial Department, for information:

From	Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces,		No. 1673, dated 5th November 1866.
To	„	„	No. 3124, dated 29th „ „
From	„	„	No. 550, dated 26th February 1867.

From *H. L. Harrison*, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 1514); dated 12th April 1867.

In continuation of the letter from this Office, No. 1161, dated 19th ultimo, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of the papers noted on the margin, being communications from the Commissioners of the Patna and Cuttack Divisions, in connection with their proceedings during the late famine in the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

Letter from Secretary to the Board of Revenue, No. 668M, dated 11th instant.
Letter from Mr. Dalrymple, Commissioner of Patna, dated 16th January 1867.
Letter from Mr. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Cuttack, dated 28th January 1867.

From *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 668M); dated 11th April 1867.

I am directed by the Board of Revenue to forward, for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, two letters received from the Commissioners of Patna and Cuttack, in reference to the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated the 8th October 1866.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Commissioner of Patna, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue; dated Patna, 16th January 1867.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement of the 8th instant, forwarding to me a copy of the Secretary of State's Despatch regarding the recent famine, and inviting me to furnish any explanation regarding my division which I might wish to offer.

I regret that it is not in my power to deny that, generally speaking, relief measures were

were not adopted in this division in time to prevent considerable mortality from starvation, but I would submit that for this neither I nor the district officers are to blame. I certainly was not aware that earlier measures were necessary, and I believe that they could all say the same.

The Secretary of State is under the impression that the state of things which existed at the close of the rains in 1865, and which excited at that time considerable apprehension for the future, continued to get worse and worse until famine at length declared itself. This is, however, very far from having been the case in this division. Here, the moment the rice harvest commenced, the labouring classes began again to obtain employment, and when the crop came into the market, it was found to be more abundant than had been expected, and the price of food fell everywhere very considerably. Such, indeed, was the improvement in the circumstances and prospects of the labouring poor at this time, that the Collector of Gya, who alone had found it necessary to institute relief measures, discontinued them with the full concurrence of his local committee.

I was on tour in the Tirhoot, Chumparun, and Sarun Districts, during the months of January, February, and the early part of March, and I met and conversed on the subject uppermost in my mind, the state of the country and its prospects, with numbers of persons, but at that time I heard no anticipation of famine, and it was the general opinion that, owing to the favourable state of the spring crops, nothing beyond distress was to be apprehended. Between that time and the institution of relief measures in May, the opinion I had formed from the information I received, and I believe it was the general opinion, that although owing to the rise in prices the labouring poor were hard pressed, yet that they were able to obtain enough food to maintain life, and I fully expected that, with the assistance of the later rubbee crops, and the mangoe and mohwa crops, the rains would be reached without famine overtaking them. With the rains there would be renewed employment, and an altogether improved state of things.

This opinion was unfortunately to some extent ill-founded, as it has been ascertained that during the latter part of March and during April and May, deaths from want of sufficient food occurred, but local officers had no means at the time of knowing this, as those deaths for the most part occurred among the poorest and most miserable of the population, and scarcely even attracted the attention of respectable natives.

As a Commissioner has been appointed to inquire into the famine in this division, it does not seem necessary that I should say more at present on the subject.

From *T. E. Ravenshaw*, Esq., Commissioner of Cuttack, to *T. B. Lane*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces; dated 28th January 1867.

I HAVE received your demi-official note of 25th December, enclosing copy of Lord Cranbourne's Despatch of 9th November 1866, which unfortunately miscarried, or I should have replied before.

You ask me to submit any remarks which I may wish to offer on the points specially regarding myself and my subordinates, but I feel myself in a somewhat difficult position, as a special Commission is now sitting and holding an inquiry into every particular regarding the dire disasters of last season.

The main point for the Commission to determine is, whether either local officers or Government had or had not sufficient information regarding the stocks of grain in the country in the beginning of 1866 to lead to a belief that actual famine was at hand. My own unreserved reply is that we most certainly had not, and although it was known that the crop of the autumn of 1865 was short, and there was every prospect of rice, the staple food of the province being dear, up to the month of May there was nothing to create alarm, or to warrant either the local authorities recommending or Government undertaking importations of food to a large extent. Both myself and my collectors were in constant and anxious communication with the local merchants, residents, and zemindars, and every particle of procurable information regarding the crops, the country, and the people was daily and promptly reported officially. All this correspondence has been placed at the disposal of the Famine Commissioners, and both myself and all my district officers have been closely and carefully examined before the Famine Commission. I feel, therefore, in respect to myself and officers, that we are arraigned as defendants, before a special tribunal on the charges contained in Lord Cranbourne's Despatch. Under these circumstances, I trust you will explain to the Board, and also to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, that although I feel much gratified at the consideration which has led to this opportunity for explanation being afforded, I would respectfully request to be allowed to reserve any defence or explanation until after the Special Famine Commission have finished their inquiry, and I am in a position to know precisely the points on which local officers may be considered as having been at fault.

(HOME DEPARTMENT.— No. 4132.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; dated Fort William, 22nd April 1867.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge your letter, No. 1241, dated 27th ultimo, forwarding to the Government of India Mr. Cockerell's Report on the Famine in the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions; also your further letters, No. 1483, dated 10th instant, giving cover to a Minute by the Lieutenant Governor, commenting upon certain portions of Mr. Cockerell's Report, and No. 1514, dated 12th instant, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of Patna in explanation of his inaction during the early months of 1866.

2. The instructions under which Mr. Cockerell visited the districts in question are contained in your letter, to his address, No. 2988, dated the 13th November. This letter, in forwarding a copy of the instructions which had been issued to Mr. Dampier, desired the institution in the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions of a similar inquiry to that for which Mr. Dampier had been deputed, which was described to be an inquiry "into the origin, progress, and ultimate results of the famine * * , as well as into the measures adopted for its relief, and for the prevention of a similar calamity in future."

3. I am desired particularly to notice these instructions, for Mr. Cockerell does not appear to have considered them as including any authority to discuss the conduct of individual officers in reference to the occurrences which formed the subject of his inquiry, and he seems accordingly to have avoided all mention of such conduct, except so far as it was essential to a narrative of the events on which he was writing. He did not either, it would seem, call upon the Commissioner or any of the district officers for explanations.

4. In other respects Mr. Cockerell's Report appears to be sufficiently full, and bears marks of careful research.

5. The Report, I am to say, shows that over nearly the whole of the Patna, and a great portion of the Bhaugulpore Division, the people were oppressed by famine certainly during the months intervening between February and December 1866, while in Sarun the mortality began in January and continued throughout the year. The famine was most general and severe in the districts of Tirhoot, Sarun, and Chumparun, and it was also severe, though more partial, in Shahabad, Gya, and Monghyr.

6. It is also clearly proved that the famine originated mainly in the general failure of the crops of 1865, aggravated in particular tracts by hailstorms, excessive rain, inundation, and previous indifferent seasons.

7. It would seem, in addition, that the stocks of grain in the country had been reduced by large exportations previous to the drought of 1865; and that, on the other hand, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country, the facilities for rapid importation, when the urgent want of food was felt, were necessarily limited.

8. It is likewise stated by Mr. Cockerell that a large proportion of the population in the Bhaugulpore and Patna Divisions live, so to speak, from hand to mouth, possessing no resources with which to meet the distress of adverse times. The wages of labour have hitherto very generally ranged at rates which admit only of the poorest subsistence; and when the ordinary demand for labour ceases (as must always be the case in seasons of drought and scarcity), many of these classes are thrown out of employment altogether. As a rule, moreover, most of these men, especially those of a social position slightly better than the rest, will, as is shown, literally rather die than quit their homes to make timely search for relief, and they must consequently, in such cases, be either supported by charity locally administered or starve.

9. In fact, during the prevalence of the famine, it was by this class that its pressure was chiefly felt. Many died of hunger in their houses, or by the way-

side, having left their homes in a state of utter exhaustion after subsisting as long as possible on roots and wild herbs, while others perished from disease resulting from want and unwholesome food.

10. The deaths from starvation, or the diseases induced by it, are estimated by Mr. Cockerell as having reached, in the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, 135,676 out of a population of above seven millions; and although much reliance cannot be placed on this calculation, it seems probable that it is not excessive, and it is at least certain that the mortality was great and terrible.

11. No doubt much of this mortality was inevitable and would have taken place under any circumstances, but the Governor General in Council regrets to record his opinion that Mr. Cockerell's Report makes it plainly evident that measures of relief were delayed till far too late—the earliest organized arrangements having commenced on the 4th of June (in Mozufferpore), while in some places they were delayed till August and even September. Moreover, the Report unhappily leaves no doubt that the relief which was at length afforded was not only totally inadequate to the magnitude of the crisis, but that it might in most cases, without serious difficulty, have been materially extended.

12. It appears difficult to believe, the events out of which the famine arose being known to the local officers of Government, that they could have been ignorant that such events, unless specially met, were certain to culminate in terrible distress. Indeed Mr. Cockerell shows that, in the first instance, the local officers were very generally alarmed, but that their feelings of alarm to a great extent subsided early. And, unhappily, when at length the need of the people became more plainly urgent, invaluable time was lost before any active steps whatever were taken to relieve the distress.

13. These facts, and the information given generally in Mr. Cockerell's Report, compel the Governor General in Council to believe that the imminence and gravity of the calamity were never duly appreciated by the officers of Government, and in his Excellency's opinion it is manifest that there was a sad want of foresight, energy, and administrative capacity. As has been already indicated, however, the details given by Mr. Cockerell do not enable his Excellency in Council to pronounce specifically on the conduct of individual officers.

14. But while considering the local officers to be thus eventually open to blame, the Governor General in Council cannot admit, what may seem to be implied in the 3rd and the concluding paragraphs of the Lieutenant Governor's Minute, that the authority conveyed to the local officers by the Board's Circular of December relieves the Board and the Government from responsibility. Having regard to the nature of the calamity threatened, the orders issued to the local officers should, the Governor General in Council considers, have expressly warned them to be prepared for decisive action, and for prompt and liberal measures of relief at the first moment when the approach of famine should be distinctly recognised; they should have pressed earnestly upon the officers the duty of keeping a most vigilant watch on the progress of events, and of obtaining from different quarters of their districts constant accounts of the actual condition of the poorer classes of the population; and when these orders had been given, the Board and the Government should have taken measures to be satisfied that they were completely acted up to. It is not apparent that, in the early months of 1866, any information, save what was of the most general character, was received either by the Board or by the Government regarding the state of the people in Tirhoot, or Chumparun, or the other districts of Behar. It is not credible that real inquiry by the local officers would not have elicited in February or March information of the extreme distress which even then was prevalent throughout large tracts, and it is difficult to suppose that such inquiry would not have been made had the local officers received from Government that anxious prompting and stimulus which it seems to the Governor General in Council to be the special duty of a Government to give on such occasions.

15. It is impossible to over-estimate the effect which would have been produced had measures been organized beforehand for employing the needy, and for relieving gratuitously, when necessary, the destitute and incapable of work; beyond

beyond question, such arrangements would have saved many lives and mitigated much of the distress.

16. The Governor General in Council is prepared to make every allowance for the difficulties which had to be overcome in carrying out the measures of relief ultimately organized, and gladly admits that some officers did their utmost, but it does not appear that this was invariably the case—as for example, when the agents of Messrs. Brassey & Co. failed to take advantage of the opportunity of the distress to push on the railway operations in the vicinity of Luckeserai, and to afford regular work at adequate rates of wages to the people. The Governor General in Council does not understand why this failure on the part of Messrs. Brassey's agents was not brought to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor either by the local authorities, or by the Government engineers connected with the Railway Department, so that timely remonstrance might have been made.

17. The Lieutenant Governor urges that it was, from the first, fully believed that private charity, especially on the part of the landlords, would have gone far to mitigate the expected distress.

18. No doubt it was the duty of the landlords to have assisted the famishing population, and no doubt also that, with few exceptions, they but scantly recognised or performed their duty in this respect, but the Governor General in Council cannot admit this plea as any palliation of the late and restricted action of the district authorities, to whom the backwardness of the general body of landholders must at an early date have become apparent, if they had taken proper steps in advance to prepare for the advent of the threatened calamity. Indeed it ought to have been known both to the Government and to the district officers that the most certain, if not the only, means of eliciting the free and liberal action of landholders would have been by the officers of Government themselves stepping forward and inviting their assistance and co-operation in framing and carrying out large measures of relief for the starving people.

19. Moreover, in cases where the Government itself occupied the place of zemindar, the Governor General in Council is constrained to say that the action taken hardly appears such as to serve as an example and as a stimulus to the landlords of the neighbourhood. In the instance of Durbhungah, and making every allowance for the remissions of revenue authorized, his Excellency in Council cannot think that the sum of 37,000 rupees expended in relief under the sanction of the Court of Wards was either adequate to the local requirements, or commensurate with the vast revenues of the estate.

20. In conclusion, I am desired to notice two points in regard to which the Lieutenant Governor has demurred to Mr. Cockerell's conclusions. The first is the alleged refusal of the Government of Bengal to sanction the remission of advances made for the cultivation of the poppy, where the crops had been destroyed by a hailstorm.

21. The point urged by Mr. Cockerell is that immediate action was necessary in this case, both in order to re-assure the ryots, and to set a good example to the landlords.

22. The Lieutenant Governor says, "I am assured by the agent that the ryots * * * were told that the remission of their advances would be granted on adjustment of their accounts."

23. The extracts quoted in the margin, from the correspondence which accompanied the Lieutenant Governor's Minute, would lead the Governor General in Council to the same conclusion, with regard to facts, as that drawn by Mr. Cockerell. If, however, the Lieutenant Governor has been correctly informed, and if the ryots did generally receive, say in March or April, promises to the effect stated, his Excellency in Council is disposed to think that all was done which could reasonably be expected, and the opinion expressed on this point by Mr. Cockerell requires modification. But he considers that the agent should be called upon for a specific statement on the point.

On the 16th of March 1866, the Opium Agent, Mr. Abercrombie, wrote as follows :—

"An immediate remission, or even a promise of future remission, would be of no present benefit to the ryot, but might be the cause of serious detriment to the interests of Government."

The Board of Revenue, in forwarding the Agent's letter to Government on the 20th of March 1866, expressly concurred in his views, and the Government, in reply, on the 26th March, "entirely agreed with the Board in the opinion that the interests of Government would be injuriously affected by untimely concessions to the opium cultivators."

Nothing further on this subject appears to have passed officially till November 1866.

24. The second matter to which the Lieutenant Governor alludes (in the 11th paragraph of his Minute) is the reduction by the Lieutenant Governor of the grant proposed for relief works in the Sonthal pergunnahs from 30,000 rupees, which was asked, to 10,000 rupees.

25. The Governor General in Council is willing to hope that, as his Honor states, no real ill effect resulted to the people from his action in this matter.

26. But the request for 30,000 rupees was specially made by the Commissioner at a time when the officers of Government were not very forward in making such requests, and had it been granted, his Excellency believes that the example was likely to have proved beneficial, and the outlay was certain to have done good.

27. The subject of remedial measures, treated of in paragraphs 154 to 172 of the Report, will be separately considered.

I have, &c.
(signed)
Secretary to the Government of India.

COPY of DESPATCH of the Secretary of State to the Government of *India*, and Enclosures, relative to the BENGAL and ORISSA FAMINE.

(Public, No. 99.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

Sir, India Office, London, 25 July 1867.

Paragraph 1. I HAVE read and considered in Council with great interest, and not without great pain, the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1866, transmitted in your letter of the 22nd April (No. 71), 1867, together with the other papers connected with the subject.

2. It is hardly necessary for me to say how deeply Her Majesty's Government, and indeed all classes of people in this country, have been effected by the heavy calamity with which it has pleased Providence to visit that portion of the British Empire. Such a visitation, even if we could console ourselves with the reflection that every available means had been used to avert and to mitigate it, must necessarily be felt as a severe misfortune; and I deeply regret that on the present occasion this consolation is denied to me. I am reluctantly brought to the conclusion that, though the melancholy loss of life which the Commissioners' report may be due mainly to natural and inevitable causes, there has been a most unfortunate want of foresight and of energy on the part of those who were charged with the administration of the province where it occurred; and that some grave errors of judgment have been committed.

3. I do not forget that in a tropical country, depending on the annual rains for its main supply of water, imperfectly supplied with the means of communication, and inhabited by a dense, and in many parts an ignorant, population, dearths and even famines must occasionally occur; or that it is but little that the most powerful Government can effect, when the land is visited by these evils, to avert the most appalling forms of death. Neither do I forget that it must be difficult for the most far-seeing persons to discriminate in the early part of a deficient season between mere threatenings of distress and the actual imminence of disaster, such as would justify a Government in having recourse to exceptional measures of relief. It is clear that Government interference with the supply of food would, in ordinary years, be not only unnecessary but mischievous; and I think the authorities in Bengal were, in the first instance, quite right in regarding proposals for such interference with distrust. I think, however, that a sufficient amount of attention to the facts, as they were gradually brought to light, would have shown them at a comparatively early period that this was a case in which it was their duty to take such measures as were in their power for the mitigation of suffering which had become inevitable. They saw the necessity for providing the people with the means of obtaining food. I regret that they failed to discover that what was needed was not money to purchase with, but the food itself.

4. It appears to me, after an examination of the report, and of the evidence on which it is founded, that it would not be just to throw the blame of the failure, which is but too clearly brought to light, exclusively upon any particular individual. The prominent position of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and his immediate and direct responsibility for the proper administration of his Presidency, cannot fail to attract the closest attention to his conduct, and to expose him to the strictest criticism, and, I am bound to add, to some animadversions, the justice of which cannot be disputed. But it would be wrong to judge Sir Cecil Beadon

by the light of subsequent events, without taking into consideration the circumstances in which he found himself placed, and the amount of assistance which he received from those on whom he had a right to rely for information and advice. His conduct, when he at last became fully alive to the magnitude of the calamity, affords sufficient proof that his previous inactivity was due not to indifference, but to an imperfect apprehension of the facts of the case; and it is fair to inquire how far that imperfection is attributable to his own failure in energy or in sagacity, and how far to the nature of the reports which he received from others.

5. The position of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal is, in many respects, a very difficult one. He is charged with the administration of an extensive and highly important Presidency, and has to attend to a vast amount and a great variety of business, without being allowed the assistance of a Council, such as is attached to the Governments of the other Presidencies, or of a secretariat equal to those of Madras and Bombay. He is, therefore, necessarily overburdened with the details of daily work, and must have less time and less energy to devote to questions which are not absolutely forced upon his attention than the Governors of the other Presidencies are able to command. At the same time he possesses, in the Board of Revenue, an important administrative organ, upon the assistance of which he has at all times a right to reckon. It is not to be wondered at that, in the early period of the famine at all events, Sir Cecil Beadon should have placed implicit reliance upon the watchfulness and the sagacity of the Board of Revenue.

6. I cannot but regret, however, that he should have continued that confidence so long. The course of events in the winter of 1865-66 must have led him to perceive the necessity for a more active personal investigation of the true state of the case. Indeed, the fact that he found it necessary to visit Orissa proves that it had done so. But even then, as far as I can judge, he seems to have been under the influence of the views which he had imbibed from the Board, and he did not take the opportunity of making a thorough investigation, such as would, I think, quickly have convinced him of the urgent need for more efficient measures of relief.

7. While expressing my regret at this error on the part of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, I cannot but say, that I think it unfortunate that the Government of India, although their attention appears to have been especially called to the subject, did not exercise their influence in favour of a more vigorous course of action. The close relations between the Government of India and that of Bengal, and the opportunities which exist for personal communication with the Lieutenant Governor would naturally bring a question of this importance continually under your notice, and you were, no doubt, cognizant of most of the proceedings with respect to it. I learn from your Minute of the 20th April last, that your Excellency was personally of opinion, at an early period of the distress, that it might become desirable to import food. That opinion was not shared by the members of your Council, and was not acted upon. The amount of information actually in possession of the Government at that time was, perhaps, hardly sufficient to justify so exceptional a measure; but it was, I think, enough to have awakened the most serious apprehensions, and to have induced your Government to urge the Lieutenant Governor to undertake an immediate and searching inquiry.

8. I am not insensible to the force of the economical arguments which were used against the interference of the Government with the operations of private trade. But the conclusions of political economy are true only when sound reasoning is correctly applied to well ascertained facts; and the event has shown that, in the present case, the facts had not been ascertained. It was taken for granted that there was a sufficient quantity of food either in the province, or within reach of the people, which would be brought out in due time when prices had risen to a certain point; and it was argued that the interference of the Government with the regular action of the laws of supply and demand would be not only useless, but mischievous. The argument would have been just, if the assumption on which it rested had been true. But, unhappily, the assumption was not true, and the reasoning founded on it was consequently fallacious. Nor did the mischief stop there. It cannot be doubted that the avowed belief of the Government in the existence of adequate stores of rice must have encouraged a like

like belief on the part of the people of Orissa themselves, and on that of the merchants who might otherwise have been expected to undertake the importation which was needed. It escaped the notice of the authorities that Orissa, having long been an exporting country, and not having suffered from famines for a very great number of years, lay somewhat out of the ordinary course of the import trade, and that its necessities were not likely to be so quickly recognised as those of other districts to which supplies have more frequently to be sent. It was not till great distress began to be felt that the general trade were aware of the reality of the demand; and when that time arrived, the season for importing had unhappily almost passed away. Had the Government, as soon as their attention was called to the subject, instituted a strict inquiry into the actual condition of the district, and made public the result, there can be little doubt that supplies would speedily have been sent there, or that, if private enterprise had failed to provide them, the Government would have seen their way to supplementing it by their own action. But this was not done; and it must be asked why it was not done?

9. The responsibility for the omission appears to me to rest chiefly upon the Board of Revenue.

10. I am aware that it may be urged on behalf of the Board that the information which they received from the local officers was less indicative of the approaching distress than it ought to have been; and that they may also point out that their proceedings were from time to time submitted both to the Government of Bengal and to the Government of India, and were approved, or not disapproved, by them. But while admitting to some extent the validity of these considerations, I am still of opinion that the action of the Board upon one or two critical occasions was most unfortunate.

11. The Report of the 25th November 1865 was written in reply to a reference made to the Board of Revenue by the Lieutenant Governor, in consequence of the intelligence which had reached him, and more especially in consequence of the alarming accounts which he had received from Mr. Ravenshaw, the Officiating Commissioner of Cuttack. The Lieutenant Governor called upon the Board to "report specially on the present state of the crops and markets, and the prospects of the country throughout the Lower Provinces," and to suggest any measures by which Government could "mitigate the effects of the present scarcity." Mr. Ravenshaw, as the Board were aware, had had comparatively little experience as a Revenue officer, and had hardly any experience at all in Orissa. It was known that his views were more sanguine than those of his collectors, who had had far more experience than himself; and the Board were themselves of opinion that he was "too hopeful." Yet Mr. Ravenshaw's letters had been sufficient to alarm the Lieutenant Governor, and to induce him to call upon the Board for a special report upon the state of the country. It is surprising that the Board, under these circumstances, and after all that had passed, did not call upon Mr. Ravenshaw, at least, to institute a minute inquiry and to submit a special report upon the actual condition of his division. The measures recommended by them for mitigating the effects of the scarcity may or may not have been well conceived. But the failure to institute inquiries, and to obtain accurate information as to facts, cannot be excused. Without the solid basis of a correct knowledge of the facts, there was no reasonable prospect of their being able to deal properly with the exigency of the case.

12. I cannot but regret that neither the Government of Bengal nor that of India should have taken notice of the inadequacy of the information contained in the report to which I have referred. The Board themselves draw attention to the "hypothetical" character of the estimates which had been formed, and to the difference of opinion between one officer and another; and add, that they regard them as "merely the opinions of intelligent gentlemen, framed upon such information as they could collect upon a subject with which they are more or less familiar." The Government of Bengal were, I think, hardly justified in describing information of this character as a "very complete report on the present state and prospects of the crops in the Lower Provinces of Bengal."

13. A similar want of perception of the importance of accurate information is observable in other matters. The suggestion that prices current should be regu-

larly published would have been an excellent one, if it had been ascertained that their correctness could be secured. As steps were not taken to ensure this, their publication was not merely useless, but had a tendency to become mischievous.

14. I do not think it necessary to follow in detail the narrative contained in the Report of the Commissioners, or to express my opinion upon every point which they have raised. It would be easy to comment upon many incidents to which they have drawn attention, such as the reprimand conveyed by the Board of Revenue to Mr. Ravenshaw (January 10th), for having given instructions to Mr. Barlow to investigate some of the claims of the zemindars to remission of revenue,—the refusal to allow the wages of the labourers on the public works to be paid in grain,—the confusion of responsibility between the officers of the Public Works Department and the civil authorities,—the unfortunate answer given to Mr. Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January, requesting permission to import rice, and the extraordinary hesitation of the Board to import rice, even at so late a date as the 22nd May, when specially invited to do so by the Government of Bengal (Appendix, page 241); but these are, in fact, only illustrations of the tenacity with which the Board of Revenue clung to the view which they had originally adopted. Having, in the first instance, accepted, upon very inadequate evidence, the belief that there was a sufficiency of food, they were not to be induced to part from it by evidence which should have carried conviction to any unprejudiced mind. That their convictions were sincere, I have no doubt. I deeply regret that they were so erroneous.

15. I must now advert to the visit of the Lieutenant Governor to Orissa in February 1866. That visit, which should have inaugurated the commencement of a more vigorous and effective system of action, only served to check the hopes that such a system would be adopted. When once the Lieutenant Governor had personally visited the suffering district, and had come away satisfied that no famine was to be apprehended, and that no other measures of relief were required than such as had been already set on foot, it was not to be expected that the representations of the subordinate local officers would have much weight against his authority; and it was not to be wondered at if the vigilance of the Government of India was relaxed.

16. It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire whether the imperfections of Sir C. Beadon's personal investigation are to be attributed to his own fault, or to the faults of others. It appears to me, after careful consideration, that they are to be attributed partly to the one and partly to the other. Undoubtedly he had been misled by the representations which had reached him through the Board of Revenue, and had come with preconceived views, which he could not readily lay aside. Undoubtedly the information tendered to him, and the opinions advanced by the local officers with whom he came in contact during his visit, fell very short of the truth, and were calculated rather to confirm, than to dispel his error. Undoubtedly, too, those who accompanied him, and who ought to have been peculiarly well qualified to form a judgment, I refer to Mr. Cockburn and Colonel Nicolls, shared his belief that matters were in a much better state than unfortunately they really were. Still, after making allowance for all these considerations, I am obliged to say that Sir C. Beadon did not, upon this occasion, show the energy or the sagacity which might have been expected from an officer of such high distinction and such well-deserved reputation. It was to be expected that, having undertaken this visit, he would have made a minute personal inquiry into the real state of the district, and would not have been satisfied with the general statements of the local officers, but would have questioned them closely, demanded explanations of their alarming telegrams and other representations, and would have tested their evidence both by cross-examination and by comparing it with that of others. Such an examination would probably have startled them from their security, and brought them to a proper appreciation of the facts of the case. It is, therefore, the more lamentable that this, the last chance of amelioration, should thus have been lost.

17. I have referred to the two officers who accompanied the Lieutenant Governor in this visit. One of them, Mr. Cockburn, was attacked in the course of it by an illness which proved fatal; it is, therefore, impossible to say how far the state of his health may have affected his power of work. But I am surprised to find that Colonel Nicolls did so little to enlighten the Lieutenant Governor.

Being

Being at once the secretary and executive head of the Public Works Department, to which the administration of the relief works was entrusted, he must have had peculiar facilities for ascertaining the actual condition of the people, and, in the absence of explanations, his failure to do so is to me quite unaccountable.

18. I do not think it necessary to discuss at length the conduct of the several local officers who were brought more or less directly into contact with the famine. I notice with pleasure, and readily concur in the commendation bestowed by the Commissioners on the nine officers named in the margin.

Mr. Barlow.
Mr. Muspratt.
Mr. Shortt.
Dr. Jackson.
Mr. Harris.
Mr. Barton.
Mr. Kirkwood.
Lieutenant Money.
Lord H. U. Browne.

19. The conduct of Mr. Barlow has been made the subject of some discussion. This gentleman was not examined by the Commissioners in consequence of his absence from India, and they are consequently unable to explain the cause of his reticence on the occasion of the Lieutenant Governor's visit to Orissa. They suggest, that in all probability, after the replies he had received from the Board of Revenue and from the Government of Bengal to his proposals for the importation of rice, he did not venture to recur to the subject. I cannot see any evidence to support this conjecture, which moreover appears to me to be directly at variance with the evidence of the Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Barlow's conduct is, upon the whole, very praiseworthy, and it would have been well if more attention had been paid to many of his recommendations; but I cannot think that, upon the occasion of the Lieutenant Governor's visit, he was as fully alive to the real state of affairs as the Commissioners apparently consider him to have been. If I could believe that he was so, and that he withheld his information deliberately through fear of an official rebuff, I should regard his conduct as highly censurable. But I am rather disposed to think that he was himself deceived as to the extent of the distress, and was probably under the influence of the more sanguine views of those around him, who considered that the prosecution of public works on a liberal scale would be sufficient to meet all the exigencies of the people. I am confirmed in this opinion by the enclosed reply from Mr. Barlow to a letter which I had caused to be addressed to him, and which I also forward.

20. The conduct of the officers of police generally was creditable to them; but I regret that Colonel Pughe should not have made more use of the information which must have reached him, and should not have even gone a little beyond what he thought the strict limits of his duty, in order to call the attention of the Government to the real state of the district.

21. I shall reserve for a separate letter the consideration of many questions which arise out of this important Report. The suggestions which the Commissioners make for the development of the resources of the country, and for the prevention of similar calamities in future, will have my most serious attention. I shall also take into consideration the question whether any alterations are desirable in the organisation of the Government of Bengal, or in the constitution of the Board of Revenue, with a view to a better concentration of responsibility, and to greater vigour of action. These are points upon which I shall request the advice and co-operation of your Government.

22. At present I will only say that I feel deeply indebted to the Comissioners for the valuable Report which they have presented; and that, painful as it is in many respects, I feel confident that it will be productive of very useful results.

23. Before I conclude I must request you to convey my thanks to those unofficial persons, Europeans and natives, whose benevolence and liberality are so warmly acknowledged by the Commissioners.

24. I particularly desire that the thanks of the Government may be forwarded to the Rajah of Parricood, whose conduct was both honourable to himself and well calculated to set a bright example to the native landowners, whose aid it has always been the desire of the British Government to obtain in dealing with the great body of the people.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

ENCLOSURES.

No. 1.

Sir, India Office, London, 12 July 1867.

I AM directed to inform you that Sir Stafford Northcote has now under his consideration the report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the famine in Bengal and Orissa.

2. In the 183rd paragraph of the Report, the Commissioners state that they were much embarrassed by your absence at the time of their inquiry, and suggest that an explanation of certain circumstances, which attracted their attention in the course of the investigation should be obtained from you. I am therefore directed to forward to you a copy of the Report, and, in drawing your attention to the 183rd paragraph, to request that you will, at your very earliest convenience, submit such observations and explanations as you may wish to place before the Secretary of State in Council, relative to the absence of distinct reports from you to superior authority between the beginning of February and the beginning of May 1866, as to the actual progress of the famine.

3. I am also directed to draw your attention to Sir Cecil Beadon's evidence, especially his answers to questions Nos. 14 to 19, and his Answers to Questions No. 28, No. 42, and No. 45, and to request that you will furnish such explanations as you may wish to submit upon the subject.

4. You are requested to return with your reply the copy of the Report now forwarded to you.

I am, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Anderson,*
Secretary, Public Department.

G. N. Barlow, Esq.

No. 2.

Sir, Brighton, 19 July 1867.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, which, together with the papers forming the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the famine in Bengal and Orissa, followed me to Brighton in my absence from home.

2. The remarks which I have to offer are brief, for, owing to the lapse of time since the events to which the inquiries relate occurred, I find my recollection fails me in matters of detail, and, amid such general impressions as remain, I hesitate to resort to conjecture to explain the cause or assign the motive for each individual action.

3. The first point noticed in your letter (paragragh 2) is "relative to the absence of distinct report from you (*i.e.* myself) to superior authority, between the beginning of February and the beginning of May 1866, as to the actual progress of the famine."

4. To this I reply that, though anxiously on the watch always, I could obtain no additional demonstration of the fact that actual famine was then progressing; on the contrary, though great distress was admitted, and effort was constantly being made to relieve it, I conclude that I must, in some degree, have held the opinion at that time, that each day that passed without any visible change in the condition of affairs, such as that which occurred in May, and was instantly reported by me (*vide* paragraph 221 of the Report), was favourable to the hope that the danger feared would be avoided.

To account for the origin of such an opinion, I would call attention to the fact that the very first symptoms ever seen, before the final alarm in May, were those witnessed by me in the tract around the Chelka Lake, and which were reported in most full detail (in form of a diary) to Government early in December 1865. The, as it now appears, too favourable judgment passed thereupon by the higher authorities was followed by the harvest, mitigating, to "a considerable extent, the general distress amongst the people" (paragraph 113); and whereas, without participating in the idea of the existence of stocks of old grain in store, I estimated the yield of the gathered crop at about one-half, in ignorance of the deduction to be had from Colonel Baird Smith's Report, which I had never seen, that such a proportion even might still suffice to produce a state of extreme famine (paragraph 74), I hoped that the bulk of the population were supplied with food, leaving but a residue of the poorer classes to be provided for both by public works relief and charity.

5. With regard to the matter noted in your paragraph 3, I may observe that I can throw but little light on the points arising out of Sir Cecil Beadon's examinations, Answers 14 to

14 to 17, as I stated to Sir Stafford Northcote at an interview which I lately had with him when he questioned me on the subject. I do not recall the fact of communication regarding the famine having passed with Sir Cecil Beadon at the time of his visit to Pooree; and the only distinct impression I retain is, that I felt disappointment at not being able to find opportunity to ask him for a donation in aid of our relief fund then collecting, as I had intended doing; and I think, further, that I spoke about this to my assistant, Mr. Livesay, after his honour's departure. I mention this trivial matter only to show that what memory I have points the other way; but I also at once state that I could not distinctly contradict the assertion contained in Sir Cecil Beadon's evidence that discussion on the matter did take place. It certainly was most natural that such should have been the case, and now that I see the answer to question 17, I remember that a report was called for from me, and I believe sent, but, if I mistake not, the subject of it related to the prevalence of cholera just then in the district of Pooree.

6. I certainly did not bring to the Lieutenant Governor's notice the question of the difficulty of getting grain for the labourers. (Question 19, and Answer.) I had pushed the matter to the full extent of my power, seeking to get my proposal to import and store rice for payment of wages passed; but, having received two separate refusals from Government, both in the Public Works and in the Civil Departments, I viewed the point as conclusively settled.

Mr. Crommelin, the superintendent engineer, and Lieutenant Nolan, executive engineer of the district, whose department was specially concerned in the decision arrived at, were present at Pooree, with their chief, Colonel Nicholls, Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Department of Public Works, accompanying the Lieutenant Governor, while I, having hurried in from the interior of the district, to meet his Honor, hardly knew the exact condition of affairs at the time, or the effect that the order refusing to pay in grain had had in reducing the number of workmen employed on the work. I may add, that I probably anticipated a general discussion and settlement of affairs between the Lieutenant Governor and the Commissioner, the latter officer being in full possession of all my views.

7. (*Question* 28 and *Answer.*) I have already stated that I remember no special communication on the subject of the famine, as having passed with me while the Lieutenant Governor was at Pooree. I may observe that Mr. Ravenshaw was not at Pooree with the Lieutenant Governor, but received him afterwards as his guest at Cuttack, and I am positive that I was not present at any discussions about famine affairs held at Cuttack.

8. (*Question* 42 and *Answer.*) The magnitude of the distress alluded to in the Relief Committee's resolution was that spoken of, as admittedly existing, in my paragraph 4 above, and such as it was in extent, it was beyond the reach of the relief that could be dispensed with our small fund, amounting to 300 *l.* or 400 *l.*; hence the wish to obtain aid from the public. My reply of the 5th March, referred to, in no way repudiated this fact of existent distress (*vide* paragraph 217, Report); but assuming that the Government offer was limited to the description of assistance already approved, *e.g.*, of the nature of extension of works, &c., and holding in view the proposals already negatived (importation for payment in kind, &c.), as my resources were exhausted, I had nothing further to suggest.

9. (*Question* 45 and *Answer.*) This point is already determined by my remarks in paragraphs 4 and 8. I believed Government would grant liberally aid within the terms and under the conditions previously approved, but not otherwise. In this last observation, I do not mean to say that I refrained from asking Government to import grain for charitable distribution on any such account, for the necessity of adopting such a course had not been determined upon by me up to that time, but I do include the question of importation for payment in kind of wages for labour, an arrangement I should have at any time carried out as a measure preventive, as well as remedial, in its effects.

10. The papers forwarded by you will be returned.

I am, &c.
(signed) *G. N. Barlow,*
Bengal Civil Service.

The Secretary to Public Department,
India Office.

EAST INDIA
(BENGAL AND ORISSA FAMINE.)

COPY of DESPATCH of the Secretary of State to the Government of *India*, and Enclosures, relative to the BENGAL and ORISSA FAMINE.

(Presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's Command.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*, 26 *July* 1867.

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